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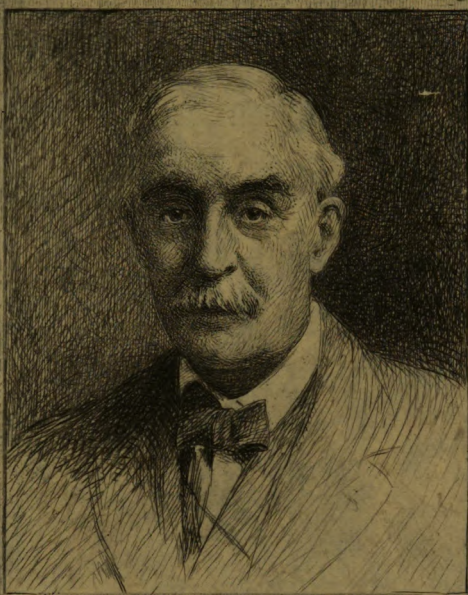
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**EWALD'S**  
**HISTORY OF ISRAEL.**  
**VOL. I.**

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THE  
HISTORY OF ISRAEL.

BY  
HEINRICH EWALD,

Late Professor of the University of Göttingen.

VOL. I.  
Introduction and Preliminary History.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN.

EDITED BY  
RUSSELL MARTINEAU, M.A.



*'The Old Testament will still be a New Testament to him who comes with a fresh  
desire of information.'*

FULLER.

FOURTH EDITION,  
THOROUGHLY REVISED AND CORRECTED.

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## PREFACE.

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THE sale of three editions of this work, and the demand of a fourth, more than justify the expectation which the editor and translators entertained at the outset, that it could not fail in the end to be highly appreciated. Hence I feel it no longer necessary or even seemly to justify our presumption by quotations from Dean Stanley and others, showing the estimation in which Ewald was held by those scholars, as I did in the previous editions. The success of the book, moreover, has encouraged the publishers to arrange for the completion of the translation, by the addition of three volumes (sixth, seventh, and eighth, corresponding to the fifth, sixth, and seventh of the original) which comprise the period from the life of Christ to the dispersion of the Jews; these are entrusted to the competent hands of Mr. J. Frederick Smith.

I leave the History to recommend itself to the judgment of its readers. I do this also with reference to other points, on which it may be thought by some that I (or some more competent editor) ought to have afforded some direction to the reader. I refer to the new phases which the criticism of the historical books of the Old Testament, and especially the Pentateuch, has assumed since Ewald wrote these volumes. His discrimination of the various

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original documents (memoirs or histories by distinct writers, whom he calls respectively the Earliest Narrator, the author of the Book of Origins, the third, fourth and fifth Prophetical Narrators, and the Deuteronomist), still remains the basis on which later investigators have built. But it will become obvious to any careful student that Ewald's reasons (so far as they are disclosed in this History) for assigning any particular passage to this or that writer may be rejected, even by one who is convinced of the soundness of the general picture of the characters of thought and style attributed to each. And besides this, the history of recent criticism has shown that some arguments were capable of being turned round. It was perhaps rather assumed than argued by Ewald's predecessors on this field, and accepted in the main by him, that the writer who abstains from the use of the Divine name Jahveh till the point of time is reached when its revelation to Moses is related (the author of Ewald's 'Book of Origins') must, partly from that fact, partly from his extreme simplicity of style and coolness of thought—be more ancient than those who use the name Jahveh from the beginning, and write with a more obvious religious fervour and eloquence (Ewald's 'Prophetical Narrators'). But some scholars of the modern Dutch school, with Kuenen at their head, and Graf among the Germans, disputed the cogency of this argument, if argument it was, and tried the experiment of treating the latter writers as prior to the former. The identity of style between the former (Elohistic) writers and the great body of Levitical legislation, and the necessity which had become more and more apparent of giving to this a very low antiquity, gave powerful support to the contention of this school. And the arguments on the

other side could be turned to serve their purpose; the plainness of style might be the studied and artificial simplicity of a late age; the abstention from the employment of the name Jahveh by the writer until he has to record the announcement of it to Moses, appears perhaps more like a literary device of a late period than a narrative of an early believer in Jahveh. If these arguments are victorious in the end, Ewald's discrimination of the different sources will require very considerable correction. I have, however, not thought it my proper function to make such corrections. It would be scarcely fair to Ewald's memory to use his own book as an instrument for propagating opinions opposite to those which he held in his lifetime, and which it is not likely that he would adopt if he were living now. And the matter is so far from being decided by a consensus of all who make a special study of Old Testament history, that it is desirable to preserve the record of the views of one of the most profound students of Hebrew antiquity. It is moreover doubtful whether any satisfactory presentation of Kuenen's views could be simply grafted upon this work. It is better that those who wish to study his hypothesis should learn it from books written by men of his school.

The time since Ewald's last edition of this work has also been remarkably fertile of discoveries in archæology, especially on the history of Babylonia and Assyria, and in traces of the Hittites and other races with whom the Hebrews came into contact. I have here again left Ewald's work intact. It is not easy to determine what view he would take of the facts brought to light on these subjects which bear upon his History, and it appears to me better to leave it a little antiquated, perhaps, in a few passages,



but still self-consistent and Ewald's own, than to put in patches of new material, which might themselves be erroneous, and could scarcely be made to harmonise with the older text.

A few biographical data respecting the author may be interesting to his English readers. Georg Heinrich August von Ewald was born at Göttingen, Nov. 16, 1803, the child of a poor weaver of the place; the 'personal nobility' indicated by the *von* prefixed to his surname was conferred on him in 1841 by the King of Würtemberg, but was seldom if ever assumed. He was educated at the Gymnasium of his native town, whence he proceeded at Easter 1820 to the University of the same place. In 1823, on leaving the University, he took a situation as teacher at the Gymnasium of Wolfenbüttel; and in the same year gave good proof of his diligence and the depth of his Hebrew studies by the publication of his first work, 'Die Komposition der Genesis kritisch untersucht' (the Composition of Genesis critically examined)—which, though written as a warning against the over-hasty assignment of that book to various writers on the ground of the various names of God—the then newly-discovered principle—is still far from obsolete. At Easter 1824, however, he returned to Göttingen on receiving, through the instrumentality of Eichhorn his former teacher, a licence to lecture at the university as tutor (*repetent*) in the faculty of Theology. Promotion followed faster than usual; for in 1827 he became Extraordinary, and in 1831 Ordinary, Professor in the Philosophical Faculty; and in 1835 specially Professor of the Oriental Languages. After Eichhorn's death in 1827, he lectured on Old Testament Exegesis. During this period (in 1826, 1829 and 1836), he travelled to consult various Oriental

manuscripts, to Berlin, Paris, and Italy ; and published the following works on Oriental literature : ‘*De metris carminum Arabicorum libri duo*,’ Brunswick 1825 ; ‘*Ueber einige ältere Sanskrit-Metra*,’ Göttingen 1827 ; ‘*Liber Wakedi de Mesopotamiæ expugnatae historia e cod. Arab. editus*,’ Göttingen 1827 ; ‘*Grammatica critica linguæ Arabicæ*,’ 2 vols. Leipzig 1831–33 ; ‘*Abhandlungen zur biblischen und orientalischen Literatur*,’ Göttingen 1832. On Biblical subjects he also published : ‘*Das Hohelied Salomo’s übersetzt mit Einleitung, &c.*’ (The Song of Solomon translated, &c.), Göttingen 1826 ; ‘*Commentarius in Apocalypsin*,’ Göttingen 1828 ; ‘*Die poetischen Bücher des Alten Bundes*’ [called in the second edition ‘*Die Dichter des Alten Bundes*,’ the Poets of the Old Testament], 4 vols. Göttingen 1835–39 ; 2nd edition 1840–67 ; being a translation of Psalms, Lamentations, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Solomon and Job. On Hebrew grammar he published : ‘*Kritische Grammatik der Hebräischen Sprache ausführlich bearbeitet*,’ Leipzig 1827 ; ‘*Grammatik der Hebräischen Sprache des Alten Testaments*,’ 2nd edition (essentially a new work), Leipzig 1835, and greatly enlarged in successive editions up to the eighth, entitled ‘*Ausführliches Lehrbuch der Hebräischen Sprache des Alten Bundes*,’ Göttingen 1870 (960 pages) ; a smaller grammar for schools, ‘*Grammatik der Hebräischen Sprache in vollständiger Kürze*,’ Leipzig 1828, and another entitled ‘*Hebräische Sprachlehre für Anfänger*’ (in 1842, 1855, and 1862). In 1837 he founded (with the cooperation of other Orientalists) the valuable periodical ‘*Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*,’ which prepared the way for the formation in 1845 of the German Oriental Society, which publishes its ‘*Zeitschrift*’ four times a year. In the

year 1837 trouble came upon Hanover, and specially upon the University of Göttingen, on the accession of the Duke of Cumberland to the throne. His very first act was the arbitrary abolition of the Hanoverian 'Staatsgrundgesetz' or Constitution; and this encountered among the professors a spirit unfortunately not common enough in Germany. Seven of the most eminent—the two Grimms, Gervinus, Wilhelm Weber, W. E. Albrecht, Dahlmann, and Ewald—entered a solemn protest; and when that was of no avail, resigned their professorships, and left the King to enjoy the desert he had made—for the seven professors *were* the University, and when they were gone it rapidly declined, till eleven years after even a Guelph could admit his folly and invite the professors back again on honourable conditions. But the fifteen hundred students whom men now living remember to have seen there could never be recalled; and the University immediately dwindled to a few hundreds, chiefly Hanoverians. Ewald then left Göttingen, Dec. 12, 1837, and came to England; but in the following year he received and accepted a call to the University of Tübingen, to be Ordinary Professor of Theology. But his position there, especially at a time when F. C. Baur was at the height of his power, was not congenial. He therefore gladly accepted a recall to Göttingen on honourable conditions in 1848. During his residence at Tübingen (besides preparing new and enlarged editions of works already mentioned) Ewald published his translation of the Prophets, 'Die Propheten des Alten Bundes erklärt,' 2 vols. Stuttgart, 1840–41 (second enlarged edition in 3 vols. 1867–8), and commenced this History. The first edition of the first, second, and third volumes was published in 1843, 1845, and 1847; and a supplementary

volume on Hebrew Antiquities was added, 'Die Alterthümer des Volkes Israel.' From his return to Göttingen until his death the following are his chief literary labours. 'Jahrbücher der biblischen Wissenschaft,' a journal which he established in 1849, and to which he was the chief, indeed generally the only contributor; twelve volumes were published, from 1849 to 1865, after which it was given up; many valuable investigations of special subjects of Biblical history and criticism were carried on in it, and are referred to in this work. But his chief labour of this period was expended on this History, to which the fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh volumes were added in the years 1852, 1855, 1858, and 1859; a second and enlarged edition of the first three volumes was prepared in 1851 and 1853; and a third of the whole in 1864-69. Ewald engaged also in the study of the New Testament, and published 'Die drei ersten Evangelien übersetzt und erklärt' (the First Three Gospels translated and expounded), Göttingen 1850 (second edition, including the Acts, 1871-2); 'Die Sendschreiben des Apostels Paulus übersetzt und erklärt' (the Epistles of St. Paul translated and expounded), Göttingen 1857; 'Die Johanneischen Schriften übersetzt und erklärt' (the Johannine Writings translated and expounded), 2 vols. Göttingen 1861; 'Sieben Sendschreiben des Neuen Bundes' (Seven Epistles of the New Testament), 1870; and 'Das Sendschreiben an die Hebräer und Jacobs Rundschreiben' (the Epistle to the Hebrews and the Epistle of James), 1870. These complete the New Testament. But on the New Testament Ewald is generally held to have been a less satisfactory expositor than on the Old. In his last years he commenced a large work, of which three parts were published before his death, entitled 'Die Lehre der



Bibel von Gott, oder Theologie des Alten und Neuen Bundes' (the Doctrine of God in the Old and New Testaments), Leipzig, 1871-4. Many disquisitions, some of considerable importance, chiefly on Phenician inscriptions, on the Ethiopic Book of Enoch, and on the Sibylline Books, were contributed by him to the Transactions of the Royal Society of Sciences at Göttingen and to the 'Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen,' and are also to be had separately. I have omitted small pamphlets, and even larger works, whose interest is merely ephemeral—local, controversial, or political.

As a professor Ewald in his best years did all and more than all that could be expected from him. Besides his lectures *privatim* (i.e. for which a fee is charged), in which he read in Hebrew and expounded the chief books of the Old Testament, and where he was sure of attracting a large audience, he taught *publice* (i.e. gratis) every session two of the chief languages, chiefly Semitic, with which he was familiar. Thus many students remember gratefully the days when in his lecture-room they laid a firm foundation for a knowledge of Arabic, Syrian, Ethiopic, Turkish, or Persian. But when German internal politics began to assume a threatening aspect, the fire natural to him, which had previously scathed the Tübingen school and the Papists, began to burn against the attempts of Prussia to centralise Germany under herself and practically to extinguish the political existence of the smaller states. In 1869 this quarrel became a war: Hanover was ranged against Prussia, her army surrounded and driven to surrender; the kingdom became a Prussian province. Ewald published at this crisis a pamphlet 'Lob des Königs und des Volkes' (Praise of the King and People of Hanover); but the Prussian

government prosecuted him for high treason on account of some expressions therein which reflected on their conduct in breaking up the Confederation and going to war with Austria, as also for some ironical words about the King of Prussia. For this the Prussian government tried the subject of another but now a conquered state. Yet even under these conditions they could not command success: Ewald was acquitted of all charges. It was not unnatural after this that the Hanoverians should send Ewald as their representative to the Reichsrath at Berlin, where his inborn hatred of Prussian ambition, and his position as representative of an absorbed state, combined to render him an obstructive. His politics were honest and manly, like the rest of his nature; but age and the success of the party he most hated greatly embittered and excited him. Even from his lecture-room he was at last unable to banish political tirades, and he was ultimately suspended, though not entirely prevented from lecturing. It was indeed sad to see so great a mind hopelessly worn out by political excitement, for which his youth had not prepared him, and the strain of which he could not bear. He was released from a life, the value of which both to himself and to the world had ceased many years before, on the 4th May, 1875. His second wife, whose maiden name was Schleiermacher, and his daughter, survive him.<sup>1</sup>

It remains to speak of the translation. My constant

<sup>1</sup> The Rev. T. K. Cheyne says very truly in the *Academy*, May 15, 1875: 'As a pioneer in Semitic philology second to none; as a fruitful investigator of Biblical literature *facile princeps* among Christian scholars, his page in the history of criticism has long been marked, and the inferiority of his later work cannot appreciably affect it. As an advocate of political liberty in

a low state of public opinion he will be remembered with honour by those who most deplore the vagaries of his old age. As one who scorned ease and money and the praise of men, he is entitled to a charitable judgment even from admirers of those whom he bespattered with his pen, Gesenius, Baur, and Delitzsch.'

endeavour in revising that of the first two volumes has been to make it self-consistent and uniform—which qualities it could otherwise hardly have possessed, as the principal translator had several coadjutors. I have also endeavoured to make it speak pure and natural English, and therefore to abjure any attempts at abject literality. This would have been simply impossible, as Ewald's style is such that few foreigners will undertake the labour of reading it. In the orthography of personal names Ewald, consistently with his constant spirit of dependence on the original sources alone, and carelessness about what has been spoken or written since, follows the Hebrew strictly; and it is quite intelligible that a scholar who lives his whole life among the old Hebrew books may be unable to force his lips to such barbarisms as the modern pronunciation of Isaac, Jacob, &c. But the translation will fall into the hands of persons who know the Patriarchs already under their modern names, and as we wish to speak to them of their old friends, we take the liberty of still calling them by the familiar forms. To this there is one important exception. The Divine name, usually written Jehovah, is by Ewald written *Jahve*, and we have adopted this form, with the addition of a final *h*, which makes it an exact transcript of the Hebrew letters and does not affect the pronunciation. The form *Jehovah* rests upon so manifest a mistake or misunderstanding, that I could not for shame allow it to appear in a book of Ewald's, whose ear would be offended by it as a musician's by a note out of tune. I append a short essay on the subject, for which I am solely responsible, intended to explain the nature of the question to readers to whom Ewald's remarks at vol. ii. pp. 155–58 are insufficient. I have also corrected the ordinary spelling of a

few words, such as Benjaminite, Hivvite, Avvim, Nazirite (for the faulty *Benjamite*, *Hivite*, *Avim*, *Nazarite*).

The division of the Old Testament into chapters and verses sometimes differs in the Greek, Latin, and modern versions, from that adopted in the printed Hebrew Bibles. Ewald always quotes from the Hebrew; but for the sake of non-Hebraist readers we have in these cases of discrepancy always given the other numbers (which are those of the English Bible) in brackets: thus, Num. xvii. 3 [xvi. 38]; Ps. xl. 4 [3].

References in the notes are made to the *Translation* of vols. i-v. (Eng. i-vi.), and to the *third German edition* of vols. vi-vii. of which the translation by Mr. J. Frederick Smith is not published in time to be used; those to the 'Antiquities of Israel' are now made to the translation by Mr. Henry S. Solly, published by Messrs. Longman. Moreover, since the appearance of the last edition the following works of Ewald's have been published in English, and are consequently cited in the translation: 'Commentary on the Prophets of the Old Testament,' 5 vols. translated by J. Frederick Smith (Williams and Norgate, 1875-81); 'Commentary on the Psalms,' 2 vols. translated by E. Johnson (Williams and Norgate, 1880-81); and 'Commentary on the Book of Job,' translated by J. Frederick Smith (Williams and Norgate, 1882). The two last are portions of 'Die Dichter des Alten Bundes'; references to the untranslated portions of which work (including the Proverbs, Ecclesiastes and Song of Solomon) are unavoidably made to the German original. In all these works it should be observed that the commentary is accompanied by a new and very original translation, which ought to have been specified in the title of the English



edition as the chief feature of the book, to which the commentary is subordinate. References to Ewald's large Hebrew Grammar (*Lehrbuch*) are still made to the seventh edition (1863); the numbers of the sections (though not those of the pages) are identical in the later editions. This work is quite distinct from the smaller grammars that have been translated into English. References to English books have when possible been made to the English original, where Ewald refers to a translation.

In order to render the divisions and subdivisions of the work more easily intelligible, the Translators have prefixed to each volume a Table of Contents far more detailed than that in the original work. The titles given to the smaller sections—all, that is, which do not occur as headings in the work itself—are added by them, and must be regarded as only approximate hints of what will be found in the sections in question. The difficulty of indicating in half-a-dozen words the contents of a section, should be considered in their defence by any who find these descriptions unsatisfactory.

I gratefully acknowledge assistance and counsel received from Dr. John Nicholson, of Penrith, the pupil and friend of Ewald, and translator of one of the early editions of his Hebrew Grammar. Dr. Nicholson had himself translated a portion of the period comprised in the first volume, and kindly handed over his work to be incorporated with the rest. The translation was undertaken with the full sanction of the author.

RUSSELL MARTINEAU.

LONDON: May 1883.

## ON THE DIVINE NAME יהוה (*JAHVEH, JEHOVAH*).

§ 1. THE VOWELS are, as a general rule, not written in Hebrew, nor in the cognate Chaldee, Syriac, and Arabic languages. Only the long vowels were sometimes indicated,  $\bar{o}$  and  $\bar{u}$  by ו *v*, and  $\bar{e}$  and  $\bar{i}$  by י *y*; which actually introduced a new element of uncertainty, since each of these letters is susceptible of two vowel sounds and one consonantal. The letter ה *h* was also employed to designate the final vowel (*a*, *e*, or *o*) of words ending in a vowel. It will be observed that this system closely resembles some modern systems of shorthand, which disregard the vowels except where they are important from their length or essential for distinction.

§ 2. So long as the language lived, this system was sufficient; but when it began to give place to a different vernacular speech, and the pronunciation of the vowels especially was endangered, it became necessary to note these also, if the correct pronunciation, or any approximation to it, was to be maintained. But a consonantal alphabet was already in habitual use, and could not easily be superseded. The most natural mode of indicating the vowels was to append to the consonantal letters preceding them dots and other small marks (generally beneath, in one instance above). Thus (reading from right to left) לִמְךָ *Lmch*, לִמְךָ *Lamech*, כֹּהֵן *chn*, כֹּהֵן *cohen*. And this mode of noting the vowels cannot have been adopted by mere accident, since it is in itself peculiarly adapted (as cannot be fully shown here) to the genius of the Hebrew and other Semitic languages, and appears in them all alike, even where borrowing is very unlikely.

§ 3. The Divine name was יהוה *Jhv.*<sup>1</sup> What vowels must be attached to these consonants to restore the old pronunciation?

The name יהוה had from the first been treated as preeminently sacred. As the sign of a Covenant between God and his people, it was reserved for use between them, and not employed in speech to the heathen nor heard on heathen lips; such, at least, is the practice observed by some if not all of the writers of the Pentateuch. From this point it not unnaturally gradually so advanced in sanctity that Hebrews themselves would not utter it,<sup>2</sup> but in reading the Scriptures substituted אֲדֹנָי

<sup>1</sup> Throughout this essay, as in the proper names in the English Bible generally, *j* represents the Hebrew י, which is however sounded as *y*. יהוה is therefore properly *yhv.* An inverted comma (') here represents the peculiar guttural letter

*y*, and a simple comma (,) the א or spiritus lenis.

<sup>2</sup> Feeling preceded, Biblical authority (Lev. xxiv. 11, 16) was found afterwards

Adonaj *the Lord* (properly *my Lord*), except in the instances where God is called יהוה אֱלֹהֵי *my Lord Jhvh*; here, to avoid the double אֱלֹהֵי, they substituted for יהוה a different word altogether, viz. אֱלֹהִים Elohim, *God*. To facilitate these substitutions, when the vowel-points were appended to the text as above explained, the word יהוה was treated as if it were אֱדֹנַי Adonaj or אֱלֹהִים Elohim, and the vowel-points belonging to these were appended to it. Thus we obtain the written combinations of letters יהוה and יהוה. The former differs, indeed, from אֱדֹנַי in using — instead of — as the vowel belonging to the first letter. But these vowels differ only as the French mute *e* (in *recevoir, fondre*) from the shortest imaginable *ä*—a difference so slight as to be immaterial.<sup>1</sup>

§ 4. The fact of the substitution of other words for יהוה is perhaps proved most cogently by the curious circumstance just mentioned, that the punctuation is changed according as one name or the other is required by the context. But other facts remain which would suffice alone to prove the substitution.

a.) אֱדֹנַי Adonaj ends in *j* (= *y*), a consonant, יהוה (however it be pronounced) in a vowel (see § 1). Now the initial letter of a word beginning with ב *b*, ג *g*, ד *d*, פ *p*, כ *c*, or ת *t*, is always softened into *v*, *gh*, *dh*, *ph*, *ch*, *th*, under the influence of the final vowel of a closely connected preceding word. But the ב *b*, &c., of the word following יהוה is marked to be pronounced hard; whence it follows that the punctuators intended it to be read אֱדֹנַי Adonaj.

b.) Certain prefixes when attached to יהוה are found with vowel-points incompatible with the י Je of יהוה Jehovah, but suitable to a following א *ä*, as in אֱדֹנַי Adonaj. Thus instead of בִּיהוֹה bihovah, the

to justify the feeling. This is psychologically the natural order; and is certainly the true order here, since the sense of the Biblical text is generally acknowledged to be perverted.

<sup>1</sup> In the Semitic languages, the vowel attached to one radical letter is the usual agent for distinguishing the various derivatives from one root, and the other radicals therefore require no vowel. But the vowel which is not needed to give the word its meaning may be indispensable to make it pronounceable, or for euphony; but a vowel thus intruding ought obviously to be very slight, and is bound to no particular sound; so that it may be partially determined by the consonant which precedes it, since with certain consonants certain vowels are more easily uttered than others. Hence the various *half-vowels* in Hebrew, —, —, —, ä, ē, ö respectively; and hence it may be understood why it is really more true to regard them as the same vowel, varying in pronunciation according to circumstances, than as three separate vowels. They were probably long expressed by the simple sheva —, and

from this period dates the punctuation אֱדֹנַי for אֱדֹנַי. Later, when the influences that determined the pronunciation of the imperfect vowel towards *a*, *e*, or *o*, were no longer felt, it was necessary to add vowel-points to show this to the eye; and what mode could be devised more simple and self-evident than to append to the sheva —, the vowel towards which it tended, —, —, or —? At this later period, the simple sheva — was left standing when the half vowel was so slight as not to tend markedly towards one of the three vowels. At the same time the spelling of proper names in the Greek version (LXX.) shows that even the simple sheva was felt as a short *a*, *e*, *o* or even *v*, as in קָנַען Χαναάν, אֱמֹנָא ἐμμόνα, Σαμουήλ, שָׁמַיִם Συχέμ (Σίκιμα, Σήκιμα), שְׁלֹמֹה Σαλωμών LXX., Σολομών N. T., Σελομών Gr. Venet., רְמִיָּהוּ Ῥομελίας, יִרְחָו Ἰεριχώ, נְחֻשְׁתָּן Νεεσθάν; so impossible was it to preserve a strictly neutral rudimentary vowel.

only form possible if 'Jehovah' were read, we always find ביהוה bajhovah written, which, even if the vowel *a* of the prefix could be allowed before *Jehovah* (which is against the rule), must at least have had sheva under the י (יְ) thus ביהוה baj-hovah. The presence of the vowel *a* after the prefix, and the absence of any point to the י, are both only explicable if ה be the letter that really follows ב, because that can become quiescent, so that the word is read באדוני badonaj.

c.) The Greek translation of the Seventy from its antiquity affords even more important testimony than the Hebrew punctuators of a later date. This always renders יהוה by κύριος, which is the literal translation of אֲדֹנָי, but cannot possibly be intended to represent יהוה, which is a *proper name*, as is seen by the absence of the article, by its inability to take a genitive after it,<sup>1</sup> or a possessive pronoun with it, and by many other grammatical circumstances.

§ 5. The points attached to יהוה, then, so far from indicating its pronunciation, were put expressly to prevent its being pronounced at all, and to order the substitution of another word. Had it been otherwise, we should still have been in doubt about its pronunciation; since not only the form יהוה Jehovah, but also יהוה Jehovih occurs, as has been shown. This is not the only instance in which the punctuators have constantly affixed to a word vowel-points which belong to another. The pronoun הוּ hu *he* is sometimes written when the feminine *she* is required. In these instances it is always pointed הוּ, in order that the usual feminine form הִי hi may be substituted.

§ 6. יהוה is therefore in the position of an unpointed word; all that is given us is *Jhv*, and we have to discover what vowels are to be inserted, and where, to make out of this skeleton the original word. It is safest here to argue mainly from analogy, i.e. from the observed capabilities of the Hebrew tongue; and to reserve for subsequent mention whatever historical testimony exists worth recording. The argument will be most clearly presented under the following heads:

a.) The name is first formally proclaimed to the people by Moses (Ex. vi.), and therefore belongs to the early ages of the nation and the language. Now these early ages exhibit a peculiar formation of men's names, which became rare in the Postmosaic period, and extinct under the Monarchy. These names are formed directly from the imperfect (future) tense of verbs, retaining the prefixed י j, which is the characteristic of that tense. Thus from יצחק jits-chäk, *he laughs*, יעקב ja'äkob, *he trips up*, יוסף joseph, *he adds*, יפתח jiphtäch, *he opens*, are derived the names יצחק Jits-chäk, *Isaac*, יעקב Ja'äkob, *Jacob*, יוסף Joseph, יפתח Jiphtäch, *Jephthah*. The roots of these names are therefore צחק ts-ch-k, עקב k-b, וסף v-s-p, פתח p-t-ch. The form יהוה must almost of necessity be formed in analogy to these. In that case its root is הוה h-v-h, which appears in many grammatical forms as identical with

<sup>1</sup> Except in the peculiar title יהוה אֱלֹהֵי צְבָאוֹת Jhv the God of Hosts, which fuller form occurs in Jer. v. 14, &c.

היה h-j-h to *be*. It is therefore one of the large class of roots called ה'ל, i.e. having an unpronounced ה h to represent the third radical, which was ו v or י j, but has generally been vocalised. The derivatives of these roots are formed with extreme uniformity, and both the imperfect tense and the derived nouns and adjectives take the vowel *é* in the last syllable; thus we must have יהוה J-h-véh. The second letter of the word, ה, if I am right in treating it as an analogous form to יִצְחָק Jitschak, &c., must be without a vowel; thus we get יהוה J-hvéh. The only point now left open is what vowel the first syllable has. Following the analogy of יִצְחָק Jitschak, we should say יהוה Jihveh; but a guttural letter (like the ה) at the end of a syllable almost always takes the vowel *ä* before it in preference to any other, as in יַעֲקֹב Ja'äkob; and hence we obtain יהוה Jahveh. There are indeed other slightly differing possible formations:

1. יהוה Jahëveh and יהוה Jehëveh, possible because a guttural (like the ה) is peculiarly liable to take a very slight (or half) vowel instead of no vowel at all. But as the root היה h-j-h, with which our root הנה h-v-h is always assumed to be connected, treats its ה as a hard consonant and not as a guttural, and therefore forms its imperfect as יהיה jihjeh, not יהיה jahäjeh or יהיה jehējeh, and as היה ch-j-h, which closely follows the conjugation of היה, also forms יהיה jichjeh, therefore יהוה J-hveh is far more probable than יהוה J-hëveh or יהוה J-hëveh.

2. From the imperfect (future) of the verb היה h-j-h being יהיה jihjeh (with *i* in the first syllable, notwithstanding the following guttural), the form יהוה Jihvéh would be expected. It should however be remembered that the vowel of the first syllable of the imperfect is not fixed but very variable, even when a guttural follows; thus we have יִחְזַק jechézak, but יַחֲלֹם jachälom; יהגה jehgeh, but יַחְפֹּחַ jahäphoch. Still, the prefix of the imperfect of the verb and that of the derived noun is certainly generally if not always the same. On this head, therefore, we have some argument in favour of יהוה Jihveh as against יהוה Jahveh. Taken by itself, this would lend probability to the former; but it is not of sufficient force to disprove the latter against other and stronger evidence: below, *b.*) and *c.*) But Dillmann says that the *i* in the imperfect יהיה is produced by the influence of the following י, and the root הוה would therefore form its imperfect regularly יהוה. See however § 9.

*b.*) But the Divine name, besides standing alone as a distinct word, also enters into composition with other words to form men's names, like *Apollo* in the Greek *Apollodorus*. It occurs both as a prefix and as an affix. As a prefix it assumes the form יהו Jêho, contracted in later times into יו Jo: יהונתן Jehonathan, יונתן Jonathan, יהושפט Jehoshaphat (Joshaphat), יהוֹיָכִים Jehojakim (Jojakim). As an affix it is originally יהו Jahu, but contracted almost ad libitum into הו, and even יִרְמְיָהוּ Jirmējahu, יִרְמְיָה Jirmējah (Jeremiah); and similarly יהוֹיָכִיז 'Elijahu, 'Elijah; מִיכָיָהוּ Michajahu, or מִיכָיָהוּ Michajëhu, מִיכָיָה Michajah, and even מִיכָה Michah; עֲבַדְיָהוּ 'Obadjahu ('Obadiah), otherwise pronounced עַבְדִּיָּה 'Abdijah (LXX. 'Αβδίας), עַבְדִּי 'Abdi. One curious instance is יהוֹיָכִין Jêhojachin, Jojachin, also called (by inversion of the

component parts) יְהֹנָה Jēchōnjahu (Jechōniah), and כְּנִיָּה Conjahu. Now the form of the name יהוה from which these contractions *Jahu*, *Jah*, *Jēho*, and *Jō* are most easily deducible, is יְהוֹה Jahveh. By an apocope of the final vowel used in verbs whose third radical is ה, the full form יְהוֹה Jahveh would at the end contract with perfect regularity into יהו Jahu.<sup>2</sup> At the beginning, on the other hand, when the final vowel is dropped and the י v necessarily vocalised into י o, the vowel *a* must be shortened into *ə*, and the form יהו Jēho is produced.<sup>3</sup> The form יְהוֹה Jihveh could not easily yield the affixed form יהו Jahu.

c.) But the name itself, when standing alone, is liable to abbreviation into the form יָה Jah, which, fortunately for us, was not treated as too sacred for utterance, and therefore has its own vowel preserved. It occurs not unfrequently, especially in the later Psalms. It is scarcely explicable from any other form of name than יְהוֹה Jahveh, but from that it is seen to be a not unnatural contraction; especially when the use of the word as an affix in the abbreviated form יהו Jahu and יָה Jah is considered. This form pleads strongly for *a* as the vowel of the first syllable of יהוה.

§ 7. Thus we are led by various lines of argument to regard the form יְהוֹה Jahveh as the most probable. But to bring the issue within as narrow limits as possible, I must say a few words as to the forms that are *not* possible.

a.) The last syllable cannot be הֶּ ah. This termination is confined to feminine nouns and adjectives. To סוּס *sūs* horse corresponds מוֹרָה *sūšah* mare. The masculine nouns or adjectives derived from לֶה roots (whose third radical is the silent ה) described above (§ 6. a) as always ending in הֶּ əh, form their feminines by exchanging this הֶּ əh for הָ āh: thus we have *m.* קָצֶה *katsēh*, *f.* קָצָה *katsāh*; [הָרָה] *f.* הָרָה *harāh*; *m.* מוֹרָה *mōrēh*, *f.* מוֹרָה *mōrāh*. The termination הֶּ āh is therefore strictly reserved for feminines, whether the ה h be radical or not.<sup>4</sup> It

<sup>1</sup> Regularly in the imperfect, as יִפֹּן from פָּנָה, and less frequently in derivatives, as עָלָה from עָלָה, עָנָה from עָנָה.

<sup>2</sup> Compare יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה from יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה.

<sup>3</sup> As יָחֹן Jachōn, at the beginning of יְהֹנָה Jēchōnjahu; נָתָן nathan, at the beginning of נְתַנְיָהוּ Nethanjahu.

<sup>4</sup> מוֹרָה *mōrāh*, razor, is indeed used as masc., but (unless an incorrect mode of writing מוֹרָה, as Gesenius assumes) must surely be properly fem., like a few other words in *ah* which are occasionally used as masc. The nouns with the fem. termination הֶּ, like קֶשֶׁת *kēshēth*, נְחֹשֶׁת *nēchosēth*, which sometimes pass into the masc. gender, are not to the point, since the final ת becomes so welded to the root as even to be treated like a radical letter, and therefore to lose its power of expressing an accident (the fem. gender). The

words which are most to the point are masc. names formed directly from the future of verbs בָּלָה; but these are very few: יִפְחֶה Jephunneh is perhaps the only certain example; the meaning and derivation of יִמְרָה *Jimrah* and יִשְׁוָה *Jishvah* (Ishuah) are obscure.

There are indeed many masc. proper names in הֶּ, easily discoverable in the lists in the book of Chronicles and elsewhere; but most, if not all, are of different formation. See Mr. F. Chance in the *Athenaeum*, No. 2119 (1868) p. 796. They fall chiefly under the following heads:

1. Compound names, in which the second element *happens* to be fem.: אֹהֶל־בָּמָה *Oholibamah*, properly אֹהֶל־בָּמָה *Oholibamah* = 'My tent a high place.'

2. Names clearly descriptive, where the noun used *happens* to be fem.: יוֹנָה *Jonah* = 'dove,' and abstracts like עוֹרָה

may, I think, be fearlessly asserted that the highest name of the special God and Protector of Israel could not have a feminine form.<sup>1</sup> He is *a priori* more likely to be designated by an epithet—the Eternal, Brilliant, Mighty, Father, King, or something of that nature, which must be masculine, than by a figure—Heaven, Light, Lion, Eagle, &c., which alone could be feminine.

b.) It is difficult to imagine any mode of formation which would give to the second letter ה h a vowel. None certainly, from the root הוה. And although from a root יהו jhv (were the existence of such a root to be assumed) an adjective יהו jahv might be regularly formed, yet the final ה would appear only in its feminine יהוה (if the feminine could be so formed, which is doubtful); but we have seen reason to reject all purely feminine forms (§ 7. a). There remains one possibility. Supposing there be a root יהו jvh, a derivative verb of causative force (called *Hiphil*) might be formed from it, of which the imperfect (future) would be properly יהו jověh, but might be expanded into יהוה jəhovəh; from this tense the Divine name might be *Jehoveh*, or (possibly) *Jehovah*. But no such root is known; and the ancient belief of the Hebrews (Ex. iii.) sanctions the derivation from הוה=היה and the meaning of the *Existing*, or the *Eternal*.<sup>2</sup>

§ 8. The form *Jehovah*, therefore, must be treated as impossible. It

(also עֲזָרָא) Ezra = 'help.' A Roman noble family had the name *Asina* (not *Asinus*).

3. Names in which the ה-ah is a contraction of the affixed יהו jahu, יה jah, as מִיכָה Michah for מִיכָיָהוּ Michajah, (see § 6. d).

4. Names of foreigners, Edomites and others, such as עֲנָה Anah, which are not properly Hebrew at all.

5. Names in which the form in ה-ah is only a shortened or secondary one: thus בִּלְגָה Bilgah, עִפָּה Ephah, שֵׁלָה Shelah and יִשְׁפָּה Jishpah, stand respectively for בִּלְגַי Bilgai, עִפְיָי Ephai, שֵׁלָן Shelan and יִשְׁפָן Jishpan, which also occur.

6. Names which belong more properly to nations than to individuals, and therefore are regularly fem. יהוּדָה Jehudah, Judah, is of this class; see next note but one.

<sup>1</sup> Haud esse conveniens majestati divinæ ut nomen ipsius in terminationem exeat femininam.—J. Buxtorf the younger, *De Nom. Dei*, § 20, rat. 1.

<sup>2</sup> The imperfect (future) *Hiphil* of יהו would be יהוה jověh, not יהוה jəhovəh. The latter form, which retains the original ה of the prefix uncontracted with the י, only appears in the later forms of Hebrew

and in Chaldee; so much so indeed as to afford one of the best criteria for deciding the date of a book or a passage. The name derived from it in the early age should therefore be יהוה Joveh, and only in much later times would יהוה Jehoveh naturally appear. Yet what is the fact? יהו never appeared in any age whatever, but only יהוה. Moreover, when a contraction of this form was adopted, it was not the first ה, but the final ה, that was thrown out, leaving יה Jah (with the *aspirate* ה at the end). But this shows the importance of the ה to the word, and forces us to regard it as a radical, not a prefix. The word יהוּדָה Jəhudah, afterwards contracted into יוּדָה Judah, which is usually (and with Biblical authority, Gen. xlix. 8) derived from the root יָדָה, Hoph. perf. הוּדָה, imperf. יוּדָה or expanded יהוּדָה, with the passive sense given by the Hophal, the *Praised*, is scarcely sufficiently certain in its etymology to serve as a parallel: for the vaguely eulogistic sense assigned to the name יהוּדָה forces us to regard the Biblical etymologist here with more than usual suspicion. (See § 9 and notes 1, 2 on p. xxiv.) Moreover, the Chaldee form יהוּדָה seems to point to a Hebrew יהוּדָה fem. יהוּדָה, which would come from a root יָדָה, not יָדָה.

plainly arose through oblivion of the proper vowels to be attached to the consonants יהוה, and a belief thence arising that the vowel-points attached to the word really belonged to it. That the Jews, who never ceased to use their Scriptures in Hebrew, could have fallen into this oblivion, or rather this gross ignorance of the meaning of the mode of writing the Supreme Name, is not credible. It is the Christians who made the confusion, from ignorance of the Jewish devices of writing. But the name JEHOVAH, so written and pronounced, is not so old as would probably be supposed. It was probably first so written in Roman characters and the corresponding pronunciation suggested, though hardly sanctioned,<sup>1</sup> by Petrus Columna Galatinus, in his *Opus de arcanis catholicæ veritatis*, in A.D. 1516. Thence it has passed into ordinary use in English and other modern languages. Yet, as it is studiously avoided in our Bibles (except of course in Ex. vi. 3, where it is essential), rarely heard in prayers, and indeed in general has by no means become familiar and naturalised, except in hymns, where it is often used with oppressive looseness and frequency, it seems possible to restore even now the true name of the God of the Hebrews in writing their history.

§ 9. But we are not left to discover the derivation of יהוה from the root הוה for ourselves. The writer of Ex. iii. 14 himself gives us the etymology as he understands it, ascribing to the root הוה the idea of *becoming, being*, and identifying it with היה: 'And God said to Moses, I shall (always) be what I shall be,'<sup>2</sup> and he said, Thus shalt

<sup>1</sup> 'Sed sic omnino debet et scribi et pronunciari (si tamen pronunciandum est),' Génébrard, the Benedictine Archbishop of Aix, a noted Hebraist of the middle of the sixteenth century, observes on the passage where Diodorus mentions the Jewish god, Jao: 'Conatus est exprimere tetragrammatum, sed satis incommode. Nam literæ quidem ad hunc sonum [Jao] inflecti possunt, ut *ad illum quem hodie multi novitatis cupidi efferunt, Jova vel Jehova*, verum aliena, imo vero irreligiosa, imperita, nova et barbara pronuntiatio, ut contra Calvinianos et Bezanos multis locis docuimus.' 'Jehovah' therefore was the form adopted by innovators, and was a 'foreign, nay even irreligious, ignorant, new, and barbarous pronunciation; and the Apostles and the ancients generally, he says further, would not have even known what the word meant. He attributes this innovation to Sanctes Pagninus (born 1466), 'qui vocem peregrinam Jehova primus confinxit ac irreligiosa profanaque novitate novatores istos [apparently the Calvinists] imbuunt.' I do not, however, find anything in his treatment of the Name in his 'Thesaurus Linguae Sanctæ,' 1529, to substantiate this charge. Génébrard himself says that 'either the true

pronunciation is lost . . . or it is *Ihvé* or *Jahvé*.' J. Drusius decides for *Jahavé*, contracted later into *Jave* ('Iaβé').

<sup>2</sup> With this may be best compared passages like Ex. xxxiii. 19: 'I shall love him whom I shall love, and pity him whom I shall pity,' i.e., I shall give my love according to my own will, independently of any influence outside myself. So here, I shall always be by my own will; independent existence is asserted. That יהיה can denote *to be = to exist* (and not merely *to be this or that*) is seen, e.g., from Job iii. 16, 'like a premature birth, hidden away, I should not (now) be,' i.e., exist, live. Against the interpretation 'I am he who (or that which) is,' which assumes that the first person of the verb in the relative clause is caused by an attraction to the person preceding the relative, must be urged 1) that the instances quoted to justify such a usage are of a different kind (see Köhler and Dillmann); 2) that the identical verb יהיה before and in the relative clause, cannot well have each time a different sense; 3) that passages like Ex. xxxiii. 19, above quoted, indicate the usual sense of similar phrases. W. Robertson Smith, referring to ver. 12, 'I shall be with thee,' argues that the 'I am'



thou say to the sons of Israel: The *I Am* has sent me to you'—i.e. he who is the really Existing. Many, if not most, of the etymological explanations of names in the Old Testament are against the rules of language,<sup>1</sup> or otherwise forced and absurd;<sup>2</sup> and we are therefore not bound to accept this. It is possible that the word may be of foreign origin, and only interpreted by the Hebrews from their ignorance of its real source as coming from a root familiar to them in their own language. Still, this must remain at present very doubtful. As to similar names in other Semitic languages, it is very doubtful whether any such Divine name is found in any apart from Hebrew influence. There seems to have been no real Phenician or Canaanite Jao, and Syrian names compounded with the name יהוה are not early enough to be independent of Hebrew influence. The popular identification of יהוה with Jupiter, *Jovis* (exhibited in Pope's Universal Hymn 'Jehovah, Jove or Lord') is impossible now that we know the origin of the Latin name from a root *dyu* or *div*, of which the initial *d* has been retained in Greek (*Διός*) but dropped in Latin. The Assyrian-Babylonian third god of the first triad 'Ao or 'Ia who was probably god of the air or the heaven, is declared by Dillmann to be more likely, and Ewald had written (ii. 157 note 3), long before anything was known of this Assyrian mythology, that Jahveh appeared originally to refer to the heavens. On this hypothesis Dillmann refers to E. Meier in Zeller's *Theol. Jahrb.* I. 473. Should the name have a foreign origin, the original sense attached to it must of course be different. But to the Hebrew the word appeared to come from his word *to be*, and from the earliest time—certainly from the date of the writer of Ex. iii.—he interpreted it as meaning the Existing, and pronounced it with the vowels appropriate to that sense.

The original interpretation in Exodus is given again in Rev. i. 4: *χάρης ὑμῖν . . . ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄντος καὶ τοῦ ᾗ καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος*; ib. 8: *ἐγὼ εἶμι τὸ ἀλφα καὶ τὸ ὦ λέγει κύριος ὁ θεός, ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ᾗ καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος*. Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* v. p. 666, Oxon.), again, says that the mystic name is 'Iaou (יהי Jahu), 'which is interpreted who is and who will be:' and Epiphanius (*Adv. Hær.* 20) calls 'Iaβέ (יהיב Jahveh) 'he who was and is and always is; as he interprets it to Moses, thou shalt say to them, *He who is* sent me; 'Theodoret (*Quest.* 15 in *Exod.*) also interprets 'Ia (יהי) 'the Lord, or him *who is*.' In other words, the idea of Being is in this name to be understood without limitation of time. This is characteristic of the imperfect tense from which it is derived; and similarly Isaac קִיץ, the Laughing, Cheerful, is not he who once laughed or once laughs, but he who 'was and is and will be' laughing.

or 'I shall be' is abbreviated for the former, and indicates Jahveh as the constant protector and helper of Israel; but from the absence of the predicate this signification is too far off to be intelligible.

<sup>1</sup> E.g. that of Moses in Ex. ii. 10. as 'drawn out of the water,' which would require a passive form; whereas מִשֶּׁחַ (if

it be Hebrew at all, and from the root מִשַּׁח) is the active participle, and would mean 'one who draws out.'

<sup>2</sup> E.g. that of Samuel in 1 Sam. i. 20; as if שְׁמוּעָא were שְׁמוּעָא *exauditus, a Deo*; those of Jacob's sons in Gen. xxix. xxx. &c.

In the Divine name, therefore, the idea of Being becomes intensified into that of Unchangeableness (rather than Eternity). This fact, which the Greek interpreters had expressed by the use of the three tenses, past, present, and future, has given rise among the Jews to the notion that the very word יהוה has been put together out of the three tenses: הָיָה *he was*, הוּא *he is*, יְהִי *he will be* (i.e. 'ה' 'י' 'ו' *was, is, and will be*). As a philological idea this is beneath criticism. Languages are not so formed, nor are words the senseless agglomerations of letters requisite in a memoria technica. Still, they therein taught a truth, and an old traditional one, though by illegitimate devices.

But though the derivation from the root הוה *to be*, be established, yet there is at least one other mode of derivation, and one other sense, which ought also to be considered. To every verb in Hebrew a derivative having a causative sense is possible. Thus from הוה we might have the causative (Hiphil), perf. הִיְוָהּ hihvah, imperf. יְהִיֶּה jahveh. From the latter a name of identical sound might be formed, the meaning of which would be 'he who causes to be, creates,' i.e. not the Creator as one who *once* created the world, but as constantly creating, moulding, new-forming. This explanation would obviate the difficulty about the vowel of the first syllable, which was suggested at § 6. a. 2. We should obtain an epithet for God which has probably existed in all times and countries, and to which the Hebrews attached especial importance. If we might extend the idea of this constant creating so as to include the moulding, fashioning, or educating Israel to be his son, of which the Prophets frequently speak,<sup>1</sup> the name would even seem to be taken by the Hebrews' God with special appositeness at this moment; since this was the time when that relation of father and son commenced, and was ratified by the Covenant at Mount Sinai. This derivation and signification are suggested by Gesenius, and preferred to the other by Fürst and Lagarde. But it seems impossible so completely to set aside the testimony of antiquity, and the belief of every writer from the author of Exodus to the Fathers of the fifth century, that the mystic name denoted the *Existing*. And moreover the Hebrews attached a higher, more solemn meaning to eternal existence than to creative energy. In Rev. i. 8, God is called 'the Alpha and the Omega,' 'the beginning and the end,' 'he who is, and who was, and who is coming'—three epithets signifying eternity, which are followed by one only 'the almighty' indicating power. On grammatical grounds it is also scarcely tenable. The causative form of the verb הוה or היה does not exist, and is not lightly to be assumed; and the notion of *forming* or *creating* is expressed by quite distinct roots (יצר, ברא). I believe, therefore, that we must still regard יְהִיֶּה as derived from יָהָה the original (or Kal) verb, and not from its derivative causative (or Hiphil) הִיְוָהּ.

§ 10. It would be of course of the highest importance to obtain direct historical testimony to the pronunciation of the Name. But there are

<sup>1</sup> E.g. Hosea xi. 1-3, Is. xli. 8, 9, xliii. 1.

obvious reasons why historical testimony of the highest authority is here impossible. From the date of the Septuagint at all events the name was not pronounced, but the term 'the Lord' was substituted. The question how to speak an unspeakable word could not even arise. The only exception to the disuse of the name would seem to be found in the tradition that once a year on the day of Atonement, in the Holy of Holies, the High Priest did call God by his sacred name, and that its true pronunciation was for this purpose transmitted from one High Priest to another, but without divulgation to others. It is therefore useless to look to Hebrew writers for information, and Josephus gives no hint. Diodorus, however (50 B.C.), mentions (i. 94) the God called 'Iaō as giving laws to the Jews through Moses. And Christian writers of the first four or five centuries give evidence which is worth considering, and has some intrinsic value. Irenæus (born about 120 A.D.) is perhaps the earliest. He (*Adv. Hær.* i. 4) gives the form 'Iaō as used by the Gnostics. Clement of Alexandria (died 217 A.D.) has this curious passage (*Strom.* v. p. 666, Oxon): 'But there is also that four-lettered mystic name, which was bound round those to whom alone the ἄδυστον was accessible; it is called 'Iaού, which is interpreted "He who is and who will be."' Epiphanius (lived 310-404) mentions (*Adv. Hær.* 20) among the names of God 'Iá [יָ] as meaning Κύριος, and 'Iaβέ as meaning ὁς ἦν καὶ ἔστι καὶ αἰεὶ ὢν, to which he adds, as if to ensure our identifying this with יהוה in Ex. vi. 3, 'as he interprets it to Moses, &c.' Theodoret (lived 387-458 A.D.) says in his commentary on the passage in Exodus, 'It is written by the four letters, and is therefore called τετράγραμμον. The Samaritans call it 'Iaβέ, but the Jews 'Aia [for which we must read with another MS. 'Iá, Heb. יָ].' That Theodoret read Hebrew is shown by many passages besides this: on Ps. cx. he says of *Hallelujah*, 'For ἀλληλού means αἰνέειτε, and 'Iá, Κύριον ἢ τὸν ὄντα.' It is remarkable that he is not satisfied with the explanation Κύριον, as a reader of the LXX. would be, but adds ἢ τὸν ὄντα. Eusebius (*Præp. Evang.* i. 9) speaks of Sanchoniathon as having received information from a priest of 'Ιεωώ. The *Breviarium in Psalterium* on Ps. viii., falsely ascribed to St. Jerome, says the name 'may be read IAHO;'; but this evidence is worthless, partly because the book is spurious, and partly because of the vague language (*legi potest IAHO*), which indicates doubt or indifference in the writer.

Among these writers we easily detect the later very common abbreviation יה, which is ascribed by Theodoret specially to the Jews, while he attributes 'Iaβέ (יהוה) to the Samaritans. Epiphanius, however, gives us both forms, and without distinction of nationality; indeed by saying that 'Iaβέ was the word explained to Moses by God himself, he shows it to be in his judgment the original Hebrew name. And we may well believe that when the abbreviation Jah had become popular with the Jews (to whom it was not, like יהוה, an ἄρρητον), the form יהי might remain with the Samaritans, and thus

account for Theodoret's distinction. These two most explicit statements strikingly corroborate our own independent conclusions. Clement's form 'Iaou' exactly agrees with the abbreviated form of יהוה-יְהוָה, which is found as an affix to proper names. Lastly, the form 'Iaō or Jaho, may represent the prefixed abbreviation (§ 6. b.), or like Sanchoniathon's 'Ieuv (יְהוֹוָה *Jehvoh*) it may be a foreign pronunciation; let it be observed that it is attributed to the Gnostics and Phenicians. None of these forms seem to lend themselves in the slightest degree to the confirmation of 'Jehovah.'

§ 11. If it be urged that, according to my own showing, the pronunciation *Jahveh* is only the most probable, but by no means certain as to both its syllables, we may admit the fact, but retort that, whatever be right, *Jehovah* is certainly wrong in fact and produced through ignorance only; since it adopts the vowels which were never intended for that word at all; whereas on the other hand *Jahveh* must be either exactly or very nearly correct. The difference of sound between the forms *Jahveh*, *Jahāveh*, *Jehveh*, *Jehēveh*, *Jihveh*, is extremely slight; but between *Jehōvah* (with the long vowel after the *h*) on the one hand, and those five forms (where the *h* has either no vowel or else the very shortest possible) on the other, there is all the difference in the world; and any one who is convinced that the first is impossible, does better to risk any of the five latter, than to let the first stand.<sup>1</sup>

§ 12. In English the name is best written *Jahveh*. The *j* ought in this, as in all Biblical names, properly to be pronounced *y*. With wonderful inconsistency this is understood in the one word *Hallelu-Jah*, but ignored in all others, Jesus, Jacob, Joseph, &c. The first *h* is very slightly aspirated. The final *h* is silent, as in all Hebrew words, such as *Manasseh*, *Mizpeh*, *Hannah*, except those which are specially noted as having an aspirate. Some prefer to write *Yahvé* or *Yahwé*; yet so long as the Hebrew י and ה are respectively written in proper names of Hebrew origin *j*, *v*, and *h* (*Joseph*, *David*, and *Sarah*), we ought to observe the same orthography in writing a new name. *Jahvism*, *Jahvist* (which latter ought to be used instead of *Jehovist*) are correct derivative forms, the final vowel being dropped before a vowel affix.

§ 13. It ought to be remarked that the right pronunciation of the word

<sup>1</sup> So in Latin, if we could not be sure whether the plural of *liber* was *libēri* or *libri*, it would surely be better to take either of these than to say *libēri*.—Reland (*Decas Exercitt.* preface) was convinced of the barbarism of the form *Jehovah*, and through doubt of the true pronunciation adopted its substitute *Adonai* in reading, and observes, 'At qua specie, precor, nova illa lectio [Adonai] dici potest, quæ semper in ecclesia Christiana usitata fuit, quam Christus ipse, quam Apostoli (qui nulla nomina hominibus propria in sermonibus suis et scriptis

mutare solent, et hoc tamen Deo soli proprium nomen, יְהוָה, nunquam *Jehova*, quod potuissent, et jure quis ab iis expectasset, sed per Κύριον, i.e. אֲדֹנָי efferre consueverunt), quam sacri Codicis interpretes alique scriptores ad unum omnes secuti sunt, donec vix duobus abhinc sæculis nonnulli et sibi et aliis persuadere conati sunt, puncta vocalia, quæ ipsi Judæi (quorum maxime intererat hoc depositum cœleste tueri et de eo gloriari) aliunde esse desumta uno ore clamant, esse vera puncta nominis יְהוָה, contra omnes omnino rationes grammaticas?'

by modern readers and speakers cannot be regulated entirely by a conviction of what is right. All classical scholars know that the Latin *j* is properly *y*, yet how few have the courage to innovate so far as to speak *Yupiter* instead of *Jupiter*! The pronunciation *Jehovah* has gained a hold among modern nations through the very free use made of it by paraphraserers of Scripture and poets, which it never would have had from the Bible, where 'the LORD' takes its place. Whether to retain 'Jehovah' as too firmly established to be uprooted, or to substitute 'Jahveh' as the correcter pronunciation, must be left to taste and good sense. Ewald does the latter, and undoubtedly wishes his readers to follow him; but those who read him can of course read 'Jahveh' as 'Jehovah' if the change is distasteful to them, or if they are not convinced by the arguments I have here brought forward.

§ 14. As the old Jewish substitute for the sacred Name has been adopted in our Bibles as *the LORD*, it is desirable to note here the injury that is done by that practice, and the importance of restoring the real Name. Jahveh is a *proper* name, and as strictly the personal name of the Hebrew God, as Jupiter, Mars or Saturn, of the Roman deities. This makes the *point* of all the passages where it is used at all emphatically, as especially frequently in the later Isaiah, e.g. Is. li 13, 'and forgettest JAHVEH thy [Israel's] maker;' 15, 'I am JAHVEH thy God' [=Israel's special God and protector]; xlix. 23, 'that thou mayst know that I am JAHVEH' [=that I who now address thee am thine own God and protector]. And in Ps. cxliv. 15, we have אֲשֶׁרֵינוּ יְהוָהוּ, 'Blessed is the people whose God is Jahveh,' but the Greek and Latin versions, μακάριος ὁ λαὸς οὗ κύριος ὁ θεὸς αὐτοῦ, *Beatus populus, cuius Dominus Deus ejus*, at least look as if the substitution of the title for the name had produced an entire misapprehension, since the natural rendering (at least of the Latin) would be 'Blessed is the people whose Lord is its God,' i.e. which is ruled theocratically, by a divine and not a human sovereign. A mere title, *Lord*, carries no individuality with it, as it might be (and was) equally applied to many other beings, Divine and human; and it must therefore entail frequent confusion. Perhaps the best instance of this is the use of κύριος in the New Testament Epistles, where it is constantly ambiguous whether God or Christ is meant. So long as we retain *THE LORD* in the old Testament, we cannot fully enter into the spirit of the Jahvistic religion, which contrasts JAHVEH with the heathen gods, regarding him and them alike as actual or possible Divine persons having their distinctive personal names like men, glorying in Jahveh's power and goodness, and scorning the weakness and folly of the heathen's gods. Moreover, the phrase *the Lord God* (Gen. ii. &c.) leaves quite a false impression—the title and the name having changed places; for *God* is the epithet attached to the previous word, as is obvious when we restore *Jahveh the God*, or *God Jahveh*.

§ 15. I have here endeavoured to make the main points of the argument intelligible to readers who have no knowledge of Hebrew. Those

who have some knowledge of the language, and desire a fuller exposition of the subject, should refer to the article יְהוָה in Gesenius' great *Thesaurus*, which is an almost exhaustive treatise, and has supplied me (as it must supply anyone who now writes on the subject) with the chief data. Shorter articles on the subject are contained in Gesenius' *Lexicon*, in Fürst's *Lexicon*, translated by Davidson, in Gussetius' *Lexicon*, 1743 (who contends for יְהוֹה or יְהוּה); also in Winer's *Real-Encyclopädie*, in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible* (by Wright); in Ewald's *Jahrb. der Bibl. Wiss.* x. 199, 291, xi. 213: in the last edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*; W. Robertson Smith's *Prophets of Israel*, p. 385; Knobel's German Commentary on Exodus (iii. 14), and especially Dillmann's additions in the last edition of it edited by him (1880); and Aug. Köhler *De pronuntiatione ac vi sacrosancti tetragrammatis יְהוָה commentatio* (Erlangæ, 1867). Among older writers Reland's *Decas exercitationum philologicarum de vera pronuntiatione nominis Jehovah*, Utrecht, 1707, 8vo., containing five treatises against the pronunciation *Jehovah*, (by J. Drusius, S. Amama, L. Cappellus, J. Buxtorf and J. Alting), and five for it (by N. Fuller, T. Gataker, and J. Leusden, who writes three), is the most important.

R. M



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# INTRODUCTION.

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## SECTION I.

### DESIGN OF THIS HISTORY.

THE HISTORY of the ancient people of Israel lies far behind us, a concluded period of human events. Its last page was written eighteen centuries ago; and no one able to read it, or even to decipher a few of its scarce legible characters, will expect from the future a new page to complete this chapter of the world's history. This is the basis of its primary utility for us. For those portions of universal history whose varying fortunes reach down into the conflicts of the present, are in themselves more difficult to survey and to describe correctly: and, even when described by a historian of profound insight and calm judgment, are received as true only by the few, whose eye is not dazzled by the illusions, and whose heart is not enslaved to all the chances of the day. Any one who should now write the history of Hanover since the year 1830, might be doing a work which would benefit an unprejudiced posterity; but at present, though he spoke with the tongues of angels, he would speak to the winds. But even when the history is further removed as to time, the truth is less likely to find a fruitful soil, if the people or the constitution which it concerns is the same. Thus many very learned Germans are still incapable of understanding even the Middle Ages, or the time of the Reformation—periods far removed from our present position and requirements. The case is entirely different with those portions of history which not only lie before us completely finished and irreversibly sentenced, but have no immediate bearing on our country and people, on our constitution and religion. There every passion and strife is for ever hushed for us; we are not fellow-actors on that stage, compelled by the inevitable arrangements of the play to

represent our respective parts only : but we stand afar off as mere spectators, and tranquilly let the whole great drama pass before us, through all its perplexities and dénouements, down to its final close. There the manifest results of the once varied and complicated play have long ago written down its great moral, in generally intelligible and eternal characters, which no one can refuse to study ; so that, though the successful investigation of histories thus remote may cost more trouble than the writing of the history of our own time, its utility for the present may be so much the greater. For though the study of these remote histories is in the first instance only an exercise of the eye and the judgment, which strengthens the better disposed, and directs others to surprising truths which they will not see in the present ; yet this silent influence will go deeper, and affect decisions and acts also—and the past, with its struggles and its lessons, will not have been in vain for us. The most evident and certain truths of history are found here in abundance, and above all dispute.

This history is, moreover, that of an original people, whose best age belongs to remote antiquity, and which, though constantly in close contact with many other peoples, followed out, with the strictest independence and the noblest effort, a peculiar problem of the human mind to its highest point, and never sank until that was attained. The history of the antiquity of all nations that have in anywise raised themselves to a lofty stage of human effort, in general not only shows us the rudiments of the same mental powers and arts which are still more or less pursued and developed among ourselves ; but also leads us, through more perfect knowledge of their origin and formation, to a nearer view into their necessity and their eternal conditions. For it will always be instructive to discern how polity, laws, poetry, literature, and similar intellectual possessions, have developed themselves in a nation, when they spring from no idle imitation and half-repetition, but from inherent impulses and powers, and therefore with all freshness and energy. Nay, such study is indispensable, to preserve us from being overwhelmed or confused by the great wealth, or endless wilderness, of traditionary thoughts and secondhand cleverness, with which later times are inundated, and to elevate us again to what is original, independent, and necessary. Now ancient nations are generally distinguished by a greater restriction as to space and place, by a narrow attachment to their own sanctuary and country, by a shy fear of what is strange, and a scrupulous separation

according to religions, customs, and ideas:<sup>1</sup> for the rapid communication of distant lands with each other, and the frequent interchange of opinions, doctrines, and worships, date, with trivial exceptions, from the latest centuries of antiquity, which altogether display a great resemblance to what we call modern times. One consequence of this excessive self-enclosure of each nation with its inherited possessions and its favourite views, was that each more easily took up some characteristic aim and activity of its own. For as, in consequence of this very isolation, the religions and gods were infinitely various, and every energetic people conceived itself to dwell in the centre of the earth, and regarded the world only from its own point of view;<sup>2</sup> so each formed its peculiar estimate of the prizes of life, and pursued what appeared to it the highest aims in its own special way. Everything was on this account more domestic, more cherished, more limited—and therefore also more varied and manifold. And as the intellectual aims, contests, and victories possible to the mind are numerous and diverse, we see that every nation that pursued a lofty career in the arena of such aspirations, chose one special high aim, to which everything else was subordinated, and which, even under frequent intercourse with foreigners, was never relinquished. But because every nobler nation, to which the happiness of thus aspiring was early allotted, then devoted the whole youthful energy of its intellectual efforts to the attainment of its one aim, and pursued to the uttermost that only which seemed the highest, with courageous pertinacity, nay often at first with truly Titanic efforts: those wonderful results were produced—those finished works of some nations of antiquity, of which history tells, and the effects of which still endure. Thus Babylonians, Hindus, Chinese, Egyptians, Phenicians, Greeks, and Romans, pursued each one particular aim, enforced by favourable circumstances, to a height which in some respects no subsequent nations ever again reached. And even when each nation reached its highest ascent, and its day began to decline, it was still occupied in the exclusive pursuit, as if all its energies had just sufficed to reach that one height. The problems of the human mind, moreover, which these ancient nations severally solved with wonderful independence and consistency, have borne infinite fruits for all subsequent time, and for the most different and distant peoples. This whole truth especially applies to that ancient nation whose history is to be

<sup>1</sup> Observe how Amos (vii. 17), Hosea (ix. 3), and other similar Prophets call every foreign land unclean or unholy; and how the poets of the seventh century regard residence in foreign countries. (See Ewald's *Psalms*, II. p. 1 seq.)

<sup>2</sup> Compare Ezek. v. 5; the Koran, Sûr. ii. 137.



explained here: for the most sublime and gigantic achievements of Israel as a nation especially belong to those primitive times, which also hold in their obscurity all that the Babylonians, Egyptians, and Phenicians attained.

The ancient people of Israel had, indeed, times in which it appeared disposed to prosecute aims similar to those pursued by other nations. Under David and Solomon it laid a firm basis for external dominion over the nations of the earth, out of which an Assyrian or a Roman Empire might perhaps have grown: in the vigour of its temporal power, it attempted to rival the Phenicians in commerce and navigation; and by its own energies it arrived, like the Greeks before Socrates, at the rudiments of a wisdom, which might have grown into independent science or philosophy.<sup>1</sup> But all such aims, by which other nations of antiquity became great, in this people only started up to yield at once to the pursuit of another aim, which it had beheld so distinctly from the commencement of its historical consciousness, and toiled after so strenuously, that permanently to abandon it was impossible; which, therefore, after every momentary cessation, it always resumed with fresh pertinacity. This aim is Perfect Religion—a good which all aspiring nations of antiquity made a commencement, and an attempt, to attain; which some, the Hindus and Persians for example, really laboured to achieve with admirable devotion of noble energies;<sup>2</sup> but which this people alone clearly discerned from the beginning, and then pursued for many centuries through all difficulties, and with the utmost firmness and consistency, until they attained it, so far as, among men and in ancient times, attainment was possible. The beginning and the end of the history of this people turn on this one high aim; and the manifold changes, and even confusions and perversities, which manifest themselves in the long course of the threads of its history, always ultimately tend to the solution of the great problem which the human mind was to work out here. The aim was lofty enough to concentrate the highest efforts of a whole people for more than a thousand years, and to be reached at length as the prize of the noblest struggles. And as, however the mode of the pursuit might vary, it was this single object that was always pursued, till finally attained only with the political death of the nation, there is hardly any his-

<sup>1</sup> Concerning the latter, see the third volume of this work, and the Essay 'On Israel's Civil and Intellectual Liberty in the time of the Great Prophets,' in Ewald's *Jahrbuch der Biblischen Wissenschaft*, 1848, pp. 95 et seq.

<sup>2</sup> To prove this more at length does not fall within the province of the present work—at any rate, does not belong to its commencement. I shall, however, touch below on some part of the subject.

tory of equal compass that possesses, in all its phases and variations, so much intrinsic unity, and is so closely bound to a single thought pertinaciously held, but always developing itself to higher purity. The history of this ancient people is in reality the history of the growth of true religion, rising through all stages to perfection, pressing on through all conflicts to the highest victory, and finally revealing itself in full glory and power, in order to spread irresistibly from this centre, never again to be lost, but to become the eternal possession and blessing of all nations.

The quest of the true religion was without doubt the task of all the nations of antiquity at the commencement, no less than during the course, of their progressive civilisation. But this people is the only one which from the very first plays its part on the grand stage of national movements, simply in consequence of its daring to find its earthly existence and honour only in true religion as the rule and law of its life. And although, through the discreteness and humility of its religion, it never regarded itself as one of the oldest and mightiest nations upon earth, but always remained conscious of its historical position among far earlier and greater nations; yet the true commencement of its importance in the world's history, compared with that of most other distinguished nations, goes back to a relatively very early period. But even in that early age its religion could be formed only in close contact with a very different people, possessing not only a higher antiquity and importance, but also a very early adoption of the refinements of civilisation. Still, since the people of the present history had received its most precious and important though scattered recollections from that early time of its origin, long before it became, through the bold conception of true religion, really a people of historical significance, this history stretches back in its first threads even to those primeval times, when, like every other human aim, religion itself was less unfolded, and heathenism had not so far degenerated, and when in consequence the rudiments of true religion could be more easily and firmly established. But this people separated at a very early period from the Egyptians, the then representatives of higher human civilisation; and through the conception of true religion not only conquered at once a problem new in ancient times, affecting its inner life and continuous existence on the earth, but obtained a beautiful country as its home, and a voice among the nations. Still, after that, it remained in constant and close communion with the most intellectually dis-

tinguished and stirring nations of the western half of the civilised world, and even exerted an influence upon them, and was stimulated and guided in return. And if this people—which, the longer it remained true to its religion in the midst of the nations, inevitably became the more peculiar and strange—never for any long period maintained a superiority over others in arms, arts, or commerce, yet it preserved itself through all the earlier centuries in honourable independence and free progressive development, through the power of its true religion, which gained strength with age. And finally, in that which had been from the first at once its strangest and rarest characteristic, it acquired sufficient strength to preserve itself when its material powers were shattered in this thousand years' struggle, and to enter through dire national ruin, new-born with the true religion into those last centuries of antiquity, when all the western nations came into closest contact with almost all the eastern, even the most remote, and even then, in the closing scene of all antiquity, to maintain its place, reacting upon the world through its spiritual power, and thus to gain the only end then conceivable.

The ultimate attainment of perfect true religion was at once the highest and noblest aspiration of antiquity, and a goal in striving to reach which most lost their way far too early, while others, who had descried the mark more clearly, eventually lost it altogether from their sight; and this one people alone, at the end of a two-thousand years' struggle, actually attained it. But as this mark seemed from the very first to be held out by Divine predetermination as the noblest aim to the whole of antiquity, and yet was attainable only by a single path; so the history of this people, so far as it had this aim from the first, and coming gradually nearer, ultimately attained it, always seems to proceed in a straight line through the whole of antiquity, though distracted by constant contact with other and highly civilised nations. Thus its history goes back to the very commencement of the scarcely discernible dawn of antiquity, shares the full noonday beam which lights up the history of a few of the most prominent ancient nations, and ceases only with the termination of the long day of ancient history, to give place to the coming of a new day of the world's history. The history of no other ancient people is therefore, in all its internal movements, so closely interwoven with the loftiest spiritual endeavours of other highly civilised nations, or so necessarily passes into universal history; or while preserving its form, internal unity, and consistency, undergoes such variety

and such complete alteration of external form. No nation has so significantly kept on its course through the three vast epochs of the past, radiating out ever in the course of two thousand years from the smallest and most insignificant into ever-widening circles, and closing the day of antiquity with a sunset which is itself the earnest of the upspringing of a new and still loftier life. Issuing from the same source as that of other nations near it both in position and in blood, this history, as regards its inner significance, separates itself in progress of time more and more from them, and develops itself into a peculiar form, which enables it at last to irrigate them with pure and ample streams.

To describe this history, therefore, as far as it can be known in all its discoverable remains and traces, is the design of this work; and its best commendation will be, that it describes it with the greatest fidelity as it really was. It needs no embellishment or exaggeration: its subject is sublime enough in itself; and its chief glory lies in the fact, that posterity feel its last influences and fruits, even when they know or acknowledge it least. But just as little cause has it to dread the strictest investigation of all its parts; since the profoundest examination—even though it should destroy ever so many later erroneous views about particular subjects of the history—will enable us to discern with greater and greater distinctness and certainty its actual course from beginning to end, the vital coherence of its parts, and, in them, its true and unrivalled greatness. To examine a proposed historical theme without any foolish fear, but with a hearty love of the subject, and the single assumption that everything, when correctly understood, has its reason and its value; with no inflexible ulterior preconceptions, but a generous appreciation and joyful welcome for all true and great results—this is the universal law of every historian. Conscientiousness demands that this principle should be observed here too, and that nothing foreign should intrude from any quarter whatever. Even the few remarks just made on the unparalleled importance of this history, are to be regarded here, at the outset, only as a conclusion, the proofs of which will be adduced in the investigation of the facts themselves. But the reader's own experience ought to teach him that the appreciation which this history meets with is high and cordial in proportion as the knowledge of its original features is minute and exact. Those who do not investigate it, or who examine it in the wrong way, or in anywise imperfectly, are in the end its worst enemies.

Like every history which reaches back into remote antiquity, this especially lies before us only in scattered notices and monuments—here in faint hardly discernible traces, there in simple lofty ruins, which stand out amidst the desolation, and strike every eye; and the farther back its beginnings ascend into the primitive times, the more does every sure trace seem to vanish. The common view overlooks those unobtrusive traces on the ground, and clings only to the smooth sides of the huge blocks of stones, which rise in bold relief in this region. Many enquirers of modern times, however, who give themselves the air of being very wise and circumspect, not only scorn to pursue the modest traces on the ground—preferring the mazes of their own invention—but will surrender even such a lofty and conspicuous personage as Moses the Man of God, and in cowardly indolence retire altogether from the examination of these scattered monuments. But it is not thus that this history can become alive again among us as it ought, and can yield us its proper fruit: in this way any great single phenomena that are fortunate enough to be noticed at all, are left as isolated and obscure as undeciphered hieroglyphics. It is only when the investigator indefatigably pursues with equal zeal everything that has been preserved and can be understood, and cheerfully follows out the faint and hidden traces also, that what is dead is recalled to life, and what is isolated enters into its necessary coherence. Even what appears the most inconsiderable fact in itself, may become an important or indispensable link in the chain; and a spark which lies unnoticed in the way, often serves, when raised up and properly directed, to illuminate a confused mass lying round about.

Nor should the difficulties which meet us here in extraordinary force, to say nothing of the more easily discarded mass of errors created in modern times, deter us from such investigation. There are many portions of this long and diversified history for which we possess but few sources: the farther back we trace its most remarkable original features and fundamental impulses, the more scanty is their stream; for large portions of it we find only brief notices and secondary authorities; and even the sources which are now accessible, are often hard to understand and to apply to their proper use. But even these scanty means, well applied and carefully used, are able to accomplish more than from a superficial estimate would be supposed. One sure step, once taken, of itself leads us on farther and farther; the sparks set in motion on all sides, and flying together, kindle an unexpected light. And while no great

obscurity can thus rest over main points, it is a gain if those portions which remain obscure are only marked out more distinctly for future research and illustration, should such be possible. As the linguist, from a few specimens of an ancient or modern dialect, settles its position in the great chart of the languages of the earth; as the naturalist, from a few distinct phenomena, forms a conclusion as to the whole,—so too the historian must exercise the art of correctly arranging, and laying in their proper sequence, all the infinitely scattered and various traditions from remote antiquity, and then proceed to form further deductions from a few certain traces and testimonies, so as to piece together again the scattered and decayed members of the ruined whole in greater completeness and distinctness. To overlook and despise this history altogether, to avoid all questions or opinions about it, is surely impossible; and in modern times every one is proud of any sort of investigation into the antiquity which has become so obscure to us now: why then should we not endeavour boldly to conquer all the difficulties, and to recognise every truth as perfectly and as surely as is now possible?

There are especially two means which, properly applied, may happily fill up our imperfect knowledge of many periods: the uniform use of all sorts of sources accessible to us, and the constant attention to all, even the most diverse, phenomena in the varying conditions of the people. As long as we use only the historical portions of the Old Testament, but lack the skill to employ the infinitely rich and (if judiciously used) extremely reliable and clear prophetic and poetical portions, much must be utterly lost to the substance as well as to the elucidation of this history, which, if adroitly fitted into the other notices and indications, would often fill up perceptible gaps in a surprising manner. It may rather, indeed, be laid down as an axiom, that these sources, hitherto almost totally neglected, universally deserve the first rank; because they speak most directly the feelings of their age, and show us in the clearest mirror the genuine living traits of the events to which they allude. In fact, the historians of the Old Testament themselves acknowledge the high value of these sources, since they, like the Arabian annalists, frequently cite songs, and have adopted much from the prophetic books into their works. Moreover, so long as the historian devotes his chief attention to the conspicuous affairs of state and war, and neglects to investigate those branches of the activity and aspiration of the nation which flourish in modest obscurity, as well as all its

changing circumstances in their chronological succession, he will never comprehend the history in its full truth and importance. It is only when we draw into this circle, not only the history of the religion, literature, and arts of the people, but also all the most important parts of what is called archeology, and attempt, from all discoverable traces and testimonies, to discern the true life and character of each period, that we can hope to draw a not altogether unsatisfactory picture of this great and comprehensive history.

The series of these narratives cannot indeed be related as smoothly as a European history of the last few centuries. The various sources of this history are as yet too little estimated according to their respective value, for this; much also stands too isolated in the wide circle to be unhesitatingly admitted, without an exposition of the reasons for a decided opinion about it: all of which chiefly applies to the older periods, which yet in many respects contain the sublimest and most peculiar elements of the history. Although there is much which, having been already sufficiently discussed elsewhere, I shall admit without further disquisition, and much which I shall notice as briefly as possible, nevertheless a large portion of this work will necessarily consist of investigation into the sources. But such enquiries are most advantageously interwoven where an attempt is made to reconstruct a whole province of history by a correct valuation of the sources: and to know the right reasons for fixing the events and epochs of remote histories, is to comprehend the histories themselves.

Further, there is no need, on the threshold of this work, to state at length that the true commencement of this history, which comes to its close with Christ, begins with Moses (although the mighty advance achieved in the time of Moses, which is the basis of all subsequent developments, presupposes the sojourn of Israel in Egypt as the first step in this direction); nor to show that this history passes through three great successive periods from its commencement, until its course is run and its final close attained—externally indicated by the successive names of Hebrews, Israelites, and Jews, the people itself being a different one in each of these periods; nor, further, that what precedes the sojourn in Egypt, as being foreign to this domain, belongs to the preliminary history of the nation, and might be called its primitive history. All this could not now be briefly explained with sufficient clearness, but will distinctly appear in the course of the history itself.

## SECTION II.

## SOURCES OF THE EARLY HISTORY.

As Israel at length loses its separate national existence in that of other nations, and disappears as a people, the facts of its later history are derived in increasing copiousness from the history of those foreign nations. This is not the place to enter beforehand into a general description of these sources of the later history, whether derived from heathen or other writers. The general valuation of such sources, inasmuch as they only occasionally concern our subject, belongs elsewhere; and their peculiar character, in so far as they give more precise views about Israel and its history, cannot be shown until we treat this later history itself. We shall then see how, on the gradual absorption of Israel into other nations, the heathen came to think of Israel, and Israel of them. It is also to be remembered, that, on account of the greater proximity and abundance of sources, the later passages of this history are much easier to understand than the earlier. It is the most ancient portions—the most important for the correct understanding of the whole—which are the obscurest: not only because the early stages of everything historical are to an ordinary eye dark in proportion as the original forces mysteriously working there are powerful, but also because the sources of information are there scantier and obscurer.

Nor can I here discuss what the monuments and writings of foreign nations offer incidentally for the elucidation of portions of the ancient history of Israel. Important and instructive as much of it is, it always concerns separate passages only of this history, and will therefore be best appreciated where these occur. It does not, indeed, belong to this place to substantiate correct notions about these foreign sources at all.

What the soil of the Holy Land displays on its present surface has been examined with growing diligence, though by no means adequately, in modern times. But that which is buried in it, beneath the rubbish of thousands of years, and which is possibly of great value for history, is yet unexplored; and cannot well be otherwise, so long as the great Christian States pursue their present various but equally mistaken policies



towards Islam, and only foster the great injustice and unjust prejudices from which Islam itself sprang. Prodigious and numerous relics of gigantic architecture and other handicrafts, such as we possess in the monuments of the Egyptians and of some other ancient nations, we shall look for in vain in the territory of Israel, either below or above ground; because their external power and glory was never of long duration nor of any considerable extent, and moreover in course of time became rarer and rarer. Another characteristic feature of this nation is that the most important evidences of its history are not found engraved on the rocks, as in the case of the Egyptians, Assyrians, and Persians.

The most important sources, therefore, which the people itself furnishes for its early history, are its written documents, and these are the most considerable that can be found for the history of any ancient people. It is only in cases in which something like a complete and varied literature of an ancient nation has been preserved, that we are able to attain a reliable and perfect knowledge of the depths of its intellectual life. The Bible, however, with its uncanonical appendages, preserves to us in small compass very various and important portions of such a literature; and thus affords for this history an abundance of wellsprings, with which no other equally ancient nation of high cultivation can vie. It could not, indeed, well have been otherwise, if the highest power that moved in the history of this people and made it immortal, was true religion itself; for this is a force which always acts on both literature and art, and can only easily perpetuate itself in such written monuments of eternal meaning. I have elsewhere shown how the prophetic and poetical parts of this literature are to be regarded, in an historical point of view;<sup>1</sup> but the historical books, which supply almost the only materials for many periods, must here be submitted to a special enquiry, which must be exhaustive in itself, and the results of which will always be assumed throughout the sequel. These historical books, at the same time, most distinctly show us in what relation the ancient people stood to the art and appreciation of history generally; and on what level all historical composition originally commenced among

<sup>1</sup> In the *Commentary on the Prophets of the Old Testament*, translated by J. Frederick Smith, 5 vols. 1875-81, and the *Dichter des Alten Bundes* (Poets of the Old Testament), of which two portions have been translated, viz. *Commentary on the Psalms*, translated by Rev. E. Johnson, 2 vols. 1881, and *Commentary on the book*

*of Job*, translated by J. Frederick Smith, 1882. It is to be regretted that the translators have altered the titles of these works so as to make them appear to be either exclusively or chiefly commentaries, whereas they are mainly new translations, with subsidiary remarks by way of elucidation to the text.—ED.

them, and then continued to advance. Here, therefore, before we can trace even the rudiments of historical writing in Israel, we must set out from a consideration of the ultimate basis which it found preexistent—nay, which every historical writing even now really finds already there, before it begins its business. It is by the accurate discrimination of *tradition* and *history*, first of all, and then by the distinct appreciation of the relation which the historical books of the Old Testament bear to both, that we must gain the first step towards any sure treatment of a great portion of the history itself, as well as towards a just estimate of the historical books which have been preserved.

#### A. THE STORY AND ITS FOUNDATION. TRADITION.

One of the primary duties of all historical enquiry, and of every historical composition springing therefrom, is to distinguish the story from its foundation, or from that which has occasioned it, and thus to discover the truth of what actually occurred. Our ultimate aim is the knowledge of what really happened—not what was only related and handed down by tradition, but what was actual fact. Such a fact, however, if it is anything really worthy of history, will always, however wonderful it may be, form a link in a larger chain of events, and, in its effects at least, leave unmistakeable traces behind it; and when all that surprises us, or appears at first sight impossible, can thus be known and proved from independent testimony, the doubts about it disappear, and it becomes in a strict sense an historical possession.

A momentous event is very independent of the story about it, which only arises as a faint counterpart, and propagates itself as a variable shadow of it—an image that we must do all we can to warm into life, if we wish to approach the event with a vivid sense of the reality. Even when we receive an account from an eyewitness, we must test it by itself, and by other stories about the same occurrence which may be in circulation, in order to obtain a correct picture: how much more necessary must it be then to discriminate between the story and its foundation, when the narrative has passed through several hands or periods, or we find several discrepant accounts of the same event! At any rate, we of later times, who receive such various stories and from such distant ages and countries, cannot, for the sake of our main object—namely, instruction for our guidance in life from the light of history—shirk a labour which

dispels only the caricatures of history, and restores its living features with greater vividness and perfection.

Now we apply the name Tradition (*Sage*) to the story as it primarily arises and subsists without foreign aid, before the birth of the doubting or enquiring spirit. As such, it is the first secular or natural soil of all narrative and history, just as a deep religious feeling is always the germ and basis of all high and spiritual conception of history. For that reason, it possesses a peculiar character and a life of its own, which develops itself the more freely the less its opposite, critical history, is manifested; and therefore it made the greatest progress, and became most independent, in the early antiquity of all nations. We cannot be too mindful of the fact that, in contrast to our modern time, tradition is, as to origin, spirit, impulse, and contents, a thing *per se*, which may indeed—in its simplest shape at least—under similar conditions, be formed in any place and time, but which (like so much else) developed itself only once in all its capabilities—namely, at the beginning of all history, and in nations which early aspired to high culture. To these it was a rich treasury of memories, and an inexhaustible source of amusement and instruction. In our brief account of it here, however, we always specially refer to the form in which it appears in the Old Testament.

I. Tradition is formed by the cooperation of two powers of the mind—Memory and Imagination. But the circle where its play is most vivid, and its preservation most faithful, is at first very narrow, and may easily remain so even down to a later period. This circle is the home, the family, the throng of like-minded men, or in its greatest extent, in antiquity especially, one single nation. When therefore, in the remote past, nation was very sharply separated from nation, each had its peculiar traditions, and each developed any given tradition in its peculiar way; and the shaping due to national character must therefore be added as a third essential feature in all these traditions. And since the older and more peculiar a people is, the more its religion influences its national character, one can easily understand how powerfully the true religion of the people of Israel must have preserved their traditions from degenerating into falsehood and exaggeration. Yet religion could not change the actual nature and purport of the traditions; indeed, generally speaking, tradition possesses too great inherent power to be thus constrained; and its power had moreover gained the upper hand in the nation long before the higher religion arose and began to take root. Accordingly it is needful, even in the

present instance, to pursue this subject further, that we may obtain a deeper insight into the extent to which tradition influenced preeminently the early history of Israel.

1. An event, whether experienced or heard by report, makes a first powerful impression on the imagination. This is often the truest impression that it can produce; but so long as the story remains stationary there, in the mere imagination, it is still only tradition. It commonly remains a considerable time at that stage, however, without being fixed by writing; nay, it may even continue to develop itself for a time in spite of writing; for in ancient times, when the abundance and animation of tradition were great, writing had not so rapid an effect; indeed even now there are conditions in which its influence is small. When an event is very far removed as to time, the imagination forms only an indistinct idea of it, even though it have passed into written record, or live in accredited history. Thus the imagination is an agent in the formation of tradition, and the latter has its most fruitful soil where the former predominates. But the substance of tradition finds its storehouse in the memory alone for a longer or shorter time. The memory, however, as the only treasury of tradition, labours under many weaknesses; but easily discerns them, and more or less consciously employs several auxiliaries to remove them.

1) The memory will indeed faithfully receive and retain the striking incidents that have passed through not more than two or three hands, but as the tradition advances the minuter circumstances must be gradually obliterated. It is difficult to form a correct idea of the circumstances under which a great event budded and reached maturity, since the eye is more attracted by the beaming light than the dark ground from which it shot forth: and when the first vivid impression has faded away and gone for ever, the bright centre of a great event will still more throw its outer sides into shade. The memory of a very signal event would at last survive only in a very barren and scanty form, if no reaction subsequently arose.

But this reaction is not always wanting. For the imperfect dress in which an important event is handed down cannot satisfy every one and for ever; and the lively imagination of the relator and auditor, rather than leave it so bare, will endeavour to supply the missing details. But when it is no longer possible to complete the story by referring to the original authority, it is left to the imagination of the narrator to fill in the attendant circumstances; and this is one main source of that discrepancy which is characteristic of tradition. Trivial

variations of this sort are easily found in all the traditional portions of the Bible; but nothing so well shows the extent to which they may run, as the fact that a story, essentially the same and sprung from *one* occurrence, is multiplied, by successive changes in the details, into two or more discordant narratives, which, being produced in different places and then subsequently brought together, finally appear as so many different events, and as such are placed beside one another in a book. This, it is observed, happened oftenest in such stories as were most frequently repeated on account of their popular subject; as in a beautiful tradition of David's youth (1 Sam. xxiv. and xxvi.), and still more markedly in a favourite tradition of the Patriarchal time, which is now preserved in three forms (Gen. xii. 10-20, xx. and xxvi. 7-11). The same thing is also met with under similar circumstances in far later times.<sup>1</sup>

But the spirit of the event—the imperishable and permanent truth contained in it which sinks deeper into the mind the more frequently it is repeated, and, through countless variations in its reproductions, always beams forth like a bright ray—that spirit gains even greater purity and freedom, like the sun rising out of the mists of the morning. We may indeed say that in this respect tradition, dropping or holding loosely the more evanescent parts, but preserving the more tenaciously the permanent basis of the story, performs in its sphere the same purification which time works on all earthly things; and the venerable forms of history, so far from being disfigured or defaced by tradition, come forth from its laboratory born again in a purer light.

2) The memory, however, always tries to lighten its labour. Therefore when, in the constant progress of events, new stories, more important than all that went before, come crowding on out of the recent present, the circle of the older traditions gradually contracts, and if the accumulation of later matter is very great, contracts so as at length to leave hardly anything of the remoter times but isolated and scanty reminiscences. Thus tradition has also a tendency to suffer the mass of its records to be more and more compressed and melted away, obscured and lost. This may be traced throughout the Old Testament; the Hebrew tradition about the earliest times—the main features of which, as we have it, were fixed in the interval

<sup>1</sup> The two narratives in Acts v. 19-26 and xii. 4-11 have such a resemblance. The case in vol. v. p. 318, note 5, shows how such duplicate stories could arise.

In the *Samaritan Chronicle*, chap. xx.

sq., cf. xxix. (p. 148, Msc.) the miracle of the sun standing still is made to occur twice, and is expressly emphasised as having so occurred.

from the fourth to the sixth century after Moses—still has a great deal to tell about Moses and his contemporaries; much less about the long sojourn in Egypt, and the three Patriarchs; and almost nothing special about the primitive times which preceded these Patriarchs, when neither the nation, nor even its ‘fathers,’ were yet in Canaan. So, too, the Books of Samuel relate many particulars of David’s later life passed in the splendour of royalty, but less about his youth before he was king. And everything might be thus traced by stages.

But because this tendency of tradition would in the course of centuries produce its total dissipation, perhaps with the exception of an obscure memory of some very signal events, therefore it all the more seeks some external support to sustain and perpetuate itself. The most natural aids of the memory in all ages are signs; even our letters of the alphabet and books are originally nothing more, and it is only subsequently that they become, by a new art, the means of speaking to those at a distance. But whereas in later times, when writing has come into daily use, this single means becomes universally available, and makes all other auxiliaries less necessary, we have here to conceive times in which writing was used but little or not at all—in which therefore tradition, if once subjected to the tendency to lose its matter, fades away more and more irresistibly, and is obliged to have recourse to all possible aids to preserve itself from destruction. Of these aids in general there are three kinds, in the following order:

a.) There are recollections which, on account of their peculiar form or power, serve as supports of tradition, and which, although themselves propagated by the memory, afford the memory an abiding aid for preserving history. *Songs* have this capability in a preeminent degree; and while the charm of their diction secures their own more lasting transmission, the artistic fetters of their form preserve their contents less altered than prose can do. But great events beget a multitude of songs, since the elevation of mind which they produce awakens poets, or calls forth poetic emulation to celebrate them; and the earliest kind of poetry, the lyrical, springs so immediately from the events and thoughts which agitate an age, that it reproduces the freshest and truest pictures of them. And the Hebrews and Arabs were just the peoples among whom every important event and every time of excitement at once generated a multitude of songs, and who retained a preference for this simple kind of poetry even in the later stages of their civilisation. Songs therefore became a main

stay of tradition; they preserved many historical traits, which otherwise would have been lost; just as, conversely, the historical illusions, of which songs are full, subsequently demanded explanation when the favourite verses were separated. The propagation of songs and traditions thus went hand-in-hand, and each could reciprocally illustrate the other; but at every step tradition felt that the best vouchers it could produce were citations from songs. How very much this applies not only to Arabian, but also to Hebrew tradition, this work will so frequently prove, especially in its earlier parts, that it is superfluous to cite particular illustrations here; but how decidedly antiquity, down to the time of David, regarded songs as one of the best auxiliaries of the memory, is shown by the story of David's providing for the publication and transmission of his dirge on Saul and Jonathan, by causing the sons of Judah to learn it correctly by heart,<sup>1</sup> which would be equivalent to sending it to the press in our days.

*Proverbs* which have an historical origin afford a similar support to tradition. For genuine popular proverbs, which have sprung from memorable events, do not always contain propositions of naked truth, but often allude to the incident which gave them birth; and as they thus require history for their own intelligibility, they preserve many historical reminiscences which would otherwise be lost. That Hebrew tradition—in this respect also like that of the Arabs—leans especially on these supports, is evident from cases like Gen. x. 9 and 1 Sam. x. 11 (cf. xix. 24), where the proverb is cited. Some cases of this kind, however, require close observation to detect them in the present form of the narrative: thus the stories of Gideon and Jephthah (Judges vi.–viii., xii.) would not by any means have been preserved so completely, if they had not been sustained by a number of proverbs. Occasionally even a new story has been formed, by later development, out of a proverbial phrase about a remarkable incident of antiquity; of which the passage in Judges vi. 36–40 is an obvious example.

To these we must add many *proper names* of ancient persons and places, the meaning and interpretation of which serve as a

<sup>1</sup> This appears to be the meaning of קשׁת, 2 Sam. i. 18; for that it means 'bow,' and then accidentally became a name for the song, is highly improbable from the mere connection in which it occurs in the title; it must stand for the Aramaic קשׁת, and signify 'rightly, correctly.' There is similar evidence in Ps. lx. 1

[title], which superscription must belong to the original Davidic portion of this Psalm. The expressions in Deut. xxxi. 19 et seq. are, on the other hand, coloured by the Deuteronomist's special object, but may still evince the value attached in antiquity to historical popular songs.

support of tradition. For it cannot be doubted that proper names had their ultimate origin in actual experience of the thing stated, and therefore often changed and multiplied with new experiences: whereas in later times, which stand farther from the living formation of language, and exercise their intellect in other directions, they lose their original signification more and more, and are propagated by mere repetition. Now the times in which tradition develops itself freely, border on the period of the living formation of language, and the names of things have not yet become mere external means of mutual intelligence (as they have amongst us); on the contrary, they still mean something of themselves, and have some life of their own, an intrinsic connection between the sense and the thing signified being felt or assumed. Thus, then, the whole historical significance of a hero lives on in tradition together with his name, and with the name of an ancient place is associated the memory of its origin or history. And as all names, especially those from remote times, appeal to tradition for their interpretation, they preserve many recollections connected with them. The memory of Isaac, for instance, is in part preserved by his being the 'laugher,' or the 'gentle,' as his name imports, or his having something to do with laughter; Jacob 'the cunning,' and Israel 'the wrestler with God,' also appear so characterised in tradition, and all books which describe the period before the Kings are full of such explanations of names. On the other hand, the four Books of the Kings explain many names of places,<sup>1</sup> as these might more easily be given afresh in later times; but only a single personal name, that of Samuel, at the beginning of the history, where the style is antique.<sup>2</sup> In the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah nothing of the kind any longer occurs.

But all these supports, which after all are themselves supported only by the memory, only avail up to a certain point. For the ancient songs may perish, and the historical allusions which they contain become obscure, when far removed from the present, and when new songs and stories have become popular. The exact import of an event which gave birth to a proverb may be forgotten, so that later times may explain the origin of the proverb in diverse ways.<sup>3</sup> Proper names also are capable of so many meanings as to the mere literal sense, that, as soon

<sup>1</sup> 1 Sam. vii. 12; 2 Sam. v. 20; cf. 2 Chron. xx. 26, from the time of Jehoshaphat.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Sam. i. 20; cf. v. 28.

<sup>3</sup> As the proverb in 1 Sam. x. 11 and

xix. 24 shows; likewise the frequent disputes of the Arabian traditionists and commentators about the meaning of their exceedingly numerous ancient proverbs.



as the historical memory grows faint, tradition may treat them very variously.<sup>1</sup> The Hebrew tradition concerning the early times is indeed particularly fond of explaining proper names; but this—as will be subsequently shown—is to be ascribed to a later desire to investigate the origins of things. It is not surprising, therefore, that this explanation of names by artificial devices becomes prevalent in the later historical writings;<sup>2</sup> but as the scientific explanation of words was unknown to the whole of antiquity, tradition always had free play in this work.

How much such simple supports can achieve, even unaided by others, is shown by Arabian tradition, which, as belonging to a nomad people, knows hardly any others. It is wonderful to see what enormous masses of ancient songs, proverbs, genealogies, and histories, gifted Arabs repeated from memory in the first period after Mohammed;<sup>3</sup> for the memory, when left to its own unaided resources, often develops an astonishing power. But immense as was the mass of these reminiscences, and often painted in the truest and most living colours, when they began to attract the notice of Chalijs and Emirs, and to be written down, they evidently reached back only a few centuries before Mohammed; any older ones that were preserved among them were very fragmentary, and devoid of all exact estimate of chronology. No record, therefore, that is entrusted to the mere memory embraces more than a limited period: this cannot be more forcibly evinced than by the example of the Arabs, who were second to no people in pride and passion for glory, and probably surpassed most in strength of memory.

b.) Tradition derives another kind of support from the visible *monuments* of ancient history, such as altars, temples, and similar memorials, which, although not designed for that end, become witnesses to posterity of former great events and thoughts; or such as are purposely erected for memorials, as columns and other such works, often on a gigantic scale, of times destitute of heroic songs or other refined means of perpetuating memory. Now it is undeniable that, when tradition developed itself to its present forms, such monuments existed in Palestine,

<sup>1</sup> The various explanations of the name of *Isaac* suffice to prove this.

<sup>2</sup> Namely in the prophetic narrators of the early history, as I call them. Here, however, certain Prophets of very early date had preceded them with vivid allusions to the meaning of proper names, as that old prophet whose words *Isaiah* repeats (*Is. xv. 8 et seq.*), and *Hosea* xii. 4, 12 [3, 11].

<sup>3</sup> This is thoroughly confirmed by the *Kitáb Alaghánt*; we need not go beyond the portions already printed, especially the section about the traditionist *Hammád*. The Arabs, about whom we possess such minute and reliable information, may be regarded as model illustrations of this point.

and, although not so great and durable as those of Egypt, were by no means few. Even in times belonging to the broad day of history, we read of monuments erected as memorials for posterity; and of some, in the erection of which those who had no historical claims to them had a pride.<sup>1</sup> We likewise read of altars, or similar objects, serving as memorials of their builders or the first inhabitants.<sup>2</sup> Beyond doubt, similar things happened in the time of the Patriarchs: whenever the narrative refers to altars or other monuments erected by them, a real monument was extant, which either actually belonged to the primitive time, or to which some definite memory was attached. Some of these, as the sepulchral cavern of Abraham at Hebron, Jacob's stone at Bethel, and the boundary-stone erected by him and Laban at Gilead,<sup>3</sup> are of such importance that a great portion of the tradition turns on them.

These external supports are of course much more durable than those first described; and there is no doubt that whenever Hebrew tradition has preserved any considerable reminiscences of times several centuries anterior, it has mainly been owing to the erection of monuments, the history of which was treasured in the memory of a proud posterity. Later ages even were proud to show extraordinary relics of conquered foes.<sup>4</sup> In a country, indeed, and at a period when such monuments were left without inscriptions (as we shall show to have been the case constantly, at least in the Patriarchal times), even these supports are not always adequate, as the stories to which they relate may gradually become obscure, although the same nation remains in the land; but they secure tradition from this danger much longer than the first kind of supports.

c.) The firmest support of tradition, beyond doubt, is a great *institution*, which has sprung from an historical event, and has fixed itself in the whole people: such as an annually recurring festival, which cannot pass without recalling the great incident

<sup>1</sup> Samuel commemorates the great victory over the Philistines, which was followed by a long and honourable peace, by a monument on the field of battle, called 'the Stone of Help'—that is, of victory—and from which the neighbouring country derived its name (1 Sam. vii. 12; cf. iv. 1). So Saul, on his return from a victory over Amalek near Carmel, erects a monument, on the west of the Dead Sea, which detains him there some time (1 Sam. xv. 12); so also David, after his victory over the Syrians (2 Sam. viii. 13). Absalom also prematurely desires this honour,

under the pretence of making himself a name to supply the place of children (2 Sam. xviii. 18). Such a monument is called *זִכָּהוֹן* 'name,' or especially *יָד* 'hand;' that is, an elevated index to attract the attention of the passers-by. (Is. lvi. 5, xix. 19 sq.; Ezek. xxi. 24 [19].)

<sup>2</sup> 1 Sam. vii. 17; 2 Sam. xxiv. 18 sqq.; cf. Judges vi. 24 sqq., xxi. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. xxxi. 44 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> Like the iron bed of the ancient giant king in Rabbah, the capital of Ammon. (Deut. iii. 11.)

to which it owes either its origin, or at least some of its attendant ceremonies. Nothing perhaps so fixed the memory of the deliverance from Egypt in the popular mind, as the fact that the Passover served as a commemoration of that event; and certain expressions distinctly indicate how the memory of it was at this festival handed down from father to son.<sup>1</sup> To a still greater degree was the memory of the institution of the community and of the encampment at Sinai sustained by the permanence of the community itself and the consciousness of its nature. Obliterated as the details may be, the essence and basis of historical recollections such as these can perish only with the institutions that have sprung from them: and nations that have early had lofty aims, and achieved much, never entirely lose that higher historical consciousness on which much of their best strength is founded.

3) Now, however many subjects the memory be supposed to retain, and however faithfully their particulars be preserved, yet it is incapable of holding the huge mass in true historical connection, having already enough to do with mastering the multifarious contents of the stories, and being moreover called upon only when an occasion demands the repetition of a particular tradition out of the store. Tradition, therefore, will retain the original historical connection and order of the incidents only so long and so far as it can do so easily; but is prone to let the materials fall asunder, and so become confused and intermixed. This affects first the particulars of one cycle of stories of the same period, then other cycles, and so on; until at length nothing remains of distant times but single great ruins, which stand out on a plain of desolation, and resist decay. And because tradition is careless of the close coherence of its materials, its circle is always open to the intrusion of foreign elements.

This very tendency, however, provokes a counteraction; for if tradition were always to suffer its records to become obscure and fragmentary, it would at length have great difficulty in performing its own proper function. As the mind cannot be satisfied with what is unconnected and obscure, tradition also endeavours at length to repair and complete whatever has become too isolated and obscure in its province; and just where it has been most lacerated and obscured, it makes the greatest

<sup>1</sup> What is incidentally mentioned in Exod. xiii. 8-10, 14-16, as a direction for the future, was undoubtedly something more than that in the time of the author.

Deuteronomy enforces this direction much more frequently and pointedly, as if it had been necessary, in the time of its composition, to resist a growing indifference.

efforts to close up the rents and round itself off, or even to fill up the gaps from conjecture, inasmuch as it always aims at being the reflection of real history. This effort, indeed, also affects the narration of events, since tradition is certain to fill up any obvious gap with such minor interpolations, as the context may seem to require. This prevails most in cases in which the necessity is urgent; especially:

a.) In the lists of the *names of persons*. For later times may, indeed, preserve but few of the most important names of the many heroes which were the theme of young tradition; but these, from the indispensable necessity of genealogical lists, are maintained all the more firmly. Among nations which pay the most zealous regard to the purity and glory of every family, like the Hebrews and Arabs, the exactest and most comprehensive genealogies constitute one of the chief elements of tradition. And though after Moses the individuality and special prominence of families in Israel was subordinate to the higher whole, yet on the other hand the importance of the hereditary estates and privileges appertaining to families formed an additional motive for still considering exact genealogical lists indispensable.<sup>1</sup> But it was evidently too difficult to preserve all names in the lists referring to remote times; and when, in the further development of tradition, an attempt was made to carry back the series of generations in the ascending line to the first generations of the earth, many names were undoubtedly found standing very isolated. We are still able to discern the means that Hebrew tradition adopted in order to bring the disjointed parts into closer coherence, and to control such large masses of names. For the times from the Patriarchs down to Moses, or even to David, tradition was satisfied with one member of the genealogical series for a whole century, even though in so doing many less celebrated names of the chain were irreparably lost. Thus the sojourn in Egypt, which is reckoned at 430 years, has four or five members of the tribe of Levi: Levi, Kohath, Amram, Aaron (Moses), and Eleazar, to correspond to it;<sup>2</sup> and five members of the tribe of Judah:<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Compare Ezra ii. 62, Neh. vii. 64, as evidence of the latest times. The ancient Arabs, down even to the first times of Islam, had experienced and renowned

genealogists, النسابون (*Hamāsa*, p. 123), from whose recollections a special branch of literature, pedigree-tracing, grew up.

And it was the same with the ancient Indians: see Max Müller's *History of Anc. Sanskr. Lit.* p. 378 et sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Exod. vi. 16-25.

<sup>3</sup> Ruth iv. 18-20, compared with Num. i. 7. The correct explanation of this is found in Gen. xv. 17, compared with verse 13.

Pharez, Hezron, Ram, Amminadab, and Nahshon. Of kindred nature to this is the tendency which tradition has to fix upon a definite round number of members of a genealogical series for a long period, in order to prevent one of the scattered names from being lost. Ten members, each corresponding to about a century, are thus reckoned for the long interval from the Patriarchs to David—the ten divided in the middle into two equal halves, at the great era of Moses ;<sup>1</sup> whereas we are able, from other sources, to show that more than twice as many members were formerly reckoned for this very period.<sup>2</sup> But as ten generations were gradually assumed as an adequate round number for the period from Jacob's twelve sons to David, so likewise tradition used the same number to fill up the interval from Noah's sons to Abraham's father, and, farther back still, that from Noah to Adam ;<sup>3</sup> although this assumption required more than a century to correspond to a single member. Further, the remoter the times are, the more does tradition confine itself to the exact coherence of the series of the chief families, and neglect all but the indispensable part of the others. But whenever a knot occurs in the line—the commencement of a new epoch, whence diverge a multitude of new celebrated families or nations—tradition was prone to set up three equally privileged brothers instead of the usual single members. Thus three sons, Gershom, Kohath, and Merari, proceed from Levi ; three, Abraham, Nahor, and Haran, from Terah, who concludes the decad ; and three, Shem, Ham, and Japheth, from Noah, the tenth forefather. The pattern of this, however, has only been derived from the three great families of Levi, as will be shown below. Further, after the knot, the line of the chief family is carried on in the firstborn in the case of Noah and of Terah, but not in that of Levi, where Aaron descends from the second of the three ; for as individuals, the descendants of Levi are much more strictly historical personages than those of Terah and Noah.

The case is the same with regard to *numbers*, which tradition is least of all able to hand down with exactness. Here also, as it is always the counterpart of real history, it endeavours to fill up gaps by definite assertions ; and in so doing does not

<sup>1</sup> Ruth iv. 18–22.

<sup>2</sup> We find, namely, in 1 Chron. vi. 7–13 [22–28] and 18–23 [33–38], two evidently very old traditions, according to which there were twenty-two generations between Levi and David.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. xi. 10–26, and v., concerning

which we shall speak subsequently. That the number 10 often originated in 7 is shown not only by the case of Gen. iv. compared with v., but also by that of a still later period in Neh. xii. 35, where from the time of Asaph to that of Nehemiah there appear only 7 ; cf. 1 Chron. xxv. 2.

necessarily go far wrong, provided it still retains a glimmering consciousness of the distinctions of things and times. For, whether a state lasted a short or a long time, whether a hero died in youth or old age, whether many or few fell in a memorable battle, are points on which tradition may easily retain some consciousness. All that tradition does, then, is, that instead of vague statements, it gives a roughly estimated definite number, since its inmost impulse forbids it to give up the distinctness of actual life. It is thus that Hebrew tradition has certain favourite round numbers (as 3, 7, 10, 40), of which it makes free use, either in these original forms, or else reduced, increased, or even multiplied, as the case requires. How far tradition succeeds in thus restoring a coherent chronology in the main, may be best shown farther on from the *Book of Judges*, and still more distinctly and comprehensively from the *Book of Origins*. Ancient Hebrew tradition, however, in accordance with the religious sobriety of the nation, has always been much more temperate in this use of numbers than that of the Indians, which makes them the sport of the freest fancy.

b.) Tradition is less liable to confuse different *periods*, as a certain feeling of the wide separation of the ancient from the more recent, as also of the essential character of long periods, generally becomes so firmly fixed as rather to modify the stories of individuals in distant times in conformity to the general view of the whole epoch than *vice versâ*. If tradition desires to arrange and classify the immense mass of reminiscences and stories of distant times, it fixes on a suitable number and scale of divisions and periods, with their distinctions, according to which it disposes them all. Thus it assumes the scheme of four great ages, embracing all generations of men and events on earth, from the creation to the present; which exhibits a remarkable accordance with the four Yugas of the Indians, and is to be ascribed to many other conspiring causes besides the mere power of tradition.

Nevertheless, such means cannot always secure the recollections of different cycles and ages from being gradually intermixed and confused. Thus, for example, some achievements are ascribed to Samson, as the later and better-known hero, the complexion of which sends us back to the Patriarchal time.<sup>1</sup> Still more easily does the imagination of tradition combine later incidents with earlier, when they seem to have some intrinsic

<sup>1</sup> Judges xv. 17-19.

connection, and the more recent appears to explain the older and obscurer.<sup>1</sup>

c.) If with the desire to collect the scattered legends a kind of artistic skill is combined, then certain favourite modes of piecing together and classifying the manifold and scattered materials are developed—arts hardly known, however, to the simplest forms of tradition, such as those of the ancient Arabs. One of the first of these means is the accumulation of kindred materials, and the combination of several stories of cognate import.<sup>2</sup> Next, tradition tries to gather the loose mass of scattered stories, and group them in a round number around the chief subject, so as to have them all together in one series and under control. As the Greek tradition reduced the labours of Hercules to a definite round number, so that of the Hebrews arranges the whole story of Samson in round proportions. In like manner the Fourth Narrator of the Pentateuch disposes the Egyptian plagues, and reduces them to the number ten. To this head also belongs the apt disposition of diverse legendary materials, so as to correspond to an internal sequence: thus the legend of Jonah consists of three or four short stories, in harmonious sequence, and bringing the story to a natural close.<sup>3</sup> This last mode of combining traditional elements is very ingenious, and borders on the more artificial modes of restoring history, which we need not yet describe.

2. As to its spirit or inner life, however, tradition rests less in the understanding than in the imagination and feeling. An extraordinary event affects the imagination so strongly that the latter forms as extraordinary an image of it. This image may be very true and striking, and at first, so long as the event remains fresh in the memory, is exposed to no great abuse; but subsequently, when separated from its living reference, and preserved as to its extraordinary outside only, may become the fruitful source of misapprehensions; of which we shall adduce several examples farther on. Tradition, thus filling the imagination, penetrates very deep into the mind, and occupies the whole feeling, but remains stationary there without examining its own contents to their foundation, and expects to suffice, just as it is, for the instruction of the hearer, who receives it in its simple meaning. It is at the same time possible that the person who collects many traditions, may prefer those which

<sup>1</sup> As in the case of Josh. vi. 26, 1 Kings xvi. 34.

*Biblischen Wissenschaft*, 1848, p. 128 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> On this and other kindred topics, see the explanations in the *Jahrbuch der*

<sup>3</sup> Ewald's *Prophets of the O. T.* (Eng. tr.), vol. v. p. 93.

are more agreeable or profitable in his own estimation, and thus exercise a certain judgment on their contents. But so long as the judgment does not embrace the whole subject, and seek proofs extrinsic to all traditions, the peculiar power of tradition still maintains its rights and its continuance.

This life of tradition produces special advantages. Taking root in the narrow but deep realm of feeling, and never sustained by the mere memory, but always by the sympathies of every hearer, tradition becomes one of the most intellectual and influential possessions of man. Its lore acts on the mind with the greater force, that it is as yet untroubled by doubt. And to any one who can fathom its whole meaning, and master it by the right art, it offers an abundance of prophetic and poetical material; since the world of feeling is also that of poetry, and the doctrines comprised in tradition may, to the mind of antiquity, be emphatically of the prophetic kind. The materials of tradition, moreover, notwithstanding a certain uniformity, are nevertheless so fluctuating (according to page 16 sq.), and therefore so plastic, that the poet's art is little impeded by them: and the farther a cycle of tradition has advanced, up to a certain stage, the more easily does it admit poetic treatment. And a poetic breath does sensibly pervade the traditions of the Old Testament; and if, notwithstanding this, epic poetry has never flourished on this field, this must be ascribed to special causes, which lie beyond our province.<sup>1</sup>

But what lives chiefly in the feeling, shares its defects also. Feeling is exceedingly different in individuals; and therefore the inner life of tradition assumes different forms with individual narrators, since their whole mental idiosyncrasies pass unobserved into it. And as no great and permanent unity is ever produced by feeling alone, the historical import of tradition passes through incalculable changes, and never attains a settled form. These fluctuations will not indeed much affect the essential spirit of a tradition, as described at page 16 sq., and for the reason there indicated; but may produce great varieties in the conception of the same event.

Moreover, when, with altered times and circumstances, the general views and opinions, which always exercise a great influence on the feelings, have undergone a great change, then tradition, laying aside more and more of its ancient dress, conforms itself to the later ideas, and displays even greater diversity of conception than before. We can trace this in the Old

<sup>1</sup> See the *Dichter des A. B.*, vol. I. i. p. 21 sq., 85 sqq.



Testament, if we observe the different forms which the same tradition assumes as it passes through different times and countries. Whereas, for instance, the two oldest Narrators of the times before Moses in the Pentateuch have a distinct consciousness of the difference of the state of things anterior and subsequent to Moses, the later Narrators infuse into their description of the earlier times, a strong mixture of Mosaic ideas, which in their time had penetrated much deeper into the popular mind, whilst the exact recollection of the Premosaic age and its different character began to grow dim. The intellectual significance of the subject—that which interests the feeling—is the element which least of all can be secured by those aids and supports of tradition described at page 15 sqq.

3. But the final and crowning property of tradition is still to be mentioned—that tradition only develops and fixes itself originally in a narrow domestic circle. At any rate, the circle of those who feel a lively interest in an event strongly affecting the imagination, and also are zealous to preserve it by tradition, will always be a narrow one at first. But in remote antiquity every people really moved in such a narrow circle of life and aim. We may therefore say that nationality is a last and very important property of tradition. Like all possessions of a nation on such a stage of civilisation, like its religion, its law, and its view of the world, tradition is embraced by the strongest bonds of nationality, and grows up with the people itself, with its heroes and their antagonists, its joys and sorrows, its destinies and experiences. For as a nation holds fast in tradition and incorporates with its own spirit only what appears worthy of perpetual memory from its accordance with its own peculiar life and aim, the best part of its knowledge of itself and of its early-appointed destiny lives in tradition; and as, in such times, the religion of each people belongs to its nationality, so their tradition is full of the meaning and life of their peculiar religion. To this cause tradition owes its chief importance: it is one of the most sacred and domestic possessions of every people, its pride and its discipline, an inexhaustible source of instruction and admonition for every succeeding generation.

Now a noble people which has already passed through a history pervaded by a certain elevation of purpose, will, by the purifying influence of tradition (described at page 16), have presented to it the great personages to whom it owes its elevation under even purer and more brilliant aspects, and find them a source of perpetual delight. But in cases where the memory

of such lofty examples has, by the lapse of centuries and internal changes, lost much of its original circumstantiality and distinctness, and only survives in a few grand isolated traits, this memory will generally become all the more plastic, assimilating to itself the new great thoughts which now constitute the aspiring people's aim, and, when thus ingeniously modified through their influence, be born again into the beauty of a new life. For we are also to take into account, that no aspiring people can dispense with ideals surpassing the most favourable image of its actual life, in which it beholds the realisation of that better state which it has in part achieved, in part has yet to accomplish, and in which it sees its better self. And as the eye that seeks that ideal, and finds it not in the present, sometimes looks forward into the future, sometimes backward into the past, a few prophets will sternly rouse the people to a sense of their shortcomings, and to the need of future perfection; but others will look back with fervent longing to the solemn forms of antiquity, to strengthen themselves by their ideal greatness, and to imagine how they would now act. Should one of the latter, however, be versed in the old traditions, and filled with the poetry that pervades them, he will easily remodel one of the heroic forms of ancient time, and shape it to the advanced higher requirements of his own age. When thus presented anew in eloquent language, eager ears will listen to the story and treasure up its beauties. Thus it is really the aspiring national spirit which by these means preserves, secures, and glorifies the old heroic traditions; and accordingly even such renovated traditions will be distinctly impressed with the peculiar spirit of the nation: of all of which we have the most instructive examples in the Patriarchs.

Such excellent results are attainable when an enlightened and courageous nation is steadily advancing in everything good. But when, on the other hand, depressing times supervene, in which the nation retrogrades as much as it might have advanced, the intellectual conception of its tradition also suffers, the progress of its purification is interrupted, and its tone bears traces of the disturbance of the national spirit. Even the glorious forms which once elevated the heart are no longer comprehended in their pure majesty, but are misunderstood, or degraded to lower standards, or even forgotten.<sup>1</sup> In

<sup>1</sup> Let the reader only remember what the Talmud, for example, often makes of the traditions of the Old Testament; or what Mohammed and the Muslim, who have blindly followed him in this, afterwards made of them, partly from want of comprehension, but still more from *hauteur* or indolence. A main cause of

the actual life of a nation, indeed, there rarely is either pure advance or pure retrogression of all the better powers and aspirations: a people may advance in some directions, and lag behind in others. Thus with the Fifth Author of the Pentateuch: while the image of the Patriarchs and Moses is prophetically exalted, his view of the national enemies betrays many signs of that ill-humour which gradually arose as the relation between Israel and its neighbours grew worse.

Always, then, and in every way, tradition remains deeply impressed and firmly held by the nationality, depends on it and changes with it. It does not yet soar above its native earth into the pure heaven of the universal history of all nations, emancipated from the narrowness of a particular people. It is evident, therefore, how useful it is to compare the stories of different nations about the same event, especially when a tradition has passed through many stages in a nation. The comparison of different traditions preserved about an event in the same people, however, often ensures a similar advantage, since different portions of the nation may easily take different views of the same thing.

Should foreign traditions, however, intrude into the circle of a very extensive system of national tradition, they will never acquire a firm position and life there, unless they adapt themselves to its dominant spirit, and are filled by its peculiar manner; of which also we have a few examples in the Old Testament. Nationality embraces and limits even the widest circle of traditions, and cherishes nothing in its fostering bosom but what proceeds from or assimilates with itself.

But if the case stands thus with the nationality of tradition, and if the people of Israel acquired their peculiar position among the nations through nothing so much as through the circumstance that true religion got rooted in it with a power and distinctness nowhere else beheld—one can understand how it must have become in external form and dress, no less than in substance and soul, something quite different to what it became among the heathen. True religion, during the whole course of its struggle for ascendancy, perpetually moulded this people according to its own inner impulse and inextinguishable light. Accordingly tradition, already existent or newly-born,

the internal rottenness of Islam is the fact that it has never been able to emancipate itself from the lifeless and perverse view of antiquity with which such Tal-

mudic stories inoculated it, and that it is doomed by its very origin to remain unhistorical for ever.

was shaped pliantly and obediently by the peculiar spirit of the religion; the result of which is that no other national and antique traditions ever dived so deep into the life of true religion as these. As already remarked on page 14, the Hebrew tradition possesses a vivid sense for truth and fidelity, for sobriety and modesty, and an aversion to everything immoderate, vain, and frivolous, by virtue of which it may be regarded as the diametrical opposite of all heathen, and especially of the Egyptian and Indian traditions. Of course, even among this people, it shaped itself very differently, according to varieties of time and place. Where, in the many centuries of this nation's history, the true religion raises itself highest and most freely, there we constantly see tradition produce a glorious reflected image of the religion, though varying according as tradition has more or less power, and clothed in the most diverse colours. And tradition is indeed constantly working, even down into the New Testament history; and with what sublime simplicity and trueheartedness, conjoined with what faithfulness and love of truth! But when the true religion is seriously or lastingly obscured, as in the history of the kingdom of the Ten Tribes, or later among the Hellenists, then the tradition also becomes more fragmentary, obscure, monstrous, and wild. But amongst the people of Israel the substance of tradition must continually overflow, not only with the general spirit, but also with the most distinct conceptions and views of true religion. Many of the profoundest reminiscences of the events and thoughts in which the true religion was revealed, are preserved by it most faithfully and imperishably. But also not a few of the sublimest thoughts, which could only arise from the actually experienced and completed life of distinct ages of the true religion, were transformed into stories of a lofty kind, through the endeavour to retain these thoughts by giving them a lively historical form; and thus, by passing from mouth to mouth, became one of the richest and most varied elements of tradition. Of such importance, even to religion itself, was tradition in this nation.

II. If this is indeed the essence of tradition, then one can readily understand further, that when once arisen, and become so important a part of the entire mental treasure of a people, it should also have a life and significance of its own, and might even go through a series of various stages of development. Even when it issues immediately from simple narrative, it passes without rest through infinite changes, but never returns

to its own foundation. The best way of surveying the modes of its changes, and the other impulses and mental capabilities which at length associate themselves with it, is to observe the three stages of its possible progress.

1. Every great event soon finds a suitable style of narrative to perpetuate itself in. The first vagueness of the impressions disappears, the recollection grows distinct, and a more congruous and prevalent mode of relating events begins to be formed. Now as the story thus arises from the immediate experience of a memorable event, it was quite as possible in those ancient times as in ours, for it to be a most graphic and vivid counterpart of the event; indeed this was more possible then than now, since antiquity had a youthful susceptibility for strong and true impressions. The Old Testament contains passages which evidently come very near this primitive style of narrative. Accounts like that in Judges ix., or those about the great scene in David's life in 2 Sam. xiii.-xx., present such graphic pictures of those periods, drawn on so real a background, that we can completely transport ourselves to the times in all their circumstances, without feeling anything worth notice to mar our vivid sense of the actual events. Graphic simplicity of relation is a characteristic excellence of antiquity, which narrative, even after it has passed through the stages we are about to describe, gladly reassumes. For when the whole national life was more compact, and in its narrower circle more confiding, the observation and narration of the smallest circumstance had its value and its charm. And as nothing but the complete picture of the entire background and concomitant circumstances of an event can represent its whole truth, narrative develops that lifelike picturesqueness and that naïve and enchanting simplicity which later ages either reject, because their style only gives prominence to the main features, and therefore has less life and soul, or are only able to produce by new poetic art and imitation. The Old Testament has a wealth of such narratives, which, without pretending to be so, are artistic in the best sense of the term, and, like the verses of the Iliad, have the stamp of eternal grace and life. Without looking farther for examples, we may refer to the *Book of Origins*, which clothes its driest subjects with unsurpassable grace, and makes of the smallest story a living picture. And after this ancient mode of simple faithful story had become typical through the Pentateuch and other sacred writings, how wonderfully it was renewed in a late age in the First Book of Maccabees, and finally, growing wondrously with the unrivalled

sublimity of the subject itself, in the first three Gospels, and a great portion of the Acts of the Apostles !

Tradition is most beautifully developed in this simple style, when the eminent person or period which forms its subject, though already removed to some distance, so that the purification above described has commenced, and the subject already begun to display its true greatness more freely, is still regarded with undiminished interest as one of the last grand incidents of a past era, and is therefore still preserved more completely. As at the time of Livy the heroic deeds of the Samnite and still more of the Punic wars, although then remote, could still be brought to life again in all Roman hearts ; so likewise when the Books of Samuel (or rather the ancient Book of Kings) were written, the majestic forms of Samuel and David were not too far removed, but were only just raised above the misappreciation of their own time, and sustained by tradition in the pure light that belonged to them. Hence no portion of the history of the Old Testament produces comparatively so satisfactory an effect on the historical enquirer as this does ; for here we see the whole reality and truth of a great human scene peep out behind the tradition, and discern historical greatness surrounded by all the fetters and limitations of its temporal conditions.

This first and simplest stage is that at which the ancient Arabian tradition has in the main remained stationary, and which we can therefore most thoroughly comprehend by studying it on Arabian ground. When it attracted the attention of the great, and the best traditionists, sought out from all parts and honoured, revived the enormous mass of reminiscences which writing soon attempted to perpetuate, the best achievements of Islam were already done ; but they had roused the national consciousness, and excited a greater desire to look back into the antiquity that was daily growing dimmer. We know for certain that they did not set to work in this without foresight. The most talented and reliable relators were preferred, who appealed to others as authorities on events of which they were not themselves eyewitnesses, often adducing a long series of them. And as the field of the traditions was immense, and those who wished to hear them, or to have them written down, generally lived very far from the interior of Arabia, in consequence of the wide diffusion of Islam, this citation of the authorities was transferred in all its proximity into the oldest historical books. Now although Hebrew history does not adopt this custom of textually incorporating these

authorities for the oral tradition,<sup>1</sup> yet there can be no doubt that the Hebrews paid great attention to the question whether a tradition was derived from a good authority or not; for though tradition never examines its own foundation, it may nevertheless discriminate very well within its own limits, and be on its guard against too gross misrepresentations.

But if the effort to collect and survey tradition gains ascendancy at a period, and in a people, disposed to poetic art, then that poetic and prophetic spirit will manifest itself, which, we said above (p. 27), is latent in tradition, and therefore only waits for the most favourable opportunity to start forth. There must indeed first be a narrator who is capable of thus treating traditionary materials, and whose example may teach others. Should there be such a one, he may cast a seasonable glance from above downward, and, while speaking of an early time, refer prophetically to a later one, the results of which he intends to explain, and thereby link the different materials so much the more closely together. For this process there must of course be an intrinsic connection between the things themselves; and the traditionist, gifted with prophetic insight, then only combines matters which, although separated by wide intervals, have an internal nexus. But tradition, when under the hand of a skilful master it assumes this higher form and order, passes unmistakably into a new semi-artificial stage; which we must regard as one of the causes that produce epic poetry. That which, in the prophetic survey, had been briefly foreshadowed at the beginning, must at length be fulfilled; and a period full of prophetic truths may most easily infuse into the dead bones of ancient tradition this breath of prophetically poetic art. Ancient Hebrew tradition remained stationary at this strictly prophetic rudiment of a certain kind of epic poetry. A signal specimen of it from an early age is found in Genesis xvii., where the description of a solemn moment in the life of Abraham foreshadows the whole history of Moses and David.

When this superadded artistic tendency is further developed, the traditionist will often try—quite in dramatic fashion—to tie a knot at the commencement, and then to unloose it pleasur-

<sup>1</sup> The *Asānīd* (in the singular, *Isnād*), which occupy such a large space in the oldest historical books, and which only later writers venture gradually to omit. The cause why the Arabs stand alone in this respect is to be sought (without excluding their general sobriety of mind, existing by the side of a tendency to occasional exaggeration) in the enormously

wide dispersion of the first Muslims. While their achievements extended over the whole world, and generated an infinite supply of matter for narration, the number of talented relators was so much reduced by their bloody wars, that a stricter attention was very early paid to the personal guarantees of a story.

ably and satisfactorily in the course of the narratives. For when the narrator is about to relate a long series of stories concerning an eventful time, their varied and scattered images first come before him condensed into one thought, and he is prone, as he surveys the entire sequel in his mind, to let *that* thought start forth at the very beginning, which all the subsequent stories as they are unfolded will thoroughly confirm. Such a mysterious beginning, by giving a brief summary and presentiment of the grand result, rivets the attention more forcibly, and forms a frame in which all the subsequent scenes, down to the foreknown necessary catastrophe, can be tranquilly exhibited. The present books are full of such genuine epic plots<sup>1</sup>—more, indeed, in the later and more artificial literature than in the older, but in both manifestly prompted by the mode in which the oral tradition itself was delivered by a series of skilful narrators.

In these sometimes poetical, sometimes prophetic, attempts to round off and skilfully dispose a series of connected traditions, the freedom required to treat the traditionary material is so variously developed, that we may justly regard it as forming a transition to the next great change in this province.

2. For as soon as new and yet already concluded events of surprising greatness, and stories that rival antiquity, attract the most attention, or the ancient traditions are thrown aside merely from lapse of time and change of the nation's condition or abode—then this first, and, in its kind, very finished form of the simple tradition inevitably changes. The overflowing abundance of the old stories, with the exact memory of the temporal and local conditions of the ancient events, will be more and more washed away by the stream of new ones. And if even at an earlier stage the simple tradition carried on its function of purification and elimination in a quiet way, now a severer struggle arises between the cycle of ancient stories and that of the more attractive new ones, in which the purification and classification of tradition spoken of above (pp. 16, 28) is carried on by the strongest means to its extreme limits. Whatever comes off victorious out of this struggle must, first, have been so ineffaceably ingrained in the mind of the people that it never can be lost again: some imperishable truth or elevating recollection must have been attached to it, which cannot now be permanently divorced from it, and the province of tradition must

<sup>1</sup> Like 1 Sam. ii. 27–36; Gen. xv. 13–1–12. From still later times we have 16; Ex. iii. 12–22. There is much resemblance also in the passage in 1 Sam. xvi. 1 Kings xiii. and other passages, of which we will speak farther on.



therefore have in some respects already become archetypal and sacred. Secondly, it may be that these few indestructible reminiscences are saved out of the clearance effected by time, as glorified images of a mighty past—a few names, and the events connected with them standing out in these different later times as witnesses of a hoary antiquity, like solitary granite rocks on a wide plain: but the extreme rarity and dilapidation of these few great remains of earlier tradition render it especially difficult to tell the stories over again, since tradition, so long as any real life remains in it, cannot long rest satisfied with such meagre and dry materials.

A new phenomenon may then possibly arise to overcome this difficulty. After the storms of time have passed over such a field of tradition, and it may have long lain forgotten and desolate in the period of transition, the nation is awakened to a sense of the majesty and sanctity of its ancestors; and the relics of the early tradition are in a manner resuscitated, the old tradition comes out of the grave with new and more splendid power, the simple tradition is *born again* and remodelled by art. It is not in general difficult to discern how this remodelling proceeds. The principal thought itself, which was preserved as the indestructible ground of a province of tradition, or as its permanent idea, is now used to cement together all the still extant parts. Whatever they contain that does not harmonise with it, is neglected and rejected more and more as the fragments of the old tradition are reunited in a firm and beautiful body. Tradition, when gathering together scattered stories, is prone (according to p. 34) to seize upon one prominent truth, and to find that truth in all particulars. The same is even more necessary here. And the delineation of all the particulars, which has now to be adopted, naturally takes the same tone as the tradition itself (according to p. 32), and may therefore easily be as graphic and charming as the latter. But because this reanimation of the whole and of the parts proceeds from a narrator and remodeller, whose warmest sympathies are for his own time, and who revives the old tradition mainly for the sake of his own time; later ideas are sure to mingle, more or less unobserved, in the description, and the peculiar spirit of the age and religion of such a remodeller can never be dissembled. Thus a multitude of genuine Mosaic ideas and truths have penetrated into the Hebrew tradition about the primeval age, and sometimes even look quite natural there.

For tradition is essentially a very plastic material, every one conceiving and representing it in his own fashion: a gifted

person, therefore, can with freedom reproduce it with much more beauty than he received it, without much altering its basis. But it is most plastic when it has reached the advanced stage of which we here speak. When it has gradually laid aside all temporal fetters, and in its ruins only hands down a few lofty images of antiquity as so many pure thoughts, then it not only requires the most artistic and poetical narrators to reanimate it (ordinary ones being then inadequate to this work), but it must allow them much greater freedom than is permitted in the first stage, since without that the very object of reanimation would not be attained. Here, therefore, tradition allies itself almost necessarily with new powers and mental endowments, and produces creations of which the first stage hardly displayed the faintest rudiments. If it here observes what is congruous and true, it becomes, by setting out from the fundamental thought of a whole province of tradition, and reviving all fragments through that thought, the genuine restorer and new-creator of forgotten stories, and delineates—with other colours indeed than those of the common story and history, but with no less truth and with greater splendour—the eternal element of antiquity afresh in the pages of the transitory present. And because it sets out from the pure and heaven-directed thoughts of an ancient cycle of tradition, and moreover moves in a province sacred to the national feeling, it can introduce the immediate action of Gods and Angels, and depict the living commerce of heaven and earth exactly as the religion of the nation on the whole conceives it, and as the special significance of the fundamental thought of the tradition requires. We are here, therefore, close on the confines of epic poetry with its mythological machinery; and if the Mosaic religion were not rigidly opposed to the development of a regular mythology, Hebrew tradition also might undoubtedly have easily passed on from this stage into epic poetry—whereas it now displays a leaning towards it, and occasionally introduces short thoroughly epic descriptions,<sup>1</sup> but nowhere real epic poetry. Nevertheless, the Hebrews advanced so far on this stage that late writers even attempt to remodel ancient tradition with new thoughts, and care less for the tradition than for its new application and conception. This transition to the greatest freedom of representation, of course, almost destroys this stage of tradition, and rather surrenders the ground to mere poetry.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A beautiful example of which is the Fourth and Fifth Narrators in the found in Gen. xviii.—xix. 28. Pentateuch, as will be shown farther on.

<sup>2</sup> The chief examples of which are

There are, however, innumerable transitions from the simple tradition to this its later revival on more or less *sacred* ground. Whereas the life of David given in the Books of Samuel only at its commencement takes one little flight towards a comprehensive survey from a superhuman point of view,<sup>1</sup> and only once introduces an angel, and then at no important crisis;<sup>2</sup> in the life of Moses, as we now have it, the renovation of tradition is very marked, and in that of the Patriarchs it prevails almost exclusively. This anticipatory remark may here suffice: it gives a tolerably distinct notion of the manner in which this kind of tradition advances. Subsequently indeed, when the more natural and living conception of antiquity gradually gave place to a cold reverence for what was old as being in itself sacred, an utterly different kind of clearing out of tradition was introduced: the Books of Chronicles, which elevate the lives of David and Solomon to the same stage on which the older books place that of Moses, simply omit everything in their lives that did not accord with the notion of sanctity.

3. If we put all this together, and consider from how many different ages and provinces traditions of most varied character come down to us, it becomes evident how wide the province of tradition may be. The thorough knowledge of it, in the times when it flourishes, forms the special business and pride of those who have a talent for it,<sup>3</sup> just as in other periods the study of real history; and then the traditionists do not merely minister to the amusement and instruction of curious hearers, but are consulted as authorities in questions of usage or law.

But such a great circle, once formed, will inevitably continue to expand, and take up a multitude of materials that are at first foreign to it in their origin or nature. If favourable circumstances occur, which unite portions hitherto separated of the same country, the various local traditions come into contact and are interchanged. If, in addition, a people is in frequent intercourse with foreigners, their foreign traditions are adopted and mixed with their own. We are able with tolerable distinctness to survey in the Greek, but still more in the Indian tradition, the enormous wealth of the circle when thus expanded;

<sup>1</sup> I refer to the passage 1 Sam. xvi. 1-12.

<sup>2</sup> In the pestilence, namely, 2 Sam. xxiv. 16. But the people of that period felt the angel of death to be then personally active among them, just as they recognised the presence of an angel in the leading of the army and in battle (Judg. v. 23); and

such ideas and expressions are not generated by the tradition.

<sup>3</sup> There is no doubt that the ancient Hebrews had such persons as the Indians call *Purāṇavidas*, and the Arabs call *Rāwī*, although we do not now know their designation.

but among the Hebrews also, not only were the traditions of different tribes brought together after the union of the nation under the Kings—as the story of Jephthah from the Trans-jordanic land; that of Samson from the tribe of Dan; that of Elijah and Elisha from the northern kingdom,—but others also, the matter and even the manner of which proves their foreign origin, were admitted.<sup>1</sup> All these, however, were recast by the Mosaic religion before they were incorporated.

Questions about the *Origins* of things—among nations, at least, that are sufficiently elevated to propound such, and to find ingenious solutions of them—are especially prone to crowd into this circle. For tradition embraces, from the outset, the whole wealth of the genealogical stories, including legends or opinions about the origin of the progenitors, which it endeavours to reach by tracing them in a line to a point beyond which there is no advance—nay, even to the gods. Now when tradition has already become accustomed to that poetic remodelling of the subject which we described at pp. 36 sqq., it will receive into its own account of origins, the answers which the enquiring mind gives to the questions about the origin of all other things, clothe them in similar forms, or weave them as well as it can into combination with its own fixed circle. Such are the questions about the origin of other nations, or of celebrated families of obscure descent—of the many wonderful phenomena which have attracted notice, of inventions and arts, of earth and heaven, or of the gods themselves—subjects which are enigmas for the intelligence of the most ambitious times. Their solution requires powers utterly unknown to the primitive simple tradition: knowledge of foreign countries, mastery of political affairs, imagination, religion; for the question about the origin of the visible world, for instance, as propounded by antiquity, belongs essentially to the province of religion. These are only admitted in so far as they are answered in the same popular manner that characterises tradition, and are thus interwoven with an existing tissue of ideas. Nevertheless, a people is most prone to form such traditions about origins at a period when it is still contented with a

<sup>1</sup> We should be able to decide this with much greater precision if we possessed the ancient cycles of tradition of the Phenicians and other heathen in Palestine, and of the Egyptians, Babylonians, and others. Such traditions, however, as those which we must ascribe to the Fourth Narrator (Gen. ii. 5-iii., vi. 1-4, xi. 1-9), present indisputable indications that their

essential features are derived from foreign sources. The basis of the story in Gen. ii. 5-iii., indeed, must have wandered through many foreign nations before it received its Mosaic costume. As matters now stand, the Mahābhārata and the Purānas (which are daily becoming more accessible to us) furnish the most instructive comparisons for the Hebrew tradition.

poetical conception of things; or, if any purely philosophical element should obtrude into this circle—as has happened among the Indians in their Purānas, the simple style of which rather stamps them as popular writing—it is first obliged to assume the easy and naïve garb of the popular tradition. Many specimens of this popular development of tradition have been admitted even by the Hebrews; but these are neither so varied nor so bold as in heathen mythologies; for the sober and strict unity of God necessarily rendered impossible many questions—such as that about the origin of the gods—which the heathen views of God and the world vainly attempted to solve.

It is on this last stage, and in order by such means to explain the obscure origin of things, that tradition even creates new persons under suitable names, which, from their very novelty, are not hard to interpret. It represents the obscure beginning of a nation under the notion of a single progenitor, whom, in the absence of a traditional name, it calls after the people or the country itself: thus Eber (Gen. x. 24) becomes the ancestor of the Hebrews, Edom (or Esau) that of the Idumeans, Canaan that of all the Phenician tribes. Further, it makes progenitors of entire quarters of the globe, as Ham and Japheth; or of the whole race, either of one definite period, or of the earliest conceivable time—as Noah, the father of the renovated race, Adam, that of primitive humanity.

Its transition into Myth—that is, legendary lore about the gods—must in like manner be most prevalent here. For the farther it is removed from ocular testimony or the reality of events it has itself experienced, the more freely can it explain isolated and obscure facts by introducing the immediate agency and incarnation of the Deity. An ambition to animate such remote and essentially lifeless subjects leads it naturally to this boldness of introducing the unveiled presence of Deity into history, and thus lifting that veil which so covers ordinary events that the common eye does not discern in them even the mediate operation of the Deity. On the first stage, it barely ventures even to begin to introduce the Deity just here and there, as if tentatively (cf. p. 38); on the second, Hebrew tradition is bolder and freer in representing the appearance of God or angels on the earth (cf. p. 37); but on this third stage, it makes the Divine agency, without any farther limitation, the exclusive subject of history, so that hardly a distinct trace of independent human action manifests itself, and the history of the Flood, for example, becomes not so much a history of Noah as of God himself.

But on whatever stage Hebrew tradition thus introduces the

Deity acting and incarnating itself in history, it undoubtedly is always mythic on those occasions—taking that word in its largest acceptation; and it is of no use to deny that in this it approaches the style and nature of heathen mythologies. But it is just as certain, nevertheless, that it could never become an actual heathen mythology. Pure religion imparts to it a sensitive dread of false, or even too sensuous conceptions of the Deity, as well as of dangerous confusion of the Divine and human, and—even where it makes these attempts to introduce the immediate agency of the Deity—inspires it with that beautiful sobriety and reserve which are perhaps nowhere so necessary as here. As it thus preserves the true dignity of the Divine through all these perilous attempts, its choicest productions may serve us as a model, and afford a standard to determine how far a pure religion may venture to make sensuous representations of the Deity. And because the Greek term *myth* is inseparably connected with the whole system of heathenism, and means not *story about God*, but *story about the gods*, we prefer to avoid it altogether on Biblical subjects, and to speak, when we must, of *sacred* or, better, of *divine tradition*.

On this last stage, which embraces the widest compass of traditions flowing from the most diverse sources, is also lastly developed that easy artistic style of combining any mass of traditions by *intercalation*. Here art allies itself with mere convenience, and thereby loses its limits and its beauty. This mode of combination, however (which among the Indians begins to develop itself fully even in the *Mahâbhârata*, and early passed from them to the Persians and Arabs,) is wholly foreign to Hebrew tradition; yet its commencements can be plainly discerned in Homer.

III. Now the earliest historians found tradition in this condition—a fluctuating and plastic material, but also a mass of unlimited extent. They evidently could not do much more than is open to any talented narrator: each selected such and so many subjects as his special object required, and settled the uncertainties and smoothed away the discrepancies as the connection in which he viewed the whole appeared to demand. But, inasmuch as writing allowed all this to be effected with greater deliberation and on a larger scale, it all necessarily took a more definite form and observed more fixed limits under the writer's hand than was possible in oral delivery. In this respect the written record, which is moreover more durable, undoubtedly produces the first reaction against the unrestrained power of tradition; and in the Old Testament, the earliest historical

writings of which important remains have been preserved, the Book of Origins and, in a certain degree, also the ancient Book of Kings display instructive examples of this earliest kind of historical composition.

If, however, such beginnings produce a national historical composition, it may, like every other special intellectual activity, develop itself independently in the course of centuries, and thus gradually unfold the germs of beautiful representation and peculiar art which originally were only latent in it. Tradition, according to what we said above, contains much that demands a reanimating style of representation, a free combination of scattered reminiscences, and an explanation of hidden causes from a higher point of view. All these are so many germs of artistic representation: and historical composition, having once entered on its career of progress, may easily take possession of these germs, in order to develop them, and so acquire a higher art. Now this has palpably occurred in the second period of Hebrew historical composition. The Book of Origins, and the still older work, represent tradition very simply, and even in cases where they venture on a lofty style (as in Gen. xvii., Exod. xix.), it appears quite cramped by the strict spirit of the Mosaic religion, like the Egyptian or early Greek statues, which look as if chained motionless to the ground. This is not the case with the Book of Kings, the Fourth Narrator of the primitive history, and other later historians. In these the representation has acquired much greater freedom, and the old limits of the sacred tradition are more and more discarded. These writers are the first that treat long series of traditions with the great art described above (p. 35 sq.); and the Prologue to the Book of Job, which is at least as late as the beginning of the seventh century, shows to what height of beautiful free art this tendency may at length attain. Another example of the increasing art of this advanced literature has been explained above (p. 20); and others will be particularly noticed below.

When, in the midst of a general advance in the intellectual view and activity of a nation, historical composition adopts this tendency, it is evident that it then plays into the hands of tradition itself, and exerts no reaction against its influence. The first powerful agent against that influence is the removal of the narrow bounds that limit the original nationality; for when a people, during the period of its own advancing culture, spreads itself, as the Greeks did, over many other nations, and curiously compares their different traditions with its own, it can hardly adhere so exclusively to its own hereditary traditions

as before, but will gradually gain other views of their meaning. Moreover, if the simple influence of the imagination and the sentiment gradually gives place to the enquiring and sceptical understanding (and this restless critical spirit is promoted by frequent intercourse with distant countries), then the second power of tradition, the predominance of the imagination and the feeling, is lost in the process. Then the sober judgment gains courage to sift it, the more so as it has been already resigned to the above-mentioned poetical freedom. Lastly, the comparison of many writings, in which it has been recorded with variations, may often help to display its fluctuating character; and the more the immediate history of a time is written down, or the heroes of it commit their own memoirs to writing, the more swiftly does the first power of tradition, the memory and the mere transmission, lose its power.

How long soever, then, the period may be during which tradition, oral and written, may develop itself in compass, and unfold many a bright flower on its course, it is nevertheless doomed to perish. For it is only a peculiar mode of viewing events, which necessarily arises under certain situations and temporal conditions, and must vanish as soon as these are completely changed, but yet does not entirely lose its power until history, as such, is investigated as to its own foundations. But as these its indispensable conditions are not abrogated among all peoples at once, its power lasts, after it has ceased to flourish, longer in one people than in another. The Hindus, so highly cultivated a people in other respects, have in the main never been entirely emancipated from its influence, as is evinced by the fact that Purânic literature continues to flourish down to the end of the Middle Ages, nay down to our own day, and that historical literature, strictly speaking, has not been developed. The ancient Hebrews also disappeared from the theatre of the world's history before this transformation, which had begun among them, was completed. It is true, the very oldest historical works, the Book of Origins and others, though exhibiting some dependence on tradition, display, in accordance with the Mosaic religion, so sound a judgment in the conception and delineation of historical events, that in process of time a genuine historical literature might have been developed out of them. But the decay of the entire ancient nation, consequent on the division of the Davidic kingdom—in which only religion and, along with it, poetry and a kind of philosophy developed themselves for a time unchecked—gradually caused historical composition to degenerate more and more from these



glorious beginnings. To what extent the power of tradition kept its ground in certain favourable provinces, even long after writing had become a substitute for the memory, and a kind of contemporary history had begun to be formed, is shown by the history of Samson in the Book of Judges, and by that of Elijah and Elisha in the Book of Kings. At last, in the third period of historical composition, when the heroes of history at once wrote down their memoirs in full, the writings of Ezra and Nehemiah about their own achievements, and the Book of Esther, which shows to what result the unrestrained power of tradition may lead, stand irreconcilably side by side.

We cannot doubt, however, how we are to treat the tradition of the Old Testament in our investigations of history. When an account is called tradition, the name does not determine from what sources the story may be derived, nor what foundation it may have. Historical research is to supply this deficiency. Tradition has its roots in actual facts; yet it is not absolutely history, but has a peculiar character and a value of its own. Hebrew tradition possesses all the charms that belong to that of the other aspiring nations of antiquity, and, in addition, the altogether peculiar excellence of being filled and sustained by the spirit of a higher religion—nay, of even having become in part the vehicle for its great truths. We must acknowledge and appreciate this excellence in itself, but we cannot use it for strict history without investigating its historical significance. It is absurd entirely to neglect its use for historical purposes, and to consider the duty of science to be to express sad doubts of its truth; thereby depriving ourselves, out of mere folly, of the most comprehensive means of searching out a great portion of history. It is rather our duty to take tradition just as it expects to be taken—to use it only as a means for discovering what the real facts once were. To this we are, even unwillingly, compelled by the different versions of the same incident which we not unfrequently encounter. We must first endeavour to recognise every historian as exactly as possible by his peculiar style, in order to see how he treats traditions; and only then, and by these means chiefly, the traditions themselves. It is most fortunate when we find several traditions about the same thing by different narrators, or (what is still more instructive) from widely distant periods. Thus the single passage in Genesis xiv. throws a new light on all the other stories of the Patriarchal world; and many other equally surprising cases of the same kind will meet us farther on. When we find only one account of an event, and that one

has perchance passed through many hands and modifications, our task is indeed inevitably much harder: but even then we cannot be entirely in the dark, if we rightly interpret the passage itself, compare it with similar ones, accurately weigh all possibilities, and the general character of tradition, and keep in mind all that we know from other sources about the period in which the event falls. And the thorough understanding of one single portion of ancient history always leads to a surer insight into others.

We shall thus be enabled to attain our main object—to distinguish between the story and its foundation, and exclusively to seek the latter with all diligence. It is not the great and the wonderful in history of which we ought to feel a vague terror, or which we would rather reject and deny. We know that history has its mountains and plains, no less than the earth has; and how delighted we are to climb the former, without despising the latter! But we have to discover what the heights of history really are, and to what elevation they rise above the plains; and the more accurately we estimate their relative proportion, the more purely shall we appreciate and admire those Alpine peaks, which not we but Another has raised.

#### B. COMMENCEMENT OF HEBREW HISTORICAL COMPOSITION. WRITING.

The first historians of a people, as we have said, always find some cycle of traditions ready to their hand; and it is especially the primary characteristics of tradition—the unforced freshness and animation of the story, as well as the general charm of beautiful oral description—that are transferred unchanged into the earliest attempts to fetter tradition by writing. The only things in these rudiments of historical composition, that distinguish the writer from the mere narrator, are the more comprehensive collection and combination of the traditions themselves, and the wider or perhaps exacter survey of the entire province of history which he purposes to describe in conformity with tradition. If this first attempt to fetter the fluctuating tradition should display variations and discrepancies between the separate stories, the writer either places them entirely unaltered beside each other (as the oldest historians of the Arabs do, accurately exhibiting the true picture of all the confusion and variation of tradition, and adducing their several authorities); or he tacitly selects what appears to him the most reliable. He may, however, also incorporate in his work two traditions which have been developed out of one incident (according

to p. 16), if to him they appear to refer to two distinct events: thus what is related of Sarah in Genesis xii. 9–20, and what is recorded of Rebekah in Genesis xxvi. 7–11, are both inserted by the same author.<sup>1</sup> Yet, as the first writer who attempts this collection of traditions cannot possibly accomplish the whole task, such essays and commencements of historical writing are repeated until the work is more fully done.

This is in the main the picture which the Arabs give us of the first attempts at historical composition; and as such commencements of an entirely novel literature, among the Hebrews as among other nations of antiquity, have suffered much from the encroachment of later utterly different kinds of writing, and as, especially in the Old Testament, they have nowhere been preserved in their genuine pristine state throughout a whole book, the example of the Arabs in this cannot be otherwise than very instructive.<sup>2</sup>

It is not, however, merely a given abundance of traditions, and the stimulus of important materials, that of themselves beget such attempts at history; for in that case the Arabs—to cite this most instructive example again—might have had a history long before Islam. The actual rise of independent historical composition presupposes, especially in a primitive people, two other conditions—the occurrence of an extraordinary time by which a people feels itself elevated, and the existence and current use of the art of writing.

As soon as a people is roused from its torpor by such a happy time, which raises it powerfully and lastingly to a higher stage, and inspires it with a far prouder consciousness among the surrounding nations, it also looks farther round about itself in history, and regards with very different eyes the traditions of its own early times. It was not until Islam made the Arabs conscious of their position in the scale of nations that the writing of history commenced among them, setting out from recently revived traditions about their ancient times, and then soon taking up the narration of events subsequent to the origin of Islam, and even universal history. If we apply this to the Hebrews, we are not to imagine that their activity on the great theatre of nations dates its commencement from Moses. Even before Moses, as we shall show, Israel achieved a glory, and advanced to a height among the neighbouring nations,

<sup>1</sup> Both these passages (but not Gen. xx.) belong to the Fourth Narrator of the Pentateuch.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 33; *Zeitschrift f. d. Morgenland*, bd. i. 95; iii. 228, 330 sq.;

*Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1832, p. 610. More recently this subject has been discussed by Sprenger in his *Life of Mohammed*.

which might well have awakened in it the germs of historical composition. Nevertheless, it is difficult to prove, from the Old Testament itself,<sup>1</sup> that the rudiments of history were formed before Moses; and at any rate those rudiments cannot have been important. But, as will be proved in the sequel, there is no doubt that the Mosaic times were extraordinary enough to develop these germs.

We must therefore pay all the greater regard to the second condition, the existence of an already common written character; in which respect the question takes this form: Did such a thing exist in the time of Joseph, or even Abraham, or at any rate in that of Moses? And as we possess no evidence that summarily decides this point—since every investigation into the antiquity and use of writing among the primitive nations necessarily goes back into the mists of the remotest times—nought remains for us but, first to note attentively every mention of writing and its use, and then to search out the oldest documents which are not conceivable without writing; always keeping in mind the peculiarity of the Hebrew characters, and their ancient connection with other kinds of writing.

I. The accounts of the Patriarchal time contain no sure traces of the use of writing in that early age. The Book of Origins is so far from alluding in its minutest delineations to such a use, that it gives distinct glimpses of the contrary. According to it, not only Divine covenants with man (Gen. i., ix., xvii.) are concluded without written documents—whereas we see from the example of Ex. xxiv. that such documents, when conceivable, were not omitted in such descriptions—but also human compacts of the most decisive importance for posterity are in Gen. xxiii. ratified in a form which never could be adopted when there was a possibility of using written documents. To appreciate the cogency of this argument, we have only to observe how differently the ratification of much more trivial compacts is subsequently described.<sup>2</sup> The Fourth Narrator, who deals with the Patriarchal story subsequently to the date of the Book of Origins, does indeed once mention a sealing of Jacob's son Judah,<sup>3</sup> and such a ring necessarily implies

<sup>1</sup> We must not appeal to Gen. xlix. or to Gen. iv. 23 sq., as if these passages must have been written before Moses. It might be more seriously asked, whether such notices derived from the primitive history of the tribes as 1 Chron. vii. 20–27, viii. 13 (see about them below, in the account of the origin of the nation), were not written down before Moses. It cannot be doubted that the Israelites could write during

the time that they sojourned in Egypt, a country which enjoyed the use of writing from a much earlier date, as will be shown when we treat of the Hyksôs. Only, what was then written in Israel cannot have been very important—at any rate, we have no traces of it.

<sup>2</sup> Jer. xxxii.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. xxxviii. 18, 25.

the use of writing; nevertheless, this single exception, occurring in this late author, and employed as a mere embellishment of the tradition, has no weight of proof against all the other evidences; although there is no doubt that seals were known in the nation in the time of Moses.<sup>1</sup> Considering, then, that the accounts of the Mosaic times follow a thoroughly different type in this matter, we must admit that that primitive time, even as impressed on the memory of later ages, did not possess the art of writing. And this is one of the many instances that prove that tradition itself may preserve a correct memory of the difference of periods.

For as to the Mosaic time, the most various, and even the earliest reminiscences concur in representing it to have possessed the familiar use of writing. The two stone tables of the law (as we shall show farther on) are, according to all evidences and arguments, to be ascribed to Moses: but as the art of writing certainly cannot have commenced with the hardest writing-materials, nor its use been restricted to a few words on one single occasion, the unquestionable historical existence of these tables necessarily implies a diffusion of the knowledge of writing among the more cultivated portion of the people. While the oldest historian expressly states that Moses wrote down the Ten Commandments, and an entire small book of laws besides,<sup>2</sup> the Book of Origins not only assigns to him the ancient list of the stations of the people in the desert,<sup>3</sup> but also, in the description of the Mosaic laws, constantly presupposes the frequent use of writing.<sup>4</sup>

The not unfrequent occurrence of writing in the succeeding centuries from Moses to David, which the documents attest in the most credible manner, is in perfect harmony with this. Writing was already a usual auxiliary in common life,<sup>5</sup> and was likewise employed in recording new laws, which were deposited with the older statutes in the sanctuary.<sup>6</sup> It is evident that these troublous times down to David merely continued what had been introduced in the time of Moses.

But in the time after Solomon there is so much writing that ten thousand divine written laws are spoken of,<sup>7</sup> and the great

<sup>1</sup> Ex. xxxix. 30.

<sup>2</sup> Ex. xxiv. 4, 7. There is a passage from a very ancient work in Lev. xix. 28, which presupposes writing.

<sup>3</sup> Num. xxxiii. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Num. v. 23; xvii. 17 sqq. [2 sqq.]; Ex. xxxix. 30; Jos. xviii. 6 sqq. As a matter of course, the Fourth Narrator, Ex. xvii. 14, xxiv. 12, xxxii. 32, xxxiv.

27 sq. (cf. also Num. xi. 26), and the Deuteronomist, always assume the existence of writing at that period.

<sup>5</sup> Judges viii. 14; 2 Sam. xi. 14 sq.

<sup>6</sup> This is manifestly deducible from the manner in which the origin of the law about the king is mentioned in 1 Sam. x. 25.

<sup>7</sup> Hos. viii. 12 (*Ketib*); in agreement

prophets are ready at any moment to write down their most important declarations as perpetual memorials for posterity ;<sup>1</sup> in conformity with which, the fourth biographer of Moses makes that hero likewise write down by Divine command a saying uttered at an important crisis.<sup>2</sup> Nay, we even read both of ready writers, who must have written quite differently from the primitive way,<sup>3</sup> and also of a twofold character ; for that intended for the common people,<sup>4</sup> which probably retained more faithfully the simple antique forms of the letters, necessarily implies the existence of another kind, which we may reasonably conceive to have been the abbreviated and less legible tachygraphic character.

II. But even independently of all outward testimonies as to the use of writing, it is indisputable, from the written documents which we can show once existed, that writing was employed as far back as those testimonies reach. It cannot be proved that any written documents of the Patriarchal times came down to posterity ;<sup>5</sup> we are likewise unable to show, at any rate from our present sources, that any large historical work was written immediately after the liberation of the people, and while they were still in the desert.<sup>6</sup> But the Two Tables of the Law are an incontrovertible proof that there was writing in the age of Moses ; and, when writing once existed, the greatness of the Mosaic age was exciting enough speedily to develop the germs of historical composition. On the same spot, therefore, in the history of Israel, on which the foundation for the whole of its subsequent development was laid, we also find the concurrence of those two conditions from which a national historiography may arise. Passages like the list of stations in the desert from Egypt to the frontiers of Canaan (Num. xxxiii.), the census of the congregation (Num. i. sqq. xxvi.), and others which will be noticed farther on, must, according to all indications, have been written early, and may be regarded as historical documents. The 'Book of the Wars of Jahveh' (Num.

with this, we find similes derived from writing used in Is. x. 19, xxix. 11 sq. ; Ps. xlv. 2 [1] ; for similes can only be taken from phenomena known to everyone.

<sup>1</sup> Is. viii. 1, 16, xxx. 8 ; Hab. ii. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Ex. xvii. 14 ; the mode of delineation is all that is new here ; the narrator doubtless found the declaration itself of which we speak in some ancient book, which he might ascribe to Moses.

<sup>3</sup> Ps. xlv. 2 [1].

<sup>4</sup> Is. viii. 1 ; Hab. ii. 2. I have no doubt that we must take this view of this

matter, although we may possibly yet find actual specimens of these different characters only buried under the soil.

<sup>5</sup> The Song of the Sword, Gen. iv. 23 sq., is indeed very ancient, and must, from its entire contents, belong to a time anterior to Moses ; but its apophthegmatical conciseness makes it probable that it was long preserved in the memory merely.

<sup>6</sup> This will be manifest from the observations which we shall make on all the historical books, and on the Mosaic history itself.

xxi. 14), which, as may be inferred from the citations from it, and other indications, must be very ancient, is by its very title declared to be historical. Thus there was, after the age of Moses, a sufficiently broad and solid basis for the development of historical composition.

We might here further enquire whether the Hebrew alphabetical character was invented by Moses or any of his contemporaries, or whence did the people get its alphabet. To imagine that Moses, or even Israel at all, invented the Hebrew character (as many did in the latest age of antiquity),<sup>1</sup> is to involve oneself in many difficulties. This view is not supported by a single ancient reminiscence, nor in the remotest way by any tradition of Biblical antiquity; and yet the invention of an art like writing is something of which a people may be proud, and of which all civilised nations have from time immemorial been proud. And although the need of a means like writing, for the purpose of fixing the new laws that are to bind the community, may be ever so sensibly felt at the juncture when a new state is founded, as it was in the time of Moses, alphabetical writing is, nevertheless, too artificial a thing to be discovered everywhere all at once and so easily. Moreover, facts themselves contradict this view in many ways. The Hebrew character is a link in the larger chain of Semitic and other cognate alphabets;<sup>2</sup> but it is highly improbable in itself that a people like the Hebrews, which in early antiquity never spread itself widely, nor had much intercourse with foreigners, should actually have communicated the art of writing to such nations as unquestionably excelled it in antiquity of civilisation, in the arts of life, and in extent of commerce, such as were the Arameans, the Phenicians, and others. The facts of the case prove the contrary. Further, an investigation into the Semitic languages shows that the Asiatic members at least all express the simplest notions relating to this art in the same way,<sup>3</sup> whereas later improvements of it are denoted by each

<sup>1</sup> Eupolemus (a writer who, according to Eusebius, *Præparat. Evangel.* ix. 17, is referred to by Alexander Polyhistor in the time of Sulla, and who is also known to Josephus, *Against Apion*, i. 23) makes him the inventor of the Hebrew alphabet (Eusebius, l. c. ix. 26); and Artapanus (Euseb. *Pr. Ev.* ix. 27) makes him the inventor of even the Egyptian characters. We shall show further on what credit these writers deserve.

<sup>2</sup> See also my *Ausführliches Lehrbuch der Hebr. Spr.*, § 9, 10, p. 41. sqq. 7th ed.

The cuneiform characters on the contrary were probably derived from the precisely opposite quarter, namely from the North and northern nations. See *Gött. Gel. Anz.*, 1859, p. 176.

<sup>3</sup> Not only is כתב, *to write*, together with its many derivatives, common to all the Semitic languages (with the sole exception, perhaps, of the Ethiopic and South Arabic, in which צרף is the commonest word for it), but also קָתַר *book* (properly *scale*), and דִּין *ink*, are found in them.

in different manners.<sup>1</sup> This phenomenon cannot be accounted for except by assuming that this character, in its simplest use, was first employed by an unknown primitive Semitic people, from which all the Semitic nations which appear in history received it along with the most indispensable designations of the subject; as surely as the fact that *Eloah*, the name for *God*, is common to all Semitic nations, proves that the primitive people from which they all proceeded, designated God by that term; and just as, in following out such traces generally, we are led to the most surprising truths about the remotest periods in the history of nations. The proper place, however, to pursue this subject will be in the history of the Hebrews in Egypt.

III. We see then here also how surely every enquiry into the origin of writing among the primitive peoples of antiquity, loses itself in a distant mist, which all our present means are inadequate to explore. Writing is still found to have existed among these peoples before we can historically trace it; for, like every primitive art, it has always surely sprung from the pressing needs of life, and probably been soonest developed by some nation possessing extended power and commerce. The application of it to write history, or even to fix laws, was then manifestly still far off. Whatever the Semitic people may be to which half the civilised world owes this invaluable invention,<sup>2</sup> so much is incontrovertible, that it appears in history as a possession of the Semitic nations long before Moses; and we need not scruple to assume that Israel knew and used it in

Only the pen, or instrument of writing, must have early changed, as *קֶטֶב* and *קֶטֶב*

(unless *חַב* may possibly be related to both) are very isolated, the Syrians using *קֶטֶב*, and the Arabs and Ethiopians, with the later Jews, even employing *καλαμος*.

<sup>1</sup> This is shown by the evidently later appearance of the art of making a *volume*, a *roll*. This does not occur among the Hebrews until the seventh century B.C., and its complete designation is *קִנְיָה קֶטֶב*, Ps. xl. 8 [7], Ezek. ii. 9 sqq.; its shorter one, *קִנְיָה*, Jer. xxxvi. 14 sqq., Zech. v. 1 sq., Ezra vi. 2. But the Arameans use instead *כִּתְבָּה* (Assem. *Biblioth.* i. 26, 34, Wiseman, *Horæ Syriacæ*, p. 297), and the Arabs *حَد*, or even *طومار* as the Ethiopians do (this last from the diminutive *τομαριον*). We will not here attempt to

determine what people invented this new art; in this, too, the Hebrews doubtless only followed the example set by others, just as in the Babylonian empire they adopted the there prevalent custom of writing on bricks, Ezek. iv. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Was it the Phenicians or not? This question, as also the kindred one, whether there is any possible connection between this character and the still older Egyptian, rather belongs to the history of the Hyksôs, which we shall treat of below. Even should the Semitic writing (as is certainly conceivable) have borrowed from the Egyptian one of its main principles, namely, that of making the letter represent the first sound of the name of the object depicted by it, yet its other main principle, that of always representing the same sound by one and the same sign, raises it infinitely above the Egyptian, and is the very thing that actually makes it, in spite of its conciseness, an adequate representation of vocal sounds.



**Egypt before Moses.** For that Israel did not adopt the Egyptian character (which is moreover hardly transferable to a language not Egyptian), but that of the nations cognate to itself, is in perfect accordance with the state of things in the period anterior to Moses.

It is probable that the cognate nations possessed not only the art of writing but an historical literature also before Israel did; as Israel, according to all indications, was one of the smallest and latest in the series of great and early civilised sister nations. When we reflect that such definite and minute accounts as we find about Edom in Gen. xxxvi. have all the air of being copied into the Book of Origins from the older documents of that people itself—since the traditions of the wisdom of the Edomites must have some foundation;<sup>1</sup> when we consider the ancient narrative contained in Gen. xiv., so strikingly different from all other accounts, in which Abraham is described as an almost alien ‘Hebrew,’ much as a Canaanite historian might have spoken of him;<sup>2</sup> and observe further, that the incidental notice which we obtain from the Book of Origins (Num. xiii. 22); about the date of the building of the ancient towns Hebron in Canaan, and Tanis in Egypt, has all the appearance of being a fragment of a Phœnician or other foreign work upon an historical province entirely alien to the Hebrew works known to us; then it cannot but appear very probable, or rather certain, that the earliest historians of Israel found many historical works already existing in the cognate nations. That the Tyrians possessed accurate histories with an exact chronology, we know for a fact, from the fragments of the works of Dius and Menander of Ephesus, who worked up their contents for Greek readers.<sup>3</sup>

The more surely, therefore, might historical composition in Israel—even if certain crude attempts at it had not been made before—have been rapidly developed after the great days of

<sup>1</sup> Much antique wisdom is ascribed to Edom, although in somewhat later works, Job, Jer. xlix. 7, Obad. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Verse 13. All indications tend to show that this whole piece, Gen. xiv., was written prior to Moses. Only the mention of Dan as a north-eastern town (verse 14) is surprising, when we compare Judges xvii. sq.; as wherever in this piece the modern name of a place is placed beside an ancient one, it is always only by way of explanation. However, as the later author who inserts this piece evidently writes with greater freedom towards the end, we may suppose that in verse 14 also he put

the later name *Dan* in place of the ancient *Laish*.

<sup>3</sup> See Josephus, *Ant.* viii. 5, 3; 13, 2; ix. 14, 2; *Against Apion*, i. 17 sq. These fragments, indeed, relate only to the time from David onwards; but as their contents and style are strictly historical, we cannot conclude from that circumstance that the Phœnician histories may not have also described much more ancient times. See also my *Abh. über die Phönizischen Ansichten von der Welterschöpfung und den geschichtlichen Werth Sanchuniathon's*. Gött. 1851.

Moses and Joshua; and it is incontrovertible that after Moses a Hebrew historiography of momentous import both could, and actually did, develop itself. How it advanced, however, and what phases it passed through in the course of centuries, is in the main only to be gathered from an investigation of the documents themselves. For the accurate appreciation of this portion of Hebrew literature shows indeed that its history is most closely connected with that of the general development of the nation, and that the image of the progress of all national efforts and conditions is clearly reflected in this special product of its mind. But as it is very difficult to form a correct appreciation of the date and primitive character of the historical books in the shape in which we find them, we must not shrink from a connected examination of them all, and here at the outset at least establish as much as is necessary to the general aim and conduct of the following work. Special remarks on the historical sources available for particular periods and events can only be introduced in the body of the work itself.

*Grandeur of the Subject of the Historical Books.*

A correct appreciation of this entire province of literature teaches us, it is true, that an uncommon activity and assiduity of the better mind of the old nation was therein displayed, taking a higher flight, indeed, at one time than at another, but yet never giving up through fatigue, but in spite of every difference in part, maintaining on the whole so even a tenor that the Gospels themselves, the youngest products of the true spirit of this national literature, bear in their most important characters almost involuntarily the greatest likeness to the oldest. But as this branch of literature developed itself more and more, it was soon obliged to climb the special height and assume the peculiar direction which fell to its lot as an important member of the entire national literature. It served, indeed, also the common lower aims of all historical writing, registered the wars and conquests of the nation, the deeds of the rulers, the genealogical tables, and the like. But if (according to p. 15, 31 sq.) as tradition became a national treasure of Israel it was affected by the nature of the dominant religion, much more must this have been the case with history, its full-grown and independent daughter. Where true religion with its fundamental claims and directions, stood in so close a connection with the whole people, whether they would or no, as here, and where the conception of the spiritual God, as constantly

watching behind all human thought and action, was so powerfully active, there all historical observation and description of things and events must also easily draw the narrator up to God. This easy sensibility and excitability for everything truly Divine, this assiduous listening for the voice, the will, and the almightiness of God in human affairs, this keen perception of Divine justice and all the wonderful disposition of Divine power, and lastly this open eye for all human perversities and presumption, constantly exhibited by the great Prophets, could not indeed but pass over with ever-growing strength to the historians, appear continually in their modes of conceiving and presenting events, lend the brightest colours to their style, and even penetrate the simple narrative in no few instances.

But narration did not need to remain always so simple. Historians who had to survey and describe whole periods, or who undertook to embrace all preceding history, might often design their works from the height of those sublime thoughts which the remembrance of the relation of the true God to human history must always excite. Where true religion has been long active, it generally tenders its profoundest views and truths on occasion of vivid contemplation of the whole past or future, or of great sections of history lying before the thinker as a reliable and completed experience. Such deep glances into the Divine relations of all human history might have been given in their first outlines long before a narrator sufficient for their height and their truth arose to exhibit them with distinct clearness in a large historical work. If now the period which such an historian wished to embrace receded into a long-concluded past, and therefore the Divine element in the history could be easily surveyed in its dense and brilliant rays, then there would be formed under the hand of the greatest historians such works as the Book of Origins, to be mentioned farther on — works in which the purest sublimity of historical contemplation is balanced by exact and sober description of human events and affairs, and in which one seems to behold a living account of the working of the true God throughout all human history, without on that account losing a correct and (so far as the means afforded) faithful historical picture of men and their works and deeds.

Moreover, many of the best Prophets gradually came to record so many of the most important occurrences of their own time, and experiences of their own activity, as might pass with posterity for the most reliable and authentic contributions to history. They laid great stress, indeed, upon the Divine

element in history, without in the least marring its human truthfulness, and in this way gave striking hints for the portraying of long periods in accordance with such higher perceptions and views, and for the discrimination in narrative of what was really Divine in human events, and in the fates of empires and dominions. And this contributed most of all to give to Hebrew historiography its peculiar expression.

Now all this taken together created the true greatness of these historical books. Historical writing among this people had the simple heart of a child, and a sober love of truth; not indulging in that vain and lawless phantasy and desire for fame, which easily destroys all earnest truth, but brief and terse in delineating the true, and at the same time always living and stimulating. As, however, these specialities spring from the predominance of true religion, the latter imparts to historiography her own height of thought, and her aversion to all that is frivolous, vain, and empty in narrative, such as characterises more especially the Buddhistic, but in a measure also the entire historical literature of Heathenism. This grandeur of material, and this simple force of representation, becomes therefore more and more the most significant peculiarity of Hebrew historiography, and that by which it is so sharply distinguished from that of Heathenism. Certainly it suffers palpably enough during retrograde times, and the Books of Chronicles do not attain the height and splendour of the older books, the Book of Esther even becoming, when regarded from this point of view, its precise antithesis. But on this soil its special impulses and preferences easily reassumed their power at every favourable period; and when we find in the Gospels that the more original they are, the more these reappear in a new form, this is by no means to be ascribed to mere imitation.

But the height of the subject and treatment in consequence of which Hebrew historiography stands so alone in antiquity, and serves for us too as a perpetual model, remained the sole highest point which it both strove after and attained. This forms at once its genuine glory and its immortal meaning, which one should never ignore: but as it lays claim to no more, it would be folly to bestow upon it any other. That it sought out and faithfully used the most reliable sources, is a matter of course, a consequence of its universal tendency to plain truth and Divine earnestness: but to what may be called in a strict sense erudition it never raised itself.

*The Anonymosness of the Historical Books, and the Art of  
Historical Compilation.*

There is a general criterion by which, in spite of its apparent insignificance, the whole peculiarity of Hebrew historical composition towards the philosophy of history can be very plainly discerned at once. This is the Anonymosness of the historical books. Neither were the historians wont to name themselves as authors, nor the readers to be curious about their names. This custom was universal at first, and was only gradually relaxed in the last centuries, as may be inferred from the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah, and from the fact that the Books of Chronicles are the first to make exact enquiry as to the names of the authors of older historical works. Even such names as 'Books of Moses,' 'Books of Samuel,' first came into vogue in these later ages of the ancient people; as will be explained farther on. We must believe that the anonymous character of the historical works was the established rule from the beginning, was preserved unaltered even in the most flourishing times of historical literature, and was resumed even in the last genuine descendants of this primitive style. For whilst the Second Book of Maccabees by naming an author is shown to have sprung from a completely Hellenistic mind, the First Book remains nameless, as do all the Gospels; and the fact that not even the Gospel of John bears its author's name on its front is explained by this old and consecrated custom. This very thing forms a constant distinction between Hebrew historical composition and that of the Greeks as well as the Arabs (or Mohammedans generally), and is a defect from which it never entirely freed itself even in later times. It is here almost as it is among the Hindus, where from ancient times no great enquiry was ever made about the author of a *Purāna*, and where the author was never wont to name himself.

It is a matter of very little importance indeed, when looked at from the simplest point of view, *who* is the first to write down a well-known story or tradition. The minute diversities, too, which the written picture produces, are easily thrown into the shade behind the great events themselves, so long as these exercise a lively influence on the mind of the nation; and the stories which the narrator essays to embody in writing appear to him so grand and so permanent that his own personality becomes subordinate and vanishes before them. On this account all historical composition, so long as it remains in this

simple stage of development in a nation, will long continue to be anonymous. If the ancient Arabian history forms an exception to this, that is to be attributed to special causes (see p. 33). The case is quite different with the Prophets: their name, nay, their life, must at once guarantee their word. Hence there is no portion of the Bible in which the names of the authors have, on the whole, been so faithfully preserved. The fame of poetry also, as soon as it has attained any elevation, is easily reflected on the poets. Hence the names of the authors are frequently mentioned in the poetical parts of the Old Testament, whenever it was possible to do so. But no single name of the author of a narrative work has been preserved, so inviolate was the ancient custom, even in the most flourishing periods of the historical literature, and so much more highly did the people esteem the history itself in its grandeur and truth than the person who related it. When one reflects, moreover, that the higher a narrator soared (p. 53 sqq.) the more was he compelled to let his own personality disappear behind the grand Divine story he had to tell, it cannot be a matter of surprise that the names even of the greatest historians of the Old Testament are lost to us. Their contemporaries could doubtless always have learnt their names, if they had troubled themselves about it: but it was not the custom to inscribe them in the books themselves, so that we should never have known the authors' names even of our five New Testament histories, had not special causes operated in the case of the Gospels to prevent their names being lost.

But, in fact, this also shows that the zealous search after that truth was not then understood to be the hard but necessary toil of individuals. As soon as ever it becomes very difficult to search out the whole historical truth, and there is a deeper appreciation of that difficulty, then individuals must devote themselves specially to that investigation; and the historical view which thus proceeds from a person who has examined the whole subject, is necessarily referred to him, and to the authority of his name. Works of history will not then be often produced anonymously and circulated without a name. We may in this respect affirm that the relinquishment of the anonymousness of the historian is the beginning of historical science.

Now the ancient people of Israel passed the most glorious time of its history in such a happy domestic seclusion that, on that very account, the truth of its own history could not be much obscured and perverted in its memory; and it had no cause to be very curious about foreign histories. The great sobriety of

its religion further preserved it from too gross corruption of the historical consciousness. In this simplicity of life and thought, during the very time that its peculiar spirit was undergoing the most fruitful development, it felt little necessity for critically investigating its ancient history; and though a science of history might have commenced in the period after David and Solomon, yet it was choked by the new troubles of the succeeding times. That the impulses and germs of a stricter investigation of antiquity were then busy, we cannot but admit:<sup>1</sup> but before they could gain strength to develop themselves fairly, they were suppressed. Thus the nation at length disappeared from the theatre of the world's history without having attained an exact knowledge of either its own ancient history or that of other nations. The old Hebrew historical works supply us with the most reliable, and relatively speaking the most abundant, materials for the investigation of the whole of that national history which is in itself at the same time the history of the development of the only eternally true religion. They are also filled and sustained, in their most essential spirit, by the inmost springs of that religion, and could not be otherwise; yet we must not demand from them what they do not possess and cannot give, and we ought to acknowledge a defect which we cannot gainsay. Here, as in every other case, it will be enough if we find the real merits of the cause.

Now as the historians were not even in the habit of designating their works by their names, later writers found it very easy to copy the works of their predecessors more or less literally, and to digest and work up their materials in the most various ways. So long as the simple style of historical composition prevails, historical works are very liable to this treatment, even when the authors name themselves—as so many Arabian histories show; how much more easily then when they are entirely anonymous. In fact, every strict examination of the historical works now contained in the Canon of the Old Testament, shows incontestably that the late authors often copied the older works very literally, fused together the accounts and notices given by various and sometimes discordant authorities, and placed them in new combinations, and thus were rather collectors and digesters of older historical materials, than really

<sup>1</sup> Let the reader only consider such passages as 1 Sam. xxvii. 8; Num. xxiv. 20; 1 Chr. vii. 21, where we may read three different independent opinions on the primitive inhabitants of Palestine, all

of which rest on trustworthy recollection and investigation; and the general style of treatment to which the Deuteronomist subjects the ancient history.

original authors.<sup>1</sup> In the earlier times, so long as historical composition, with literature in general, was still flourishing, the amalgamation and fusion of the various written documents was effected more easily and gracefully than in the later. And it is in accordance with this that the reference to written authorities is in earlier times very rare, and only adopted in indispensable cases, but in later ages becomes more frequent and regular.

But here we arrive at one of the most memorable phenomena in the entire ancient Hebrew literature, which extends far beyond the range of the historical books, and hitherto has been but little regarded. In order to appreciate it in a manner proportioned to its importance, we must think ourselves back into the times when a great mass of scattered anonymous writings on the same subject was circulating, and when it was no easy task even to bring them together, and still less so to connect them properly. If several different writings on the same subject lay scattered in disorder, it was clearly in itself an advantage to select the best of them and combine these more closely one with another; and if the writings were anonymous, it was so much the more easy to combine them agreeably to some special aim. But tolerably early the skilful compounding of many such works into one must have been raised into a special art: for, in fact, there needed not simply the will, but also considerable ability and dexterity, to effect such a compilation; skilfully to work over materials, to harmonise the mutually contradictory, and by the aid of possibly numerous omissions and some connecting or explanatory additions, to blend all together, and build up a new whole whose origination from previous documents only a practised eye can discover. But this special art of *book-compounding* must have been much practised in the nation of Israel as early as the tenth century B.C. It extended down to very late times, flourishing more in prosperous periods than in others, and had manifestly the greatest influence on the whole outward form of a large portion of the literature. It might, besides, take many various forms. The book-compounder might add more or less of his own, might work over all his materials with more or less freedom. By nothing so much as by the activity of this art can one gauge the degree of perfection to which the entire literature

<sup>1</sup> In the midst of all other points of disagreement, there is much resemblance to this in the origin of many of the *Purānas*. See the remarks in Burnouf's Preface to the *Bhāgavata Purāna*, vol. iii.

p. ci. sq. There is also much resemblance in the manner in which Iamblichus' *Vita Pythagoræ* has been made up from older Greek works.



of Israel thus early raised itself. It penetrates the entire literary field. The Book of Enoch as we now have it owes its origin to this art.<sup>1</sup> Both the Canonical and the Apocryphal Proverbs,<sup>2</sup> no less than the Psalter and the Book of Job, have passed through these finishing workshops, notwithstanding that the authors' names are here and there interwoven. Even the collection of the Sibylline Books has arisen in a similar manner.<sup>3</sup> Chief of all, however, did this art find its employment in the historical works; nor can anything be conceived more elegant and perfect than the compilation of almost the whole of the Old Testament books of narrative. For it is certain, on closer investigation, that not merely the Pentateuch or Genesis, but almost the whole of the historical books, are traceable to distinct and still recognisable sources, though in most the combination has been so cleverly executed that one frequently experiences a difficulty in recognising the rivetings. The same art is exhibited likewise in the three first Gospels and the Acts; and in the ten books of the *History of the Apostles* referred to Abdias, the various strata of earlier written narratives of which they are composed are clearly to be made out. Of such importance is it to understand rightly this particular art, and so surely do we encounter here the traces of a forgotten but once very eager literary activity.

There are few historical books, therefore, now in the Old Testament which have been preserved perfectly as they were first composed. The latest of all, the Book of Esther, is the only one that we can claim as wholly such; in the little Book of Ruth, we observe, at the end at least (iv. 18-22), a literal copy of older writings. It therefore must certainly cost no little trouble to discover and clearly discriminate the original works in the present ones. All that has been preserved of them is more or less fragmentary and confused, and it is often hard enough even to find these fragments correctly. The necessity of such researches, however, spontaneously forces itself on us at every attentive perusal of the books: and, on the other hand, we may be even glad that the late works have preserved so many portions of the original ones, and that we are still

<sup>1</sup> See my *Abh. über des Aeth. B. Henókh, Entstehung, Sinn, und Zusammensetzung*. Gött. 1854.

<sup>2</sup> See the *Jahrbücher der Biblischen Wiss.*, iii. and xi.

<sup>3</sup> See my *Abh. über Entstehung, Inhalt, und Werth der Sibyllischen Bücher*. Gött. 1858. That such works as the Talmud,

the *C. J.* [does Ewald mean *Carmina Judaica*, or what?—Ed.], the Babylonian-Arabian and the Greek *Geoponica* must have arisen in this way is self-evident; only in them the names of the reputed or actual authors of the original writings are often preserved.

enabled, by the careful study of so many fragments of the most different kinds and ages, to obtain a more complete survey of the whole ancient Hebrew historical composition.<sup>1</sup> We now proceed to particulars.

## C. HISTORY OF HEBREW HISTORICAL COMPOSITION.

The historical works contained in the Old Testament, which must be the chief sources of this history, are divided, both as to their character and their external order and arrangement, into three parts: I. The books which are devoted to the description of the Antiquity of the nation, or the period down to the time of the Judges: viz. the Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua; which, however, properly only form one work, and which (if we wished to give them a collective name) might be called the *Great Book of Origins*,<sup>2</sup> or of the *Primitive History*. II. The books which describe the time of the Judges and Kings, down to the first destruction of Jerusalem: viz. the Book of Judges and the four Books of Kings (i.e. the two of Samuel and the two of Kings), to which we must add the Book of Ruth, which accidentally has received a place in the Hebrew Bible among the Hagiographa; all these likewise, on their last redaction, only formed one work, which might be appropriately called the *Great Book of Kings*. Each of these two great works, therefore, not only embraces a separate province, but, by a surprising coincidence, at the same time comprises one of the three great periods into which the entire history of the nation is divided by intrinsic character; and all critical investigation brings us to the conclusion that neither of them, in the state in which we find them, is a single work in the strict sense, but is to be

<sup>1</sup> When these investigations began to be zealously pursued in Germany, more than seventy years ago, very much perversity of attempt and aim mingled in them. Scholars were too easily satisfied with hunting out mere contradictions in the books, detecting want of coherence in the stories, and resolving everything into 'fragments'; whereas they had not yet found any large firm basis, and were therefore unable to distinguish a real incongruity from a merely apparent discrepancy. I do not now regret having cast my first youthful work of the year 1823 [*Die Komposition der Genesis*] into that wild ferment: I still maintain large and important portions of it. I have, however, already spoken of it more than

once [namely, in the *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* for the year 1831, p. 595 sqq., and in the March number of the *Berliner Jahrbücher* for the same year]. The necessity of strict investigation in this province is evident to everyone who is not wilfully blind; and all we have to be concerned about is, that our knowledge and discernment should be thoroughly reliable and profound. No conscientious man ought any longer to pay the least attention to the stupidity of those scholars who even in our day condemn all investigations of this sort in the lump.

<sup>2</sup> Not to be confounded with that which I usually call the *Book of Origins*. This latter is the older book, and one basis of the present one.

regarded as a book in which a number of kindred accounts and representations of the same period have gathered round one central work, or rather, have attached themselves to it as closely as possible—just as, in the Psalter and the Proverbs, a quantity of kindred matter has gradually gathered round the nucleus furnished by David's songs and Solomon's proverbs. To these are to be added : III. Those much later works which are placed together in the Hagiographa, namely, the *Great Book of Universal History down to the Greek times* (the Chronicles with the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah), and the little Book of Esther. These are the three strata of historical books in the old Testament, which moreover were completed and received into the Canon one after another, in the same order of time. And as each of the three great works sprang, both as to origin and present shape, from peculiar and independent tendencies of historical view and description, we find in them, when taken together and thoroughly appreciated in all their minutest parts, the exactest possible history of the fates and modifications of Hebrew historical composition, from its rudiments, down through its fullest and ripest developments to its complete decay.

## I. THE GREAT BOOK OF ORIGINS.

## PENTATEUCH AND BOOK OF JOSHUA.

This work on the history of the ancient period of the nation is, as to its origin and the greater part of its contents, considerably older than the second of the three books above mentioned, and has therefore experienced far greater transformations, before it emerged out of the flood of similar books, as the only one which posterity thought worth preservation. Before it received its last modifications, earlier historical works and documents of the most various kind were gathered into its bosom, as rivers into a sea; and the discovery and discrimination of these oldest component parts is the problem, the right solution of which is indispensable for the use of the various materials, and includes in itself the relics of a history of the oldest Hebrew historical composition.

Without doubt, the utmost foresight is the first condition of sound discernment in this field. For when we have to deal with books which are no longer in their original state, and which we only know at second or third hand, by isolated criteria, it necessarily follows that the oldest are the most difficult to discover, because repeated redactions may have so much shortened, or transformed and amalgamated them with later material, that it requires the utmost effort to collect the fragments of a work from their dispersion and confusion, and to form from them a correct notion of the whole work. As it is impossible, however, any longer to evade all researches of this kind—unless we are ready beforehand to renounce every sound view about the whole of the oldest history—everything depends on our research being profound enough to exhaust all the evidences that the present documents offer. It is surprising to see how the varied phenomena of this province, as soon as we only make a right beginning of comprehending them, contribute so much light to explain each other, as to make it possible to establish the most important certainties on what at first sight seemed such slippery ground.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> After I had gained some insight into the leading necessities that govern this whole subject, I was curious to see whether K. D. Ilgen [*Die Urkunden des ersten*

*Buchs von Mose*, Halle, 1798], the only scholar of older date, who, after the physician Astruc and Eichhorn, carefully examined the Book of Genesis with refer-

### 1. *The oldest Historical Works.*

There are writings which have every appearance of great antiquity, but which do not particularly claim our notice here, because they cannot be reckoned to belong to narrative literature. Thus, as we shall frequently remark farther on, many short codes of law were written down at a very early date, and on repeated occasions; nevertheless, in so far as these were written down by themselves, they do not belong here. It is not so easy to conceive that such a passage as the list of the stations (Num. xxxiii. 1-49), which must have been written early, and which is even ascribed to Moses himself (v. 2), can ever have been written down by itself, without belonging to a regular historical work. If, then, we look for traces of strictly historical works, such as we should expect to find in Israel, a close scrutiny certainly does discover comparatively many and distinct vestiges of this kind. We can at the outset include among them generally all the passages which, according to all appearances, must have already stood in some historical book or other before the date of the Book of Origins, which we shall soon describe, and other later works. We find such fragments of the oldest historical works scattered about from the Book of Genesis down to that of Judges; and, as far as it can be concisely done thus early, we will indicate them in the note below.<sup>1</sup>

ence to its sources—had discovered the true state of the case in this book, at any rate. But alas! I found that, though he occasionally takes a step on the right road, he always loses it again. As for later times, I may refer to what I have myself said in the *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* for the year 1831, p. 595-608; and to Tuch's *Kommentar über die Genesis*, 1838. On the more recent unsatisfactory and often perverse works of Hupfeld and Knobel I have written at length in the *Jahrbücher der Biblischen Wiss.*, v. p. 239-44, and *Gött. Gel. Anz.*, 1862, p. 17-31. The opinions of such as Hengstenberg, Delitzsch, Keil, Kurtz, stand below and outside of all science. See also p. 61 above.

<sup>1</sup> In the Book of Genesis: some ancient elements in xi. 29 sq., xv. 2, xx. xxi. 6-32, xxvi. 13-33, xxix-xxxiii. 15; more connectedly and very little changed, xxxv. 1-4, 6-8, 16-22; much in xxxvii., xl. sqq., may be derived from this source, especially what relates to Egypt; but we do not discover the unadulterated original again till xlviii. 7, 22, xlix. 1-28.—

In the Book of Exodus: iv. 18, 24-27, xiii. 17-18; much in xiv.; then xv. almost entire; xviii., xix. 3-xxiv. 11, a large main-piece, although the Fourth Narrator must have enlarged somewhat in xix.—In the Book of Numbers: xi. 4-9, xii. 1, 3, xx. 14-21, xxi. 1-9, 12-35, xxxii. 33-42, very important passages.—In the Book of Joshua: v. 2-12, as to its basis; much in x-xii., especially the list in xii. 9-24; in xiii. 2-8, 13, xv. 13-19, 45-47, xvi. 10, xvii. 11-18, xix. 47.—In the Book of Judges: the whole chapter i. to ii. 5, little altered; but also the passage in x. 8, and much in ix., have all the air of being derived from very old documents. Many portions of these works are, without doubt, scattered about in other places, freely treated by later writers, and thoroughly changed in the redaction. Where such materials are to be looked for, the consideration of the following works will teach. It was hardly possible to explain here, with all necessary detail, the grounds for ascribing the above-cited passages to one or more ancient historical works. We

If we compare these fragments with the subsequent works, which we shall soon describe, we at once discover a marked difference between the earlier and the later modes of treating the history itself. The subsequent works delineate, indeed, many incidents of the age of Moses and Joshua with great minuteness of detail; but in that case they pursue more definite aims, legislative or prophetic, and each, as we shall show, after its own peculiar fashion. But these fragments have no such limited scope in their account of these times; moreover, the matter which they record may be recognised as the most strictly historical, and the picture which they present as the most antique. Few as are the accounts now preserved in these fragments, still they afford us the clearest pictures of those times, and with all their conciseness contain an abundance of graphic and truly historical views, which afford us the readiest key to the understanding of all later works. We will show farther on, by many examples, how much they surpass even their immediate successor, the highly important *Book of Origins*, in simplicity and exactness, as well as in fulness and variety of record, and to what extent it is true that we possess no more reliable accounts of the events and peculiarities of early times than they contain. There is hardly anything which the historian has more to regret than the fact that only so few of these fragments have been preserved.

These fragments also display many both rare and archaic peculiarities in the usage of words;<sup>1</sup> and much that is very

shall speak more intelligibly, and at the same time more concisely, on these points farther on, in the special portions of the history itself, and in part in the following explanation of the separate historical works.

<sup>1</sup> Confining ourselves to the passages which have been little changed, and which are at the same time not poetical, we find here, in proportion to the trifling bulk of the passages, a great number of words which are either entirely unknown elsewhere, or are not used in prose. Thus, אָנָן Ex. xxiv. 6; אָצִיל v. 11; עֲבָדֹר Josh. v. 11; הָרִיתִי xv. 18, Judges i. 14; קָלָל Num. xxi. 5; אֶסְכַּחֲךָ xi. 4; in the whole Pentateuch, and throughout the entire Old Testament, except the passages that adopt the word from the Pentateuch (Lam. iii. 5; Mal. i. 13; Neh. ix. 32), תִּלְאָחָה is only found in Ex. xviii. 8 and Num. xx. 14; אֶחָד only in Ex. xiii. 26, xxiii. 25; the word מְנוּחָה, in the remarkable passage Ex. xix. 6, which was constantly

being read, only recurs thrice in Deuteronomy with the same idea, and in a different connection in Chronicles and Ecclesiastes. Among the remarkable formations are the strange infinitive עֲשֹׂהֶנּוּ, Ex. xviii. 18, and the suffix מֶנּוּ, not in verse (though certainly lofty prophetic diction), xxiii. 31. We might enumerate many peculiar expressions, as, *King's road* (cf. מֶלֶךְ דֶּרֶךְ, *Mischna Sanhedrin*, ii. 4; still called in Amharic *janequs margad*, accord. to Isenberg's *Dictionary*, p. 33, 107; *درب السلطان* Seetzen's *Reisen*, i. p. 61, 132; and *Sultana*, in Robinson's *Palestine*, iii. 141; Amm. Marc. xxiii. 3. 1 *via regia*), for broad *high-road*, Num. xx. 17, xxi. 22; הִמָּס, said of the divine, i.e. irresistible, discomfiture of an enemy, Ex. xiv. 24, xxii. 27, Josh. x. 10; אֵין דְּבָרִי

without trouble, Num. xx. 19; לְפִי חֶרֶב according to the edge of the sword, i.e. without mercy, Num. xxi. 24, Josh. viii. 24, x. 28, 30, 32, 35, 37, 39, xi. 11 sq.

isolated and obscure in later works has certainly been borrowed from these remains of early history, or from similar sources.<sup>1</sup>

If we are asked, however, whether these fragments belong to a single historical work which originally embraced them all, we must answer in the negative. Although all the difficulties of such researches are centered here, we are nevertheless able, by gathering together into as lifelike a combination as possible all that bears signs of having once been full of life, to discern in these fragments several historical works from which they must be derived. As far as we can distinguish these as to the dates of their origin, they succeeded each other in this order:

1) The account of an important speech of Joshua's (Josh. xvii. 14-18) is evidently one of the most remarkable relics of the oldest historical composition; and none among all the above-mentioned fragments is so strange as this, in purely linguistic and artistic respects. The narration here almost stammers, as if it had yet to learn an easy flow. This prose is as rough and hard as a stone; and if there is any passage in the Old Testament which proves that common—that is, not poetical—diction (although, of course, it always existed along with poetical diction, just as night beside day) is at first but little fit to be written down, and only gradually and laboriously attains the roundness which suits writing (which verse originally possesses of itself), this passage is the one.<sup>2</sup> Besides, we are to take into

14 sq., xix. 47, Judges i. 8, 15, an expression which indeed often recurs in other later books after this model, but which is foreign to the Book of Origins (concerning Gen. xxxiv. 26, see farther on). The case is the same with the expression *he left not one that escaped*, Num. xxi. 35, Josh. x. 28, 30, 33, 37, 39 sq., xi. 8 (cf. viii. 22); *אִמָּה* *maid*, for *שִׁפְחָה*, is likewise foreign to the Book of Origins, compare Gen. xx. 17; xxi. 10-12; xxx. 3; xxxi. 33; Ex. xxi. 7, 20, 26 sq. 30; xxii. 12 (xx. 10), with Gen. xvi. 1-8; xxv. 12; xxxv. 25 sq.; *on account of*, *על אֲדֹרַת*, is at least nowhere else so frequent as in these fragments, Gen. xxi. 11, 25, xxvi. 32; Ex. xviii. 8; Num. xii. 1. It accords well with all these criteria that these fragments do not, as the Book of Origins does, introduce the name Jahveh at Ex. vi. 2, but besides that name, constantly use the common one Elohim, even in the sublimest moments of revelation, in a manner which we should neither expect to find, nor actually do find, in the Book of Origins, Ex. xiii. 17 sq., xviii. 1 sq.,

xix. 3, 17, 19, xx. 1, 19 sq. Peculiar expressions and views, when they are at the same time important for the history, will be explained below in their places.

<sup>1</sup> It has hitherto been little noticed that obscure words and sentences which, according to all appearance, must be based on ancient tradition, and which yet occur in the midst of easy and flowing descriptions, are derived from such primitive sources, and are evidently only repeated by subsequent writers for the sake of the ancient tradition. A convincing example may be found in the obscure words Gen. xx. 16, which, were it only for the resemblance of verse 17 with Ex. xv. 26, Num. xxi. 7, must surely be taken from one of these ancient works. There is a similar case in the name 'the Dread of Isaac,' for Isaac's God, Gen. xxxi. 42, 53, which must have an historical foundation.

<sup>2</sup> The repetition of the explanatory *כִּי*, which is nowhere else so frequent as in Josh. xvii. 18, appears in somewhat the same way in Ex. xxiii. 33, likewise an ancient passage; nevertheless, it does not recur there so frequently as in the former; and the passages of this *Third Narrator*

account the thoroughly antique and almost unexampled historical contents of this passage: so that there can be no doubt that it was written down soon after Joshua's death.

From the nature of its contents, however, this account would originally have only formed a small section of a larger work. What, then, was the historical work to which it belonged—perhaps the very oldest in Israel after Moses and Joshua? We once find a *Book of the Wars of Jahveh* specially cited as a written document, by a later but comparatively very ancient historian; <sup>1</sup> and if we consider both what he cites from this source, and the name he assigns to it, it will lead us to important conclusions. Verse 14 cites from this ancient book a thoroughly unconnected sentence, which begins and ends with accusatives, and cites it merely as a further testimony to the position of Israel's encampment:

[We took]

*Waheb in Sufa, and the valleys of Arnon,  
and the slope of the valleys that reaches to where Ar lies,  
and leans upon the border of Moab.*

Verse 20 cites another passage for the description of a station: <sup>2</sup>

[the dry dale]

*that is in the field of Moab, at the head of Pisgah,  
and looks out far over the wilderness.*

The structure of the members, and the very rare diction, <sup>3</sup> as well as the style of local description, which is by no means that usual in prose, show that these are fragments of songs—doubtless songs of victory, to celebrate the conquests of the nation, the possible large compass of which we may estimate by the similar song in Judges v. The name *Book of the Wars of Jahveh*, <sup>4</sup> indicates a book which, to judge by its title, certainly

already possess a much more flowing style generally. Besides, almost everything in the language of the passage in Josh. xvii. is strange.

<sup>1</sup> Num. xxi. 14. To be sure, the LXX. translate here διὰ τοῦτο λέγεται ἐν βιβλίῳ Πόλεμος τοῦ κυρίου τὴν Ζαβὼ ἐφλόγισε, but manifestly from various misunderstandings; and it is almost incomprehensible how in the *Zeitsch. d. Deut. Morgenl. Ges.* 1860, p. 316 sq. this utterly perverse interpretation of the words can be approved, and the existence of a *Book of the Wars of Jahveh* denied.

<sup>2</sup> The formula of citation is indeed absent here, but it occurs just before, and

the style of the diction indicates the same source.

<sup>3</sup> Let the reader only consider the very peculiar usage of מַחֲנֶה for *de-clivity*, of מַחֲנֶה for *place*, of מַחֲנֶה before the name of a place, and even serving to define the situation of the place. The expression in Deut. xxxiv. 1 is probably only derived from the last phrase. How old the whole v. 20 is, appears also from the fact that a writer many centuries later applied it quite differently, Num. xxxiii. 28.

<sup>4</sup> That is, holy wars, wars against oppressive heathens, said with the same emphasis as in 1 Sam. xviii. 17; xxv. 28; cf. 2 Sam. xxiii. 11.



did not contain only such songs, but a collection of all such reminiscences of the victorious campaigns of Moses and Joshua. We must therefore consider this to be one of the earliest historical works, which also contained simple narratives. We may assume, then, that the above-mentioned passage of Joshua originally belonged to it. Another very important passage that probably belonged to it, is the great Passover-song in Ex. xv. 1-18; for this has in v. 19 a brief explanatory appendix, which the next early historian (the author of the *Book of Covenants*), of whom we shall soon speak, must have found already annexed to it. The work may also have contained a list of the sites of Israel's encampment in the desert, which this same author of the *Book of Covenants* used. And if the author of the *Book of Origins* found Israel's stations in the desert already recorded in this oldest historical work, we can readily understand how he came to ascribe such a list to Moses himself, since it may at least at bottom be actually referable to him.<sup>1</sup>

2) According to all indications, we may refer to a second historical work some passages which—in direct contrast to the preceding unpractised attempts—display a hand more skilled in narrative composition, so that we may on that account consider this work somewhat later than the preceding; but which, in their contents, ascend back to very early times, and may very well have been written in the first century after Moses. We find no indication that this work contained more than the life of Moses himself, and, in the absence of the original designation, we may reasonably call it the *Biography of Moses*. But the very fact of its undertaking so limited a subject, is an evidence for its early date. Moses himself and his time are here presented to us on all sides in the clearest light. No other work known to us describes that great time more minutely and familiarly, and at the same time in such delicate and transparent language, as we discern in these fragments. They also manifest most unmistakable uniformity in the external character of the diction. But alas! they are only a very few fragments.<sup>2</sup>

3) Of a third work, many more fragments have been preserved. And when we compare the contents of the most im-

<sup>1</sup> Num. xxxiii. 2: on this twofold list of Moses's camping-places, see what is said in Vol. ii., of the march through the desert.

<sup>2</sup> Ex. iv. 18, and the whole chapter xviii., are all that we can confidently

assign to it; but without doubt many other records were ultimately derived from this work, especially that second list of the camp-stations of Israel under Moses which disagrees with the one above referred to.

portant among them, they at once display a striking common character in one particular: they are mainly intent on showing how the ancient compacts and covenants arose, and describe with especial minuteness all that concerns these. It is as if people were then in an unquiet time, in which everyone tried to secure himself by oral or written agreements with friends, and by binding compacts;<sup>1</sup> such importance is here attached to covenants in all relations of life. As a covenant is made between Israel and Elohim in the sublimest passage of the history,<sup>2</sup> so, according to this work, there is one between Jacob and Laban, Isaac and Abimelech, Abraham and Abimelech;<sup>3</sup> and there is the greatest resemblance in the descriptions of the ratifications of all these covenants.<sup>4</sup> This work is so peculiar in this respect, and all equally important accounts about the Patriarchal world contained in later works are so evidently a mere development of the principle here laid down,<sup>5</sup> that I do not see how, if we will give this work a name (its ancient name being lost), any better designation can be found for it than that of *Book of Covenants*.

If we seek the date of this work, all discoverable traces show that, though it cannot be earlier than the second half of the period of the Judges, or, more definitely, the beginning of Samson's jurisdiction, it certainly cannot be later. If the passage in Judges x. 8 is from this work, as I believe it is, that would bring us to the times after Gideon; and it is evident from Num. xxxii. 34-42 and from the above-mentioned passages from the present Books of Joshua and Judges, that the first times after Moses and Joshua had long become a matter of history. Jacob's Blessing (Gen. xlix.), which has every sign of having been borrowed from this book, brings us still nearer to the determination of its date. For this Blessing is entirely based on a view of the scattered manner in which the twelve tribes dwelt in Canaan in the period of the Judges. The very different positions of the various tribes, such as was necessarily the case when there was no strict national unity, and was so just then among them, could not be more vividly depicted than

<sup>1</sup> See the clear account given in another very ancient document, Gen. xiv. 13, and the manner in which our work speaks of its own time, Ex. xxiii. 32.

<sup>2</sup> Ex. xxiv.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. xxi. 22-32, xxvi. 28-31, xxxi. 44-54.

<sup>4</sup> To see this more distinctly, we must take into account that this work, although it describes the ratification of covenants

with such minuteness, yet never mentions the '*salt of the covenant*,' as the Book of Origins does, Lev. ii. 13; Num. xviii. 19; cf. 2 Chron. xiii. 5.

<sup>5</sup> What the Book of Origins says about the Divine Covenant with Abraham, Gen. xvii., and even with Noah, Gen. ix., lies so far removed from all historical experience, that the prototype of it can only be sought in Ex. xxiv.

they are in this song ; and it is as certain that Jacob's Blessing was composed in the period of the Judges as it is that the Song of Deborah belongs to the same date. How certain it is that it was not produced in the time of the Kings, is further evident from the fact that the imitation of it, Moses's Blessing, in Deut. xxxiii., was really composed for the purpose of supplying its deficiencies, which were subsequently very sensibly felt. For when Israel felt itself united and happy under kingly rule, then—to say nothing of other changes which time had wrought—it could no longer be contented with a benediction which nowhere regarded the nation as a whole, and which, with respect to some tribes, rather went off into curses, or at any rate into bitter reproaches ; and we comprehend how a poet might conceive the idea of remodelling it in such a way as we see in Deut. xxxiii. Another indication that Jacob's Blessing belongs to the later half of the period of the Judges is found in the remarkable fact that Deborah's song was present to his mind as a model ; and though it possesses much poetical beauty, yet it is very far from having the original poetic vigour that Deborah's song has. But the clearest indication for us is its declaration about Dan. v. 16–18 :

*Dan [judge] shall judge his people,  
as any tribe of Israel.  
Let Dan be a serpent in the way,  
a basilisk in the path,  
That bites the horses' heels,  
so that the rider falls backwards.<sup>1</sup>  
—I hope for thy help, O Jahveh !*

This distinctly refers to Samson's time and judicial office, when even the small tribe of Dan was as fortunate as any other or greater in seeing, in the person of Samson, a successful judge and hero arise in its midst of whom it could be proud, and under whom, although small and oppressed, it rose boldly against the Philistine supremacy, like a serpent which, though trodden to the earth, attacks the valiant rider behind.<sup>2</sup> And it being certain that this position of the tribe under Samson soon passed away without abiding consequences, such declaration must surely have been written down during Samson's brief and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the way in which among the ancient Arabs also the image of a warrior as a serpent is worked out, *Hamasa*, p. 784 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Even the ejaculation in v. 18 is characteristic, inasmuch as it distinctly shows

how immediately and how fervently those then living hoped for Dan's, that is Samson's, victory. The exclamation here belongs to the original text just as much as that in Is. xlvii. 4.

successful resistance; from which we may form a correct inference as to the date of the whole historical work of which we speak, inasmuch as all the other indications point to the same period.

This work, therefore, had its origin in a time which (as we shall show in its place) rose with new zeal against the great shortcomings and dangers which multiplied in the first careless centuries after Moses; a zeal which, after repeated kindlings, at last produced a really great deliverance under Samuel and the first kings. In this new popular fervour it might have been considered advisable to survey the past history of the nation, to describe its ancient victories and its destiny, its laws and its covenants, and to remark by way of contrast how low it had fallen in recent times, and how much of the Holy Land it had still left in the hands of the heathen (Judges i.) Thus the plan and nature of the work, as far as we can discover them from its fragments, may be clearly inferred from the period of its origin. The state of things in the time of the author, as to the intermixture of the people with the heathen, and the position of many unconquered heathen towns in the midst of Israel, was evidently similar to that described in the memorable passage in Judges i.; a state of things that had so entirely changed even under the first kings that the Book of Origins presents quite a different picture. It is evident that the traditions about the days of Moses and Joshua were then very abundant and pure, as is to be expected, seeing that no new and more important period could have obscured their memory. Traditions of the Patriarchal time were also incorporated, manifestly with great fulness and detail, and with reminiscences whose completeness gradually diminishes afterwards;<sup>1</sup> but we have at least no evidence that the work ventured on the primitive times before Abraham. The time of the author was, however, already so remote from the Patriarchal age, that it was possible to use a poetic license, and venture to give an imaginative picture of that age. Sorrowfully surveying the condition of the scattered tribes, and compelled to pronounce praise on some of them, and poignant blame on others, he fled in spirit to the memory of the Patriarch Jacob, in whom the idea of the unity of the nation always centered, and from whom every member of the community might expect an en-

<sup>1</sup> As, for example, Phichol as general, and Ahuzzath as friend (minister) of Abimelech, who stand now very isolated (Gen. xxi. 22, xxvi. 26), and look as if they

were merely casually preserved out of a cycle of much more circumstantial traditions.

during fatherly interest in the fortunes of his posterity.<sup>1</sup> All antiquity entertained the notion that dying persons have moments of illumination, and especially that a dying Patriarch could foresee the destinies of his posterity.<sup>2</sup> Thus he ventured to make the dying Jacob the mouthpiece of all the pure truths to be pronounced about all the tribes.<sup>3</sup> This is the earliest attempt of the kind known to us; later writers have evidently only copied the example here set.<sup>4</sup>

Even the tribe in which the author composed his work may in some degree be determined. He certainly did not belong to the tribe of Levi; he makes no allusions to its privileges and honours, nay hardly mentions it, as this tribe had fallen very low in the time of the Judges before Eli; and in the only place in which he is obliged to mention it in the series of the tribes,<sup>5</sup> he coldly degrades it to a level on which it could be placed only by a stranger, and only at that period. In like manner, he rises with noble pride against the northern tribes, which were more intermixed with heathen.<sup>6</sup> He praises the tribe of Joseph indeed, as he could not then help doing;<sup>7</sup> but there is no indication that he belonged to it. On the other hand, he everywhere exalts the tribe of Judah so markedly,<sup>8</sup> that we cannot shut our eyes to the special interest which draws him towards it. And that he dwelt in the south, and regarded the relative positions of the inhabitants from that point of view, is deducible from his special notice of the Amorites,<sup>9</sup> and from the custom thence arising of using the name of Amorites in a general sense, instead of that of Canaanites<sup>10</sup>—a pecu-

<sup>1</sup> That in early times a reciprocal relation was always assumed to exist between the Patriarchs and their descendants, is clearly seen in the language of the Prophets: as Hosea xii. 4 sqq. [3 sqq.]

<sup>2</sup> Homer, *Il.* xxii. 355-360, and the commentators *ad loc.*

<sup>3</sup> That in Gen. xlix. 1-27 the author does not so much mean the sons of Jacob as the tribes, he himself explains at the end, v. 28; and this gives us a clear hint how the whole is meant to be taken, and that the speaker himself may be understood to be identical with the poet. The special blessing on Joseph (verses 22-26), however, is ancient, preserved from times long before Moses; on this matter see below, on Joseph.

<sup>4</sup> Not only Moses's Blessing, Deut. xxxiii., but also such declarations as Gen. xlviii. 15-19, xxvii. 27-29, 39 sq., Num. xxiii. sq. are entirely formed upon that model.

<sup>5</sup> Gen. xlix. 5-7—cf. xxxiv. 25. In

contrast to this, Moses's Blessing gives exclusive prominence to the opposite side of Levi, Deut. xxxiii. 8-11.

<sup>6</sup> Gen. xlix. 14; Judges i.

<sup>7</sup> Gen. xlix. 22-26.

<sup>8</sup> Gen. xlix. 8-12, where he is almost declared the first-born, and at any rate made equal to the princely tribe of Joseph (Judges i. 2 sqq.); compare moreover the very minute remarks about events belonging to Judah's territory, Judges i. 12-15 (Josh. xv. 16-19); v. 16; Num. xxi. 1-3.

<sup>9</sup> Judges i. 36, where there is a very precise definition of the southern border of the Amorites, which is nowhere else referred to.

<sup>10</sup> Gen. xlviii. 22 (see, on the contrary, xxxiv. 2); Num. xxi. 13, 21 sqq., xxxii. 39; Judges i. 34 sq., x. 8. Other writers belonging to Judah speak in the same manner, Amos ii. 9, 10, the author of the ancient Book of Kings, 1 Sam. vii. 14; 2 Sam. xxi. 2 (see, on the contrary, Josh. ix. 3 sqq.), and the Fifth Narrator, Gen. xv.

liarity which markedly distinguishes these fragments from others.

If we look more into the intrinsic character of this narrator, however, we almost always find him animated, in the midst of his representations of antiquity, by a strong *afflatus* of the prophetic spirit—a point that also distinguishes him from the preceding narrators. Even that Blessing of Jacob could only have been imagined by a genuine prophetic spirit; in the description of the covenant between God and Israel the same spirit displays itself in a glorious Divine declaration;<sup>1</sup> and in other places also, and throughout, we discern its traces as a fire constantly glowing under the ashes. Nevertheless, the narrator adheres very closely to the simplicity of the ancient tradition, and thereby differs sensibly enough from the later regular prophetic narrators.

For this very reason we discern in him the rudiments of a higher art of historical description. This shows itself also in the fact that he is the first (as far as we know) who united the remote period of the three Patriarchs with the Mosaic history into one great work; by which it became possible (as will soon appear from the Book of Origins) for this history to be gradually enlarged into a universal history of the world. We have the less reason to be surprised that this historian used older written documents. He inserted the Decalogue (Ex. xx. 1–17);<sup>2</sup> he incorporated songs which have all the signs of great antiquity, and which must have been written down previously.<sup>3</sup> For such and other historical purposes, he made use of the above-mentioned Book of the Wars of Jahveh, and probably other written sources also. He appealed to popular songs of the Mosaic time, of which the same may be said;<sup>4</sup> he even inserted a somewhat circumstantial summary of the Mosaic laws, which he must have received from an earlier time, as he repre-

16, to say nothing of such late writers as Josh. xxiv. 8–15; Judges vi. 10; x. 11; 1 Kings xxi. 26; 2 Kings xxi. 11. The author does indeed also use the name Canaanites; but in Ex. xxiii. 23 at least places the Amorites first in the series of nations.

<sup>1</sup> Ex. xxiii. 20–33.

<sup>2</sup> But without the addition about the seventh day of rest after the creation, in the fourth commandment, verses 9–11, which is as certainly an interpolation from the Book of Origins, as it is certain that the Decalogue in Deuteronomy shows signs of the Deuteronomist's hand.

<sup>3</sup> Ex. xv. 1–19, and Num. xxi. 17 sq.

Both are introduced with exactly the same formula, and the only easy way of accounting for the historical remark appended to the first (Ex. xv. 19), the purport of which is already expressed in chapter xiv., is by assuming that the author of this work found it already written in an ancient work, in which the songs were accompanied by short historical illustrations. On the other hand, it is inconceivable that such verses as those in Jacob's Blessing (Gen. xlix.) could be produced in any other way than by purely literary art.

<sup>4</sup> Num. xxi. 27–30.

sents God to have communicated it to Moses after the promulgation of the Decalogue, in order that he might lay it before the people; and we cannot imagine it to have come down to him in any other way than by writing.<sup>1</sup> This work, therefore, presupposes a tolerably wide literature, and wears even a somewhat learned air in its formula of citation, 'wherefore it is said,' &c.<sup>2</sup>

According to all indications the *Book of the Upright* was written hardly perhaps in the time of David, but certainly soon after, under Solomon. This, as its name and its extant fragments<sup>3</sup> show, was chiefly composed to show, by historical songs, how an upright man in Israel, a Joshua or a Jonathan, should live, what glorious victories he could achieve, and what glory he would gain. Thus it was an historical manual of instruction, without connected narrative. But its collection of genuine historical songs of ancient and recent times supplied most excellent materials to subsequent historians.

## 2. *The Book of Origins and its Sources.*

We come next to the important work whose appellation as the *Book of Origins* we have revived, for reasons to be presently explained. Of this work there are fortunately longer and more numerous fragments preserved than of that described above, which it certainly exceeded also in its original extent. The present work (on the discovery of whose age and author all correct views of its entire nature must depend) belongs to the period of the early monarchy, and is therefore considerably later than the other.

1) That it belongs to this period rather than to an earlier one, is most immediately evident in general from the glances

<sup>1</sup> This is the notable passage, Ex. xxi. 2-xxiii. 19—cf. xxiv. 3. The special name of this section, 'Judgments,' is fixed by xxi. 1, and xxiv. 3; but that, according to the historian's meaning, Moses did not write down these 'judgments,' but merely 'the words of Jahveh,' i.e. the Decalogue, follows from a comparison of xxiv. 4 with verse 3, and xx. 1. We might therefore even fancy that the historian had himself composed this summary of laws, were it not that the style of its composition and the plan of its present arrangement indicate a different conclusion.

<sup>2</sup> Num. xxi. 14, 27. It might surprise us that the *Book of Origins*, although a later work, has nothing of this learned air. But the *Book of Origins*, to say

nothing of its utterly different authorship, is intended to be rather a book of laws than a strictly historical work, as will be shown below. The resemblance to Gen. ii. 24, x. 9, xxii. 14, might tempt us to think that the quotations in Num. xxi. 14, 27 had been introduced by the Fourth or Fifth Narrator; yet their hand cannot be distinctly recognised in Num. xxi.

<sup>3</sup> Josh. x. 13; 2 Sam. i. 18. This explanation of the name and object of this book is the most probable one that can be given. It was preeminently David that rendered the name and notion of the 'Upright' glorious in Israel. See my *Psalms*, I. p. 67 [where the translator has unfortunately given 'the straight in heart.'—Ed.]

that it casts upon its own times in the midst of an exhibition of the Patriarchal world. For it is bolder in such attempts at exalted general views of times and things than the historical work characterised above (see above, p. 34 sqq.) Whereas the latter, so far as we see in its fragments, only once makes the dying Jacob cast his gaze upon the extreme future, and therein deliver exalted truths about the overclouded present of the writer; in the Book of Origins, on the contrary, the voice of God appearing to the Patriarchs often abounds with cheering addresses and joyous promises even for the 'seed' or later posterity; as though the writer's present (to which such declarations are properly to be referred) were one of those rare ages that feel themselves exalted by a flood of prosperity, and anticipate yet greater for the future. And here it is said among other things that Abraham, and likewise that Sarah and Jacob, shall 'become a multitude of nations, and that kings shall come out of' them.<sup>1</sup> Now why should the blessing be so defined, and limited to something so special and seemingly casual, as that kings should descend from the Patriarchs? and how is it that such a conception of the Divine blessing is found only in the demonstrable fragments of this book and in no other? This question can never be answered but by maintaining that the work belongs to the first period of the rising monarchy, which advanced the true prosperity of Israel, when in the full sense of the words a 'multitude of nations' assembled round the throne of the far-ruling King of Israel, and Israel, after the dismal days of dissolution and weakness, could boast with a new pride that it too possessed kings. And as this generally acknowledged dignity of the monarchy of Israel begins with David, we are thus precluded from thinking of the times of Saul. But it is no less self-evident, on the other hand, that such declarations cannot apply to the times of the decay of the monarchy, which commenced after Solomon; and this receives distinct confirmation from the very different tone of the later works. These declarations could originate only at a time when the monarchy was Israel's latest and as yet unmixed blessing. And, moreover, there is not heard throughout the whole work a sound of uneasiness occasioned by troubles of the times; but we rather seem to be breathing the quiet untroubled serenity of a happy Sabbath-tide of the national life.

We are brought to a closer approximation by a passage on the kings of Edom in Gen. xxxvi., closely connected with the

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xvii. 5 sq. 16, xxxv. 11. The declaration about Isaac, which is now work appears to have contained a similar lost.



above-mentioned declarations. When about to enumerate the series of kings of Edom, the author finds occasion to add, that they 'reigned before there reigned any king over the children of Israel' (v. 31). There was then already a king in Israel at the time that he wrote thus; and the words excite in us the feeling that he half envied Edom for having enjoyed far sooner than Israel the blessings of a united and well-regulated kingdom. But further, not only is the last-enumerated king in this series, Hadad, described as if the narrator had known him as exactly as one of the kings of Israel,<sup>1</sup> but the enumeration of kings is followed (verses 40-43) by that of chieftains of Edom, as if after the monarchy the country had returned to the rule of chiefs; this sounds quite as if David had already vanquished the last king of Edom and put the country again under mere chieftains. The Hadad, descended from the blood of the kings of Edom, who at David's conquest fled, very young, to Egypt,<sup>2</sup> may have been a grandson of Hadad the last king, as the grandson frequently bears the grandfather's name.

But the exactest indication of the period of composition of this work is to be sought in the account of the dedication of the Temple of Solomon, 1 Kings viii. 1-11. This account, as we now have it, has indeed indubitably passed through the hands of a subsequent reviser, who must have altered or added much of it;<sup>3</sup> but yet it preserves the clearest traces of having been originally composed by the historian whose work we are here considering;<sup>4</sup> so that we cannot but allow that the author must have finished his work after the great event of the dedication of the Temple of Solomon. But, on the other hand, the

<sup>1</sup> That this king was still alive at the time when the work was composed (although such a thing is possible), cannot be positively inferred from the fact that his death is not mentioned in v. 39, since the only reason why יְקִיָּת is constantly added to the notice of all the preceding kings, is in order to form a transition to the next king of Edom.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Kings xi. 14-22. An accurate comparison of the two accounts proves the Hadad here mentioned to be a different person from the one spoken of in Gen. xxxvi. 39. The Hadad that fled to Egypt had evidently never been king at all, and had quite a different consort.

<sup>3</sup> Even the transition with וְאֵת in v. 1 and 12 is entirely opposed to the usage of the Book of Origins; the word וְאֵת, v. 1, 3, is as foreign to the Book of Ori-

gins as the name of the month in v. 2, as we shall show farther on. There are also occasional differences of style, and the whole v. 9 must be an addition by a later writer, on account of the usage of כֶּךָ and of הֵרָב, as well as the general tone of the language.

<sup>4</sup> The main proofs of this assertion are: the use of the word נִשְׁאָה v. 1, and of the expression כָּל עַדְתֵּי יִשְׂרָאֵל הַנוֹעֲדִים עִלָּיו v. 5, which have all the peculiar air of the Book of Origins; the perfect harmony of v. 7 sq. with Ex. xxv. 13 sqq., 20; xxxvii. 9; Num. iv. 6 sqq., and, on the contrary, the discrepancy between these descriptions and 1 Kings vi. 23-27; lastly, the remarkable agreement of v. 10 sq. with Ex. xl. 34 sq., the weight of which cannot be made apparent till we treat of the Mosaic time. Of the passages that describe the

work cannot have been composed much later than the time of this dedication, which falls in the eleventh year of the long reign of Solomon ;<sup>1</sup> for it must belong, as we have said, to the first glorious period of the monarchy. And the great event of the building and dedication of this temple might serve the historian as a fitting conclusion to his work, which might even close with the noble words, 'The glory of Jahveh filled the house of Jahveh' (1 Kings viii. 10 sq.) At least we may assume that it was completed in the first third of Solomon's forty years' reign.

In fact no time could be more favourable than this to the undertaking of an extensive historical work ; when the nation, lately victorious over all the neighbouring tribes, delighted in the memory of its own antiquity, and had latterly gained during years of peace sufficient leisure for a survey of the history and relations of all nations of the earth. It was a grand time, such as never returned again, with its quiet dignity and its manifold artistic productivity. An historical work possessing a scope, an arrangement, and an art fully worthy of the age, is the Book of Origins, which has not its equal for artistic beauty and lofty historical feeling in the whole domain of Hebrew history, and in almost every respect deserves to be called the finest historical work of that ancient nation. As among the Greeks the times immediately succeeding the victories over the Persians produced an Herodotus and a Thucydides, so among the Hebrews the first days of quiet after David's great victories are observed to occasion a higher craving for historical survey and enlightenment, which puts forth its fairest blossoms in this finest of all Hebrew histories.

If we seek a more exact knowledge of the writer's descent and position, we do indeed find that he takes pleasure in giving precedence to the tribe of Judah in the narration of national affairs,<sup>2</sup> not without intending, in this as in all such descriptions of ancient institutions, to present at the same time a pattern of correct conduct for his own times. Yet it need not be inferred from this that he belonged to that tribe, but at most only that it was the leading one in his day (which we already

building and dedication of Solomon's Temple, the following also were derived from the Book of Origins: 1 Kings vii. 18-47, viii. 62-66.

<sup>1</sup> 1 Kings vi. 37 sq. It is probable that the last reviser borrowed this date, together with the other more important one, v. 1, from the Book of Origins, with his accustomed modifications, especially as the important date in v. 1 stands alone in all

the later books, and on the other hand accords perfectly with the exact chronology of the Book of Origins.

<sup>2</sup> In Num. ii. 3 sqq., vii. 12 sqq., though this is contrary to i. 5 sqq., xiii. 4 sqq., xxvi. 5 sqq., but it is to be ascribed to a special cause, to be explained below. But Josh. xiv. and xv. are decisive, as also Gen. xlv. 28 sqq.

know from independent sources). On the other hand, he so evidently assiduously gives prominence to everything concerning the tribe of Levi, and everywhere takes such especial notice of its privileges, duties, and functions, that we must at least attribute to him the exactest knowledge of all the concerns of the sacerdotal tribe. But who could even possess such knowledge in those times, and who, moreover, portray with such warmth even the minutest feature of the sacerdotal system, but an actual member of the priesthood? Particular passages of the work are written expressly and exclusively for the priests, to serve them as a rule in their sacerdotal functions; the book itself expressly making this distinction.<sup>1</sup> As surely as the author of the former work was no Levite (p. 72), we must allow the author of the present to be one; and only by supposing him to have been a Levite of the brilliant age of Solomon, shall we correctly apprehend the peculiar aims as well as the true disposition and arrangement of a large portion of this work.

2) For, as touching the aims of the work,

a) The chief aim was unmistakably to survey from the resting-place which that epoch had reached, the entire mass of historical matter in its greatest extent, and to trace it back up to the ultimate commencement of all creation. As the Greeks after the Persian war embraced with fresh delight the history of all nations and ages, and in a short time immensely extended their historical survey, so this work endeavours to conceive of history in its widest extent, as certainly no earlier work had conceived of it. The work does, to be sure, take the nation of Israel at once as the grand centre of all nations, and as the great final purpose of all history; but from that centre it overlooks the wide circle of all nations, and from this final purpose it boldly rises to the earliest conceivable beginning of all history. Both elements unite in the idea of portraying the *Origins*—the origins of all historical things that admit of it, of the nation of Israel as of its individual tribes and families, of the heroes of Israel as well as of all its institutions and laws, of all nations of the earth as well as of the earth and heaven themselves. And whatever the writer has to treat at ever so great length, he must always start with the description of these origins, and fit everything in succession into the frame thereby given. Such a childlike conception of all history, under the influence of the first attempts to span fully its wide domain, and to construct it

<sup>1</sup> Lev. vi. sq., xxi. sq.

according to a fixed principle, is undoubtedly very natural at a certain stage of every nation's culture. The Indian *Purānas* have most faithfully preserved this stage of historical instruction and easy survey;<sup>1</sup> and I have no hesitation in saying that this Hebrew work in its fundamental arrangement may be compared to such a *Purāna*.<sup>2</sup> With this conception are connected all the writer's views as to the correct division of the wide subject-matter. For, with the attempt to survey the history of the human race from the actual state of nations back to the farthest antiquity, was easily combined the theory of four great Ages of mankind, in which the human race expanded outwardly and advanced higher and higher in the arts, but inwardly wore itself out in a constantly accelerating ratio; and in the last of which—the then present—the life of humanity was felt to be dying out. This idea pervades the antiquity of many cultivated nations,<sup>3</sup> and may have come to the Hebrews from older tribes; but the form it then took among them caused the entire period since the Patriarchs to be conceived as the latest age, that of the Patriarchs as the last but one, and all the remaining immeasurable primitive times up to the beginning of the human race as divided by the Deluge into two halves, the first and the second age, and human life as gradually and constantly degenerating in these various periods. Now as these four ages must be conceived of as gradually progressing in the variety and development of life, so that the latest was the most varied, we have lesser periods comprised in the last age but one and the beginning of the last, formed by the life of each of the three Patriarchs, by the abode in Egypt, the life of Moses, of Joshua, and of each of his successors. But along with this idea the nation had yet, through its earlier fortunes, retained a clear consciousness that it was comparatively recent and outwardly inconsiderable among the nations of the earth. Accordingly, the task of a Hebrew historian being to show from the store of ancient tradition how Israel, although so recent a community, had yet been separated from all other nations, and

<sup>1</sup> To which the *Mahābhārata* also belongs, according to its own statements in the preface; it is only one of the oldest and best *Purānas*, which possesses the largest frame for the reception of all possible legends.

<sup>2</sup> Of course this is said without taking into account the dissimilarities, such as principally the less developed genius for history in the Hindu works, and their custom of connecting the whole story with some definite occasion in antiquity,

a practice which in itself, indeed, is very proper (for a narrative only possesses its complete meaning and scope in a certain place and on a certain occasion), but which easily becomes very seductive, on account of the facilities it affords for wrapping up one story within another. See above, p. 43.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Vishnu-Purāna*, p. 13 sqq., and more on this subject further on in this history.

become dominant over many in fulfilment of its high destiny, his principle of arrangement of the details of every period of the primeval history was, always first to dispose of those nations or families that do not lead down direct to Israel, that Israel may then at length come out as a special people, and the narrative there gain its highest attraction and greatest breadth. This fundamental arrangement, consistently carried out in the smallest details, pervades the entire structure of the great work. Thus (1), after the Noachic deluge (where our author fixes the origins of existing nations), he separates off all the numerous nations not belonging to the race that leads down to Israel, Gen. x., and even arranges these in such a manner as to come in order from the most distant (Japhet) to the nearer (Ham), and the nearest (Shem). Not till then follows the series of generations leading down to Terah and Abraham (Gen. xi. 10–26), to which is attached the detailed history of Abraham. In like manner (2), he first separates off all Terah's and Abraham's descendants who do not lead down to Isaac's family, especially Ishmael (xxv. 12–18); and not till then does the history of Isaac and his sons appear on its own account (xxv. 19 sqq.) (3) Thirdly, and lastly, he separates off Esau (xxxvi.), so that at last Israel is left quite alone as father of the race, with his sons representing the people,—the single great subject of the narrative (xxxvii. 2 sqq.) Now, wherever a section of this or any other kind begins with the explanation of the origin of an important tribe or family, the author always puts as a kind of title the words, '*These are the Origins of . . .*;' and where the family of the first man, and consequently the proper commencement of this whole work on the history of mankind begins, it is said, '*This is the Book of the Origins of Man*' (v. 1). And in fact it can be hardly doubted that, in accordance with this superscription, the work bore the short title *Book of Origins*. It is true, indeed, that the narrative boldly rises yet higher, and seeks to explain in a history of creation the origins of all visible things (i. 1—ii. 3); but this is to be regarded only as a kind of introduction to the actual work beginning at chap. v. 1; for which reason the introduction is also distinguished in a peculiar manner by a concluding subscription (ii. 4). Counting up the

<sup>1</sup> The word 'Origins' is adopted here for conciseness merely, and because it is suitable for the name of a book (the elder Cato also wrote his Roman history under the title *Origines*); although תולדות corresponds to our word only before the

name of a thing (as in Gen. ii. 4); before the name of a person it properly denotes *the births*, that is, his posterity, and the history of him and the family descended from him.

sections resulting from all these considerations, we find that the phrase, 'these are the origins of . . .,' is employed exactly ten times to indicate a real section or essential division of the book,<sup>1</sup> as is the practice in Arabic books. The same title may have been repeated in the accounts of the separate tribes of Israel;<sup>2</sup> but most of these parts of the work are now lost.<sup>3</sup>

But precisely because history from Israel's point of view was here, perhaps for the first time, treated in its fullest extent, the writer was particularly careful to attempt both combinations and distinctions among its details. Accordingly, treating as he does of the great unwieldy mass of historical families, nations, or single persons, with reference to their rise and progress, he ventures to unite them all in a single great infinitely ramified pedigree, which has its root in the first man, a second progenitor after the Deluge in Noah, and its youngest branches in the great contemporaries of the author and their families. The straight trunk, starting from Adam and again from Noah, must have been treated as leading directly to the three Patriarchs, and through them to the twelve tribes, all else being collateral; and then among the twelve tribes themselves, Levi probably served as a direct continuation of the pedigree.<sup>4</sup> This is the first work known to us that seeks to arrange infinitesimal details of origin in one comprehensive genealogy, although such an arrangement is a very obvious one to nations like the Hebrews and Arabs, which lay great stress upon purity of blood and family; but it became later the most popular form of historical arrangement with the Semites. But the work attempts also very accurate time-distinctions, and herein especially displays a genuine historical spirit, opposed to the method of the Indian Purānas. At least the members of the main direct line of the tribe, and occasionally important collateral members also,

<sup>1</sup> [i.e. Gen. ii. 4; v. 1; vi. 9; x. 1; xi. 10, 27; xxv. 12, 19; xxxvi. 1 (in xxxvi. 9 it appears to be repeated by way of resuming the subject after the interruption at verse 2); xxxvii. 2.]

<sup>2</sup> As Num. iii. 1, compared with Ruth iv. 18, shows.

<sup>3</sup> For the passage in Ex. vi. 14-27 is merely intended to attract attention to the descent of Moses and Aaron at the outset, and is therefore designedly incomplete. The enumeration of the series of all the families of Israel, which is here begun but not finished, must have been subsequently completed somewhere or other in the work, and undoubtedly much of it

may be preserved in the Chronicles, as in the passages 1 Chron. ii. 42-49, 50-55, and especially xxiii. 24-xxiv. 31.

<sup>4</sup> Because in this tribe the chronology is carried on uninterruptedly, at least according to the sure indications in Ex. vi. 16-20; and further, because in the time of the Judges the High-Priests alone exhibit a kind of unbroken succession, and not strictly speaking the Judges, as we might be disposed to believe from Judges iii-xvi.; lastly, because, as we shall show farther on, the sacerdotal tribe is the one that the author renders most prominent in all other historical matters also.

are all described by the number of years of their lives ;<sup>1</sup> and as moreover it is invariably mentioned at what age of each respective member the son who propagated the tribe further was born to him, and as larger chronological limits also are not wanting for greater divisions of time (Exod. xii. 40 ; 1 Kings vi. 1), the work gives at the same time a single concatenated chronology, and exhibits the most ancient attempt to reduce the infinitely scattered events of history to precise dates.<sup>2</sup> This conspicuous attention everywhere bestowed upon the connection of families, and upon chronology, incidentally affords us now one of the main criteria for the recognition of the fragments of this work, which indeed has not its equal in this respect on the entire field of ancient history until Moses and Joshua, or indeed until David, and whose data appear to be only copied by the later works on these times.

In consideration of the great internal diversity of the ages comprised in this work, we shall do better to investigate below, under the special divisions of the history itself, the questions, how our author established this close connection of families and times, what traditions he had received on the subject, and on what principles he acted. It suffices here to establish the point, that he was the first who essayed to carry out this bold scheme.

b.) If we are led by the order and the chronology observed so exactly throughout so wide a range, to an author whose mind takes a pleasure, uncommon among the historians of those old times, in ordinances and institutions, still more must we admire this spirit when we perceive what end he has in view in now expanding and now confining within narrow limits his narration of real events. For we then discover the remarkable fact, that the author's most heartfelt sympathy and greatest fulness of narration are called forth only when he is treating a question of legislation, and can fill the frame of his narrative with elucidations of such judicial or moral sanctions as have their origin in antiquity. Wherever, in his reminiscences of antiquity, he can explain legal institutions in all their relations and applications, or where, in the course of historical exposition, he can indicate the great truths of the right government and con-

<sup>1</sup> As Ishmael, Gen. xxv. 17 ; Joshua, Josh. xxiv. 29.

<sup>2</sup> In this respect the work became the basis of all general chronology, from the chronicles of Julius Africanus and Eusebius down to the middle ages, and even almost to the beginning of the present century ;

and if we now give up all of it that is not derived from history in a strict sense, yet we never should forget that the mere attempt to give such a survey of all historical chronology was in itself an advance entirely unknown to some other cultivated nations, as for example the Hindus.

duct of the nation, his language is poured forth with especial freedom, and under the inspiration of the lofty subject becomes perfect in sharpness as well as in elegance and beauty. There is a peculiar charm in many of these pictures; every reader of feeling imbibes from them the purifying and invigorating spirit of an eminently lofty mind, which lived through its own times in warmest sympathy with them and with a treasure of truly royal ideas, and by this light could understand the highest elements of antiquity, and with masterhand bring out prominently, and portray gracefully, whatever in it was improving to posterity. Even what in itself might readily have proved very dry—such as the lengthy account of the furniture of the sanctuary, and that of many laws on things of common life—in his hand becomes invested with the utmost possible grace. We should more readily feel the attractive beauty of this work, and how far it surpasses in intrinsic force and simple art the ordinary Indian Purānas and Manu's Book of Laws, if it had been preserved entire and well-arranged, and could be read connectedly, like Herodotus or the best extant parts of Livy.

So limited an aim for an historical composition, which moreover here becomes the real principal aim, is to be explained only from the necessities of a particular period; but the above indicated age of the work may serve for the elucidation of this peculiarity also. For in that brilliant time of peace, which produced the wisdom and the art of Solomon so well known to tradition, the nation, victorious abroad and conscious of its powers, could turn its energies inwards, and contemplate its own constitutional history, as it had been gradually unfolded since the obscurest antiquity and then existed, but had surely never till then been fully treated in writing. Now, even independently of the Decalogue, attempts had indeed been made in earlier times to group shortly together the most important popular laws, and many of these may have been long written down; for example, the former work contained the earliest attempt known to us of a tolerably comprehensive *Codex legum* (Ex. xxi. 2, or rather <sup>1</sup> xx. 23, to xxiii. 19), and this very Book of Origins works up into itself small series of long-existing laws. But we have no indication, and it is in itself improbable, that the entire mass of all conceivable legal ordinances and sacred institutions had at any earlier period been committed to writing.

However, it was not only the prosperous peace of that age which exhorted the people to turn their attention to their

<sup>1</sup> For the words in Ex. xx. 23–26 form the true beginning of this very mutilated legal work.



ancient condition and laws : they were impelled thereto also by causes nearer at hand. Ages in which the entire hereditary constitution of a nation undergoes a fundamental transformation, and social life receives a new organisation, may set the literature of the nation, as well as its legislative art and activity, in violent commotion. With the Greeks and Romans it was the ages of transition from the antiquated monarchical constitutions to the republican, that most strongly excited legislative activity in real life as well as in literature ; and it was in these that the controversy as to what was to be retained from the past, and what relinquished, found its way also frequently into the Greek world of letters. Our Hebrew epoch was, similarly, one of sensible transition from institutions existing for centuries into a new life for the whole nation ; and we can understand how its literature, the foundations of which had long been laid, could not be strange to the movement taking place in its life. But beyond this its position was precisely the reverse ; for here an ancient religion had to defend itself against the possible encroachments of the new monarchical power. And we have the clear testimony of Hosea viii. 12<sup>1</sup> for the assertion that from this time onwards there was formed a branch of literature which flourished for several centuries, whose aim was to collect and elucidate the old hallowed laws, often in direct opposition to modern deteriorations. This assertion of Hosea shows at the same time that such writings originally enjoyed no public acknowledgment at all, but were current in the nation for centuries as free creations of literature, until this or that part of them chanced to gain a higher authority and become sacred. And this is evidently the origin that we must conceive for the Book of Origins.<sup>2</sup> If we add, moreover, that in the time of David, and up to the completion of the Temple of Solomon, the affairs of the sacerdotal tribe and the institutions of religion had experienced extensive changes, but yet were steadily flourishing, and that the old religion and sacerdotal constitution just then enjoyed an extraordinary magnificence from the building of a new and splendid Temple, we can understand well enough why, among all the origins of things described by this work, those of

<sup>1</sup> This passage presupposes that a number of books of the same kind as the Book of Origins, some of which were highly esteemed, were in circulation especially in the northern kingdom in the time of Hosea, though entirely disregarded by the authorities. Such *myriads* of written laws cannot refer to a very ancient literature,

which time itself was constantly reducing ; they were evidently not very ancient writings.

<sup>2</sup> Like the origin of the Indian *Puranas*, which also contain a great deal of religious or legal matter ; and even of Manu's Code of Laws, which was subsequently so venerated.

the Mosaic sacraments and institutions, as well as of the functions and privileges of the sacerdotal tribe, are preeminently explained. And we may see also how such legal forms and such rights as are said to have originated in the primitive ages are presented with the greatest diligence and copiousness, mainly to the end that they may serve as a model and norm for the writer's age also. This resembles the way in which in the *Mánava-Dharmaśāstra* even those laws which are to be observed in the writer's age are explained to Manu in the primitive age. The main part of the Book of Origins explains the origin of whatever arose in Israel on the field of law, but preeminently in relation to religion and the priesthood.

But it is curious to see how the author's spirit, mainly directed to the divinely right and lawful, penetrates the whole work, even where he cannot yet speak of Israel at all. As the time of Moses and Joshua was known as the great epoch of the birth of legal institutions, and as the earlier historian had started from the idea of the covenant concluded with God on Sinai, so the Book of Origins undertakes to show what Divine laws and covenants had arisen even in the beginning of the three previous ages of the world, under Abraham, Noah, and Adam, and how the laws and precepts, starting like the human race itself from the simplest beginnings, had been constantly expanding and more fully developing themselves.<sup>1</sup> And so there is only a single ground-thought which determines the inner structure of the work (its intellectual tone and form), in addition to those which, according to p. 78, sustain its external fabric. This ground-thought, in conformity with the supreme aim of the work, deals solely with the twofold question: What is Law and Right to man in general? and, What is Law and Right for Israel in particular? Right and law are not the same at all times; they change especially with all the great vicissitudes and revolutions of history. And yet every valid law is to stand above man and bind him as a Divine command; as if it existed through a covenant between God and man, in which the former maintains his law and the latter expects protection and blessing from him if he is faithful to it. Thus all laws and constitutions, or *covenants*, which man concludes with God, are barriers imposed by the latter on him, within which he is to move. But every restraint thus imposed on man is directed against his freedom, which soon chafes against it, and finally perhaps wholly breaks through its barriers, partly through the power of mere self-will and sinfulness,

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xvii.; ix. 1-17; i. 27-30.

partly because man has a presentiment that there is a higher freedom than that imposed by this present limit. But every transgression of the law must be punished. And thus when man continues his efforts to break through the existing Divine law, the greatest ruin, and finally the most complete dissolution of the age, is sure to follow, until perchance, under a new great Man of God, a new disclosure of the eternal Divine Right is established for humanity with fresh freedom, and at the same time with fresh limitations and new laws. Thus applying the above fundamental thought to the succession of the Four Ages of the world (p. 79), and explaining by its light how the Mosaic law, that of the last age, arose, and what significance it possesses, the author of the Book of Origins spun the fine strong thread which holds the entire work most closely together, and gives it at the same time its deepest and loftiest interest.<sup>1</sup>

The book attempts, indeed, to give an explanation of the laws existing in the Mosaic community on every occasion which the narrative offers; and accordingly, as the author's historical feeling taught him that many laws which were in force in the community had their origin in the ancient times before Moses, he attaches his account of the rights and usages of circumcision to suitable occasions in the Patriarchal age;<sup>2</sup> and again refers to the time of Joshua his explanation of many laws and precedents of the community, and with justice regards the entire age of Joshua as one of continual creation of important social institutions. Within the limits of the properly Mosaic history also, he seizes every opportunity to insert matters of law: on occasion of the flight out of Egypt he explains at length the laws of the Passover and of the First-born, and on occasion of the war against Midian, near the end of Moses' life, those of booty and the rights of war.<sup>3</sup> The majority of the Mosaic institutions and laws, however, especially those concerning the Sanctuary and the sacerdotal tribe, which in accordance with the special tendency of the work are treated most fully, are referred to the brief period of the people's halt at Mount Sinai, and the true establishment of their community; partly because, according to definite ancient tradition, the community was really formed there anew by the conclusion of the last great Covenant of Man with God, partly from the suitability of that resting-place for the explanation of a series of institutions and laws.

<sup>1</sup> See further on this subject what is observed in my *Antiquities*, p. 103 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xvii. and xxxiv.

<sup>3</sup> Num. xxxi. Altogether different from the law of war laid down in Deut. xx.

For as the privileges, laws, and ordinances of the sanctuary, in the widest sense of the word, appear to our author as the highest of all laws, so in his work this hallowed period of the people's rest at Sinai, where their permanent sanctuary was legally instituted, becomes a resting-place also for the narrative, and occasions him to make his longest pause here, to elucidate the most important laws relating to the sanctuary, which were indeed the majority of all the laws of Israel. Now the sacred Tabernacle of Moses had long been recognised as the great central point of the religion and constitution of the people, and the Ark of the Covenant had just received an accession of glory by its reception in Solomon's Temple, built after the model of the Tabernacle; and therefore

(i) The author starts from that visible sanctuary, and describes how it was executed, with all its contents and appurtenances, after the divine model shown to Moses by Jahveh (Ex. xxv-xxx.). and was so built by human hands upon earth that it might be entered by the priests in their robes of office, or by Moses, and the sacred rites be performed in it (Ex. xxxv-xl.)<sup>1</sup>

(ii) When the locality and external forms of the sacred rites have been thus laid down, the narrative advances another stage towards its main object, and regards exclusively the sacrifices and the manner of offering them at the sanctuary, and eluci-

<sup>1</sup> Thistwofold description of these complicated matters, notwithstanding some diversity (in part intentional) in the order of the account of the execution, is nevertheless correct on the whole, and planned with great judgment. I can here only state this result of my researches, as a full discussion would take up too much room. But so much the more imperatively must the fragment in Lev. xxiv. 1-9, which has no connection whatever there, be transferred to its original position after Ex. xxvii. 20 sq. since ver. 20 sq. actually contain the commencement of the very same fragment. See Ex. xxv. 6, xxxv. 14, and especially xl. 4, 22 sq.; for the short preliminary notice about shew-bread in xxv. 30 could not suffice. In like manner the disconnected verse in Num. vii. 89 must be reinstated in its original place after Ex. xl. 38, and the rather because Ex. xxv. 22 refers to its contents; and the injunction that follows it, about the right position of the seven lamps on the candlestick, Num. viii. 1-2, most surely belongs to a place after Ex. xxxix. 31.

I shall soon cite other and stronger cases of the displacement of the original component parts of the Book of Origins, and

do not hesitate about assigning them, as far as is possible, to their right positions again. It is of no use to argue with one who maintains, without going into the question, that such total disruptions of coherence are original and sacred. But the Book of Origins, above all other books, displays so grand a fixed arrangement, and so masterly a command of its extensive subject, that it is in truth only due to the spirit of the author that we should restore the few dislocated portions of his beautiful work to their right places. Moreover, it is by no means difficult to conceive how such a displacement of some portions of the ancient work might arise in later times, if we only consider the demonstrable great alterations which this work (as we shall soon explain) has undergone from its later revisers. And even though the LXX. and all the other ancient versions received the text with these violent dislocations, and, fortunately, did not again arbitrarily alter it, yet how recent is this text when compared with the true age of the work! I will adduce other arguments below in the section on the reviser. See, however, on some points treated of above, what is observed in the *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1862, p. 368-75.

dates fully the various kinds of sacrifices, their purposes, and the observances attached to them. The passage that does this in an easily apprehensible order, extends properly only from Lev. i. to Lev. v. and from Num. v. 5 to Num. vi.;<sup>1</sup> then the main subject is repeated, condensed for the special use of the priest into the briefer and more technical language of regular legislation (Lev. vi. sq.) Whereas the priests are now enabled to offer the right sacrifices, and do actually offer them in the presence of the whole people after their consecration, the story of Nadab and Abihu teaches how rigorously and with what severe chastisement the sanctuary visits those who fail to treat it in a becoming manner (Lev. viii-x.)

(iii) But now that Jahveh's sanctuary and sacrifices are established in presence of the whole people, the narrative attains its full dignity, and undertakes regularly to teach what rules must guide the conduct of men in this community, or (to speak more in the spirit of the work) what is holy or unholy, clean or unclean, to the God dwelling in it. The passage that teaches this properly extends from Lev. xi. to xx., but with the insertion of Num. xix. after Lev. xvi. The description is arranged simply so as to rise from the lower to the higher. The writer consequently first shows what is clean or unclean, and how the unclean is to be removed, and then, from chapter xviii., rises to the conception of the Holy, and explains in loftier diction,<sup>2</sup> and often through the medium of short series of older laws, the stern exactions of Holiness from mankind. The declarations of Lev. xvii. stand in the middle between these two halves; and the conclusion of the whole plainly does not come till Lev. xx. 24-27. Then comes a short supplement intended specially for the priests on clean and unclean things (Lev. xxi. sq.)

(iv) But as the Sabbath is the first and the last among the duties of the Mosaic community, and had enjoyed a corresponding preeminence also in the description of the Mosaic laws

<sup>1</sup> That the passages in Num. v. 5-vi. belong to this place is evident, first, from the contents of the first three, Num. v. 5-vi. 21, which really only describe new kinds of sacrifice, all of which, to judge from their very similar beginning, are perfectly suitable continuations of Lev. v.; secondly, from the blessing which follows them in Num. vi. 22-27, which is presupposed in Lev. ix. 22, and which, from the general character and plan of the Book of Origins, we must imagine

to have preceded the short narrative in Lev. ix. 22, in the same way as the narratives in Ex. xxxv-xl. constantly presuppose the Divine commands in Ex. xxv-xxxi.

<sup>2</sup> Especially in the expression, 'I am Jahveh,' which now first begins to recur frequently, and which, like so much else in Lev. xviii-xx., indicates that the author makes a greater use of old sources here than in any other place.

contained in this work,<sup>1</sup> so the author ultimately restricts himself to it and all connected with it. The voice of living law declares the series of annual festivals as well as the year of Sabbath and Jubilee (Lev. xxiii. xxv. 1-xxvi. 2, 46); and describes yet more fully the duration and period of recurrence of the sacrifices of the whole community to Jahveh (Num. xxviii. 1-xxx. 1). And as vows also are to be redeemed at the sanctuary at definite times, the laws on this subject now follow (Num. xxx. 2-17; Lev. xxvii.) Last of all come some sacrificial laws adapted not for the desert but only for the Holy Land, and which could not on that account well be placed in Lev. i-vii.; with a general conclusion (Num. xv.)<sup>2</sup>

(v) Nothing then remains to be done but that the community be described on its popular side, with reference to the arrangement and division of its tribes, and the order of its journeys and campaigns. This gives at the same time the best transition to the removal from Sinai and the conclusion of that long period of sacred rest, and forms also the winding-up of this longest and most important portion of the Book of Origins (Num. i-v. 4; vii. 1-88; viii. 5-10, 36).

Such is the simple and historical arrangement of the section of this work devoted to the explanation of the main contents of the Mosaic law. Although we cannot vouch for the complete preservation of all its original chapters, yet the main part has evidently been preserved remarkably free from obscuration and alteration; and we gain a clear insight into the plan and execution of this most important section, as soon as we decide to remove to their right position again the few passages that have been displaced and put too far on towards the end.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Compare Ex. xxxi. 13-17, concluding the commandments delivered to Moses, and on the other hand Ex. xxxv. 1-3, commencing his publication of them to the people, with Lev. xxiii. 2 sq., xxvi. 2, Num. xv. 32-36.

<sup>2</sup> The reader must consider that, from the whole character of the Book of Origins, the postponement of the publication of laws may indeed be repaired in any place, but then the occasion of their enactment must be recounted (as in Num. xvii. sq., xxxi. xxxvi.); but that, on the other hand, it is impossible to repair the omission with such an utterly bald title as Num. xv., xix., xxviii., xxx. 2 [1].

<sup>3</sup> Lastly, in all probability, the historical piece, Lev. xxiv. 10-23, must be

placed after xxii., for then each of the three middle portions closes with an appropriate instance of punishment inflicted for the violation of the previously expounded laws, Lev. viii-x., Lev. xxiv. 10-23, Num. xv. 32-36, and all five parts then terminate in narration. In like manner a special supplement of peculiar directions for the priests is always placed before this narrative conclusion, Lev. vi. sq., xxi. sq., Num. xv. Moreover, whatever laws are transferred to the succeeding portion of the life of Moses, Num. xxvi., xxvii., xxxi. sqq., belong, as is evident even from their dress and contents, to the post-Sinaitic time; which furnishes a new and important reason for the correctness of the above-required transpositions.

If we consider now the author's system of inserting accounts of Mosaic laws into an historical narrative, there cannot be the least doubt that his only reason for representing them as communicated by Jahveh to Moses, and through the latter to the people or (when strictly sacerdotal in their contents) to Aaron<sup>1</sup> and the priests, is, that in his days they had long been regarded as sacred, and an historian therefore could not but give them an antiquity equal to that of the community itself. The sacred Tabernacle, which the author describes as if all its smallest parts were the direct result of Divine precept, and which had just recently been magnified and glorified by its transformation into the Temple of Solomon, had evidently gained its sacredness in the course of centuries. The sacrifices, the sacred rites, and the sacerdotal functions, which our author represents with all their minutiae as Divine commands, had undoubtedly been long practised, and owed their importance to their antiquity. Of established usages the author could manifestly only select the best and give them a more definite form. As, however, the established usages of any given time are naturally treated as an indissoluble whole, although they may have developed themselves gradually from a certain original groundwork, it was at this early period peculiarly hard, in all cases of the kind, to distinguish the time of origin as exactly as we now do, or at least desire. In so far, the numerous legal sanctions here delivered certainly have full historical significance only for the age of the author. And as the author cannot have lived later e.g. at a time when the Mosaic Tabernacle had long disappeared—our task is that of investigating which of these are referable to the time and legislation of Moses, and what has been added by degrees from other causes; an investigation, the results of which cannot be stated here. But (and this may be at once carefully noted in this place) the author never makes any pretence of being taken for Moses himself;<sup>2</sup> indeed we should do great wrong to the simple narrator were we to suppose this; for he describes with equal impersonality and on the same plan, the rise of legal institutions under Joshua, and closes his work with the erection of the Temple of Solomon; and where a precept is inserted for the connection's sake, which is to

<sup>1</sup> It is only an abbreviated expression, whenever the word of Jahveh is said to pass directly to Aaron, Lev. x. 8, Num. xviii. 20.

<sup>2</sup> Rather does he forget now and then his assumed garb, when he speaks of Moses and Sinai as of matters of history

long past (Num. xv. 22 sq., xxviii. 6), or when the address suddenly becomes like that of a priest to the assembled congregation, Num. xv. 15, 29; in historical narrations he speaks, moreover, like one dwelling in the Holy Land, Josh. v. 6.

be applied only in the Holy Land, not in the desert, the author sometimes makes Moses himself announce it only by way of prophecy, with the addition 'when ye come into the Holy Land.'<sup>1</sup>

The Book of Origins, in thus pursuing in the above-described main section and elsewhere its own special aim of explaining legal matters, is indeed further removed than the previous historical work from the mere repetition of tradition, and is already engaged in that transition to a freer treatment of the history of antiquity, the further consequences of which will appear below. From a very rich body of separate ancient traditionary histories our author manifestly selects those only, in themselves it may be not remarkably important ones, on which could be hung an exhibition of laws or of principles of wise government and sacerdotal administration. The appended subject itself is always treated with great freedom, as if the story itself really only served for instruction; and the most beautiful and elevating parts of the work are produced by this art of shaking off a bondage to the unmixed influence of tradition. Nevertheless the work still cleaves faithfully and scrupulously to the fundamental matter of the traditions; it starts with a clear discrimination of times, and does not intermingle later ideas with its pictures of antiquity so carelessly as the books presently to be described. And if it imparts a new life to the representation of antiquity mainly by means of legislative matter, and sees in Moses and Joshua ideals of popular leaders, this was just the side upon which those ancient times were great and productive. This revival of the ancient stories, proceeding from a writer who in every part of his work shows himself inspired by the genuine wisdom of a leader of the people, was that most in harmony with the epoch of the composition of the work; and from the happy concurrence of the spirit of this revival with the nature and greatness of the times portrayed, resulted the admirable truth and the irresistible charm of this work.

c.) When we enquire, lastly, into the conclusion of the whole work, our speculations are arrested by a slight difficulty. For with the description of the times of Moses and Joshua, the explanation of all legal institutions ought manifestly to cease. This is most distinctly proved by the way in which the legal distribution of the land among the twelve tribes is unreservedly referred to Joshua's words and commands, although historically

<sup>1</sup> Ex. xii. 25; Lev. xiv. 34, xix. 23, xxiii. 10; xxv. 2; Num. xv. 2; cf. Lev. xviii. 3.



many of these claims may have originated after Joshua's death, and at bottom the narrator does not deny this.<sup>1</sup> The assumption that all legal institutions in Israel which could claim any antiquity had been finished in Moses' and Joshua's time, and that these two heroes had been the last great instruments of the words and deeds of Jahveh, forms the entire foundation of the work in so far as it describes legal matters; and one cannot form even the most distant idea of what the author would be able or willing to describe on this field in the times after Joshua. Nevertheless, the work further contains, as we saw on pages 76 sq., the description of the dedication of the Temple of Solomon, with which it certainly concluded; the rise of monarchy in Israel, for which the author had early prepared the reader, as we saw page 75 sq., required to be narrated at the end at least in brief; and one sees no reason why, after his explanation of the laws, he should not have pursued the mere history still further than the death of Joshua. We may therefore with justice conjecture that in a now lost passage he brought the history down from the death of Joshua and of the high-priest Eleazar to the building of the Temple of Solomon, though with great brevity, so that this section did not satisfy his successors, and might easily be lost. The lawless times of the Judges must have been diametrically opposed to all the ideas of the author, who would certainly content himself with continuing the list of high-priests after Eleazar.

But on the other hand there are unmistakable signs that the work became very full again just about its close, when it describes the sunny days of David. There was indeed here no exhaustive narrative, but full accounts there were of some single events that seemed to the writer especially important. To this class belong the fragments to be described below (see below, on the official Journals of the Kings), besides that noticed on page 76 *note*. And we may say that this work, beginning with the Creation and treating by preference the most beautiful portions of antiquity, nevertheless stood quite upon the footing of its age, and like a true time-book (or chronicle), terminated with the description of the most recent great deeds and acquisitions of its nation.

3.) As in its aims, so also in its language, this work manifests as much peculiarity as perfection and beauty. The style possesses a fulness overflowing with the warmth of sympathy,

<sup>1</sup> Josh. xviii. sq.

a lucidity and quiet transparency which is not afraid of slight repetitions conducing to represent the thought perfectly in all its bearings, and often demands an almost poetic symmetry of clauses; removed alike from the old-fashioned stiffness and hardness of such narrations as Josh. xvii. 14-18, and from the cold tranquillity and studied description that became usual in later times. The matter as well as the language and picturesque representation of this work breathes a peculiar fresh poetic air; more rounded and graceful, more instinct with a light poetic charm, no prose can well be than that of this work, which also from its florid style of description belongs to the finest period of Hebrew literature and national life. Its language at least shows itself such wherever its fragments are preserved unaltered; and the very first passage, Gen. i-ii. 4, may serve as a clear specimen of all subsequent ones. In details the author may be distinguished by a great multitude of expressions either quite peculiar to him, or on the other hand quite foreign to him.<sup>1</sup> And as he displays in all things a highly exact spirit of order, this accuracy extends in a remarkable way even to proper names. For he is fond of explaining in the history the rise of new personal names beside the old ones; and he then discriminates the two with constant accuracy

<sup>1</sup> It would carry us here too far to explain in full the linguistic peculiarities of the Book of Origins; here are a few points which can be briefly stated. Peculiar to the work are: the name נְשִׂאִים for the Considerable, Noble among the people, by the side of זְקֵנִים very rare, and in some places perhaps only through later revision, Ex. xii. 21, Lev. iv. 15, ix. 1, Num. xvi. 25, Josh. vii. 6, xx. 4; but שְׂמָרִים nowhere occurs; the name אֶרֶן for the ark; א' יְהוָה or א' הַבְּרִית; א' יְהוָה is found only after Deut. x. 8, cf. xxxi. 9, 25 sq., 1 Kings viii. 1, 4, 6, perhaps through remodelling by later writers who called it so; א' חֲסִידֶיךָ is found only in 2 Chr. xxxv. 3; the expression אֶחָזָה for possession, not יִרְשָׁה; בִּגְדֶיךָ for garment, never שְׂמָלָה; רָצַח for kill, always discriminated from הָרַג, murder: רָנָם often with the addition בְּאֲבָנִים for to stone, not סָקָם; the very favourite expressions מְגֵרִים for vagrant life, עֲמִית for neighbour (elsewhere only in Zeoh. xiii. 7, and even there in an entirely different connection); עֲבָדָה for service,

which in this sense only the latest writings imitate; the sole use of אֶךְ for only, whilst the pieces of other authors have rather רַק &c.; on the other hand, the entire absence of such words as נְכִישִׁת in all significations, בְּהָרַךְ youth, warrior, אוֹצֵר treasure, which is found in Joel, Amos, and Hosea, as well as in Josh. vi. 19, 24, and frequently in Deut., צָנַם fast, likewise in Joel. Many other peculiarities are elsewhere illustrated in their proper places in this work. The use or avoidance of many words in this work has also a great significance for the history of the people itself. Thus the author chooses or avoids certain words with manifest intention, that he may depict antiquity with correcter colours, and not intermingle more modern ideas in opposition to his own historical feeling. For example, he is certainly acquainted with the metal iron, and once names it in a law, Num. xxxv. 16, because it was there unavoidable, but elsewhere he always speaks of brass as being usually employed in the Mosaic period; just as brass is said by the Greek and Roman writers to have been more abundant in earlier antiquity.

according to the principle once assumed. As he explains the origin of the name Joshua subsisting along with Hoshea, and would certainly never employ this appellation before the proper time,<sup>1</sup> so he begins only at Gen. xvii. 5, 15, to call Abraham and Sarah by these names instead of *Abram* and *Sarai*; and as he explains at Ex. vi. 2 sqq., that Jahveh had not yet revealed himself to the Patriarchs under this name, he avoids before this passage the use of the name *Jahveh*, which thenceforward is constantly recurring in the history of Moses, and previously always calls the true God *El-Shaddai* on the few solemn occasions of his manifestation, and elsewhere by the common name *Elohim*.<sup>2</sup> The name Jacob is indeed not always avoided in passages subsequent to Gen. xxxv. 10, despite the declaration there given; but inasmuch as this name was always maintained along with the other, Israel, in the real life of the people, its employment stands on a different footing from that of those just mentioned.

If we combine all the distinctive marks of the Book of Origins, it will appear that no document whose original form has been destroyed could well be so easily and certainly recognised in its smallest fragments as this, because certainly no other document of an historical character has been composed with so high an individuality and intellectual peculiarity. And this is just what is important for the question as to the literary sources that may have been used by our author. For though the author never refers in express words to any authorities, whether written or oral, yet he incorporates the old catalogue of the stations in Num. xxxiii.<sup>3</sup> in his work, with the preliminary remark that Moses wrote it (see above, p. 68). And many of his historical remarks must, to judge by their contents, be referable to very ancient records (the proof of which, however, belongs more suitably to the history itself farther on); and the change in the use of language, too, shows that he here and there is dependent upon written authorities. In the passage of Leviticus (xviii-xx.) alluded to above (page 88), we remark as much on the one hand peculiar to our author, as on the other quite foreign to him; and it appears from the peculiar

<sup>1</sup> Num. xiii. 8, 16.

<sup>2</sup> The Book of Origins always uses this name without the article (on the few exceptions see my Hebr. Gr. p. 680, 7th ed.); whilst others, as the later writers to be mentioned below, often use *האלהים* also, as if the true God ought to be distinguished by the article. This freedom

of language with the fine distinction between *θεός* and *ὁ θεός*, which Greek and Hebrew can alike express, we are unfortunately unable to reproduce in our *God*.

<sup>3</sup> That the hand of the author of the Book of Origins is here discernible, follows from *לְעֵבְרָאִים* v. 1, as well as from the reasons to be adduced farther on.

colour of the language,<sup>1</sup> as well as from other indications,<sup>2</sup> that he here incorporates in his work short series of laws that had long been in existence. And he doubtless incorporated much from the earlier historical work, or recast it in his own fashion. The revelation on Mount Sinai, already described incomparably in that work, as well as the Decalogue (where the words in Ex. xx. 9–11 are an addition by himself), he incorporated the rather, as the Decalogue was indispensable. How he recasts historical accounts is seen from Gen. xxxiii. 18–xxxiv.; Josh. v. 2–12. On the contrary, there is no indication that he adopted from the Book of Covenants or elsewhere the older legal work contained in Ex. xx. 23–xxiii. 19. Certainly one might regard it as probable, because this legal work touches upon many relations, especially of civil life, which, as being foreign to his main subject, our author little regarded. Yet it cannot be proved that he intended to receive into his work all such statutes.

The name of the author will probably be veiled from us in eternal obscurity. We read, indeed, of men highly renowned for wisdom, who flourished just about the period required,<sup>3</sup> and we may readily imagine one of these to be the author of this glorious work. No time, too, was probably so productive as that of great men of the kind that we must imagine our author. But further we are unable to prosecute the enquiry. If, however, we regard, as we ought, mainly the internal spirit and the general meaning of the author, as laid down unmistakably to attentive readers (and no moderately independent historian can always entirely conceal, even in the mere narrative style, the nature and working of his own mind)—then we must confess that rarely has so great a mind devoted itself to the composition of history. It is true he does not belie his

<sup>1</sup> זָקַן Lev. xviii. 17, xix. 29, xx. 14, occurs elsewhere (beside the *poes*) only in Judges xx. 6; and how the Book of Origins, *per se*, would speak in such a case is shown by Gen. xxxiv. 7; the image of the Canaanites being vomited from their own land, Lev. xviii. 24–28, xx. 22, is not elsewhere current with the author, and the language of the original gives even the notion of their being already expelled; מְלִילִים in Lev. xix. 4 and xxvi. 1, old echoes of the Decalogue; רָחַק in Lev. xix. 15 (cf. ver. 32), elsewhere unusual to the author, strongly reminds us of older passages, as Ex. xxiii. 3; the beautiful thought in xix. 34, harmonises only with Ex. xxii. 20 [21], xxiii. 9.

<sup>2</sup> From the special form of these laws; from the circumstance that the author, from xix. 33 on, himself adds a kind of paraphrase, &c. On the older little *Codex Sacrificiorum*, simply inserted in the Book of Origins, Lev. i–vii., see my *Antiquities*, p. 46.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Kings v. 11 [iv. 31]: Ethan, Heman, Chalcol, and Darda, whom Solomon surpassed in wisdom, must accordingly be regarded as somewhat prior to Solomon, and elsewhere the first two are placed in David's time. One might, moreover, mention Nathan the prophet; but the question arises in the case of all these whether they were Levites or not (cf. 1 Chr. ii. 6, 36), a question which can only be answered farther on.

character as a priest, an hereditary and influential one too : the visible sanctuary in Israel had at that time been for centuries gaining a high consideration of a peculiar kind, and the hierarchy was in the ascendent in consequence of the rule of David and the building of the Temple. The author of this work appears, according to the true meaning of several passages,<sup>1</sup> very anxious to secure that no improper, i.e. heathen sacrifices, nor improper priests—that is, aliens to the house of Aaron—shall approach the Mosaic sanctuary ; and this also he attempts to pronounce and to establish in the form of laws. But far higher than the priest stands in his estimation the wise legislator and true leader of the people ; full of that truly kingly spirit which always forms salutary decisions and issues irresistible commands with ease, and which even in the greatest perplexities and revolutions never loses for long its coolness and intrepidity. Such a one, too, if he ever is forced to administer a severe correction, does it not without the most considerate sympathy,<sup>2</sup> and his quiet strength silences all contradiction, and smooths all waves to peace.<sup>3</sup> And as the age of David and Solomon was the fairest reflex of the Mosaic, though far below it in creative power, the glory of the Mosaic age could be recalled and portrayed by no other historian so adequately as by one who had felt the influence of David's kingly spirit, and who was himself an actor in the best part of this most hopeful age of Israelitish dominion.

Lofty spirit! thou those work has for centuries not unnaturally had the fortune of being taken for that of thy great hero Moses himself, I know not thy name, and divine only from thy vestiges when thou didst live, and what thou didst achieve : but if these thy traces incontrovertibly forbid me to identify thee with him who was greater than thou, and whom thou thyself only desiredst to magnify according to his deserts, then see that there is no guile in me, nor any pleasure in knowing thee not absolutely as thou wast !

### 3. *The Prophetic Narrators of the Primitive Histories.*

The Book of Origins was surpassed on the domain of ancient history by no subsequent work. Yet later writers did not want

<sup>1</sup> Let anyone read with attention passages like Num. xvii. 1-5 [xvi. 36-40], xviii. 3 sq. 7, 32, Lev. x. 2 sqq., Ex. xxx. 9, which explain one another, and compare therewith such tales from Eli's and David's time as 1 Sam. v., vi., 2 Sam. vi.

<sup>2</sup> Let anyone read attentively the in-

comparably beautiful and yet simple turn of the sentiment wherewith three stories close, Lev. x., Num. xii. and xvii.

<sup>3</sup> This is the impression made upon the sympathising reader, especially by the glorious pictures of Moses' life in the Book of Numbers, to which I shall return in the course of the history.

for occasions for new essays upon this same field of narrative. The fund of ancient legends was certainly not exhausted by the Book of Origins and its precursors; much may have been told differently in different districts of the country; other things could be more fully and clearly described. Moreover, time itself as it advances produces new views and stories within the domain of ancient popular tradition; and with the brisker intercourse with foreign and distant nations, which after Solomon was never quite broken off again, new subjects of story and legend might easily enter from foreign parts, and seek a combination with the older series. But more powerful than anything else was the prophetic conception and treatment of history through the entire course of those ages; and as this prophetic conception has greater freedom to mould the subject-matter to its will, the further the field of the narrative is removed so as to be subjected to a higher kind of contemplation, it found in the primitive history a soil on which it could most easily form a combination with history. This is the main cause of the great license of repetition, which so remarkably distinguishes the works of this age from the Book of Origins and the still older book; for all legendary literature will endeavour the more to break through old restraints, and will move with the greater freedom, the oftener it treats the same subject-matter; but here it was especially the grandeur of prophetic truths, that declared itself by means of the freer exposition thus admitted.

The passages exhibiting this tendency are to be recognised partly by the criteria belonging to their nature just explained, partly by a tone of language and narration sensibly different from that of the earlier works on the primitive history. The correct discrimination of individuals among the narrators is indeed more difficult, as a more uniform and properly prose style for narrative is now being gradually formed; still on accurate inspection tolerably distinct shades may always be perceived in the various authors' modes of narration, which, when they concur with other and more internal distinctions, present sufficiently reliable data to the judgment.

### 1.) *The Third Narrator of the Primitive History.*

As proceeding from a narrator who in the absence of any other name is here denominated *the Third*,<sup>1</sup> we must discriminate

<sup>1</sup> One might, from the entire number of call him the *fifth* narrator; but since it historical works enumerated above, also cannot be proved (and is, indeed, alto-

a series of pieces which, though in number rather smaller, and in so far more difficult of recognition, yet from their entire manner and colouring can belong neither to an older work nor to the following Fourth or still later narrators, and exhibit a certain similarity among themselves. They are the stories of the Patriarchal times in Gen. x. 25, xx., xxix-xxxi., and especially much of the story of Joseph, although older matter is frequently worked up into these passages, and much has crept in from the hand of the subsequent narrators. Of the Mosaic history the following pieces belong to this work: the story of the youth of Moses, in Ex. i. 15-ii. 22; that of the shining of Moses' face, and the way in which he showed himself subsequently to the people, in Ex. xxxiv. 30-35, a peculiar idea of the splendour of the great prophet; that of the seventy elders, and of Eldad and Medad (Num. xi.), with its extraordinarily noble expressions about prophecy and the working of the Divine spirit; furthermore the fine description of the internal worth and nobleness of Moses as a prophet (Num. xii. 6-8), for all its brevity the most beautiful and excellent representation of Moses in the whole Pentateuch. From the history of the Flood, the fragment Gen. viii. 6-12 probably belongs to this narrator.<sup>1</sup> To him we are perhaps indebted<sup>2</sup> also for the preservation of the 14th chapter of Genesis, that curious relic of a work of the highest antiquity, which (according to p. 52) may have even been written among a non-Hebrew and probably Canaanitish people, before the age of Moses. Our narrator, perhaps an inhabitant of the North of Palestine adjacent to Phenicia, certainly introduced the passage within the pale of Hebrew history, only on account of a casual mention of Abraham in it. There are many indications that he made especial use of the writings of the First Narrator of the primitive history.

The narrative style of this author moves in very uniform language and description, and keeps still more simply to the old tradition. On such exalted topics as Num. xii. 6-8 he may be carried away by the lofty flight of his language, and sometimes pass into an easy verse,<sup>3</sup> but he is far removed from the more artistic portraiture and bolder painting of the Fourth Narrator,

gether improbable from certain indications previously adduced) that the authors of the first two works included in them the primitive histories properly so called, we prefer the name in the text.

<sup>1</sup> See the *Jahrb. der Bibl. Wiss.* vi. p. 18, vii. p. 16, ix. p. 7. *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1863, p. 759.

<sup>2</sup> The rare use of בְּלִעְנֵי without *me* i.e. be it far from me! God forbid! v. 24, recurs only Gen. xli. 16. The name יְהוֹה v. 22, would be surprising for this narrator; but the *Samarit.* and the LXX. read הָאֱלֹהִים for it, according to some editions and manuscripts.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. xiv. 19 sq., xlviii. 19.

next to be mentioned. But this narrator's peculiar preeminence consists in his uncommonly high and distinct conception of the working of the prophetic and the Divine spirit, which enters more or less prominently into most of his descriptions, and causes many of his expressions to class with the finest passages of the Old Testament. This conception of the ancient history comes out strongest in the life of Moses (Num. xi. sq.), but the plan of the life of Joseph also leads curiously to such a prophetic truth (Gen. i. 19, sq.); and the frequent introduction of the Dream and its prophetic significance, by which he is perceptibly distinguished from the other narrators,<sup>1</sup> harmonises well with this prophetic theory of his that pervades his whole history. As narrator of the primitive history, he is the best prophet, as the author of the Book of Origins was the best legislator and national leader. Now as this narrator must from all indications have written considerably earlier than the Fourth, we may assume him to have lived in the tenth or ninth century, while such great prophets as Elijah and Joel were still active; for his history is like a reflex of the high prophetic activity of their times. But although passages like Num. xi. sq. quite remind us of Joel, we prefer to assign to the northern kingdom a narrator who makes the life of Joseph the most brilliant period of the Patriarchal history, so that his work would have been to the kingdom of Israel very much what the Book of Origins was to that of Judah. We shall say more on this subject in the history of Joseph.

The diction of these fragments, notwithstanding a not inconsiderable number of peculiarities,<sup>2</sup> exhibits far more analogy with that of the Book of Origins than that of the Fourth Narrator does:<sup>3</sup> another proof that this work was written tolerably

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xx. xxxi. xxxvii. xl. sq. A narrative style which loves to bring into prominence this intellectual domain is by no means common. It is quite foreign to the Book of Origins. The story in Gen. xxviii. 10-22, to the very groundwork of which the dream belongs, forms no parallel. The Fifth Narrator in imitating such pictures expresses himself quite differently, Gen. xv. 1, xlv. 2. And wherever beyond the primitive history anything of the kind occurs, it can hardly be uninfluenced by the descriptions in this work: Judges vii. 13 sqq. (where *שָׁכַר* for *לְהַחֲיוֹת* interpretation of dreams) 1 Kings

iii. 4-15. It is quite in harmony with this view that by the Third Narrator Moses alone is regarded as standing far above dreams and the like (Num. xii. 6-8).

<sup>2</sup> As *גָּרַח* grow, Gen. xlviii. 16, in a thought which the Book of Origins and the Fourth Narrator express each very differently; *קִסְקִיָּה*, cover, Ex. xxxiv. 33 sq.; *קָצָא* suffice, Num. xi. 22, elsewhere only Judges xxi. 14, Ps. xxxii. 6, and in imperf. *Niph.* Josh. xvii. 16, Zech. x. 10.

<sup>3</sup> The author calls God in the Premosaic time *Elohim*, like the Book of Origins, and uses, like the latter, the word *הָעֶדְהָ* for the



soon after the Book of Origins, from which it is mainly distinguished by its prophetic treatment and glorification of the ancient history.

## 2.) *The Fourth Narrator of the Primitive History.*

To another entirely independent work must be referred especially several moderately long pieces which on close inspection betray some strongly marked peculiarities; whereas many shorter fragments and remains of it are preserved closely interwoven with words of the succeeding author.

a.) The fragments of this narrator exhibit a culmination and mature development of all the intellectual powers and capacities of the ancient nation, which can hardly be surpassed. It may be with justice maintained that this work exhibits the progress in the treatment of primitive history to the extreme of freedom in conception and delineation, beyond which nothing more is possible but the artistic conformation and poetical employment of its legends. And we may perceive clearly enough, in the picture of the national life of the time that meets our eye, the commencing relaxation of the old bonds of the Mosaic religion, and the irresistible rise of a multitude of new thoughts and aims.<sup>1</sup> We can here only shew this by a few of the more important phenomena.

The prophetic theory, which entered deep even into the former work, expands itself in this with full force, and becomes the supporter of the entire historical narrative. This work, especially when taken together with the succeeding one, gives a full reflection of the great prophetic power and activity that was developed in the centuries after David. This prophetic power, that had long become great in life and in literature, and was constantly overflowing its immediate bounds, now completely occupies the primitive history too, and remodels it with the greatest freedom into new and fairer forms. If the few relics of the previous work permit us to institute a comparison, that,

*Community* Ex. xxxiv. 31; also מַעֲלֵי־רֹאשׁ for the heads or elders of the community recurs Ex. xxxiv. 31, although in Num. xi. in our present text זָקֵנִים stands constantly for it.

<sup>1</sup> As a somewhat analogous case in a kindred people, may be cited the semi-poetical transformation of the old Arabic historical literature which followed the times of the Crusades, when modern

writers freshened up the memory of the first glorious days of Islām under the sheltering name of the ancient narrator *Wāqidi*, and produced the many Histories of *Wāqidi*, which have never been estimated at their true value till our day. It is however hardly necessary to observe, that the spirit which revived the primitive histories of Islām was very different from that which remodelled those of the Hebrews.

with its prophetic truths, still kept pretty close to tradition, and was the same from a prophetic point of view as the Book of Origins from a legislative; whereas in this work the prophetic idea rather sways history as its domain, and treats it from the first with all possible freedom. Now every prophetic truth seeks and easily finds in some part of the primitive history a fitting support, whence it expands itself freely and exhibits itself in its full extent. The support for the furthest existing prophetic outlook, namely the Messianic expectations which must in the time of the writer have long been developed nearly as we see them in the greater Prophets, was most naturally found at the historical commencement of all higher life in the Patriarchs, according to the law that in moral and divine things the extreme end must correspond to the extreme beginning, and all intermediate matter contains only the process of development.<sup>1</sup> And were it not that these attachments of a higher kind of history to the primitive times must, from their very position, be told in the shortest form, few finer presentiments would be found to be declared even by the real great prophets of the ninth and eighth centuries. The truth that every unrighteous rule, be it never so powerful, must necessarily fall before a higher disposing power, and that the Divine deliverance comes surely, finds its right place in the Egyptian-Hebrew history; the opposite truth, how the delivered and exalted people sinks down again through its own guilt from the height attained, and is only rescued from total ruin by the untiring self-devotion of such great minds as Moses, easily attaches itself to certain reminiscences from the desert (Ex. xxxii-xxxiv.) And wherever the prophetic treatment finds such an opportunity, it distinctly unfolds all the art of unfettered description and brings forward its innermost thoughts. Hence these passages have a high degree of importance as regards prophetic truth; and it were difficult to decide between this and the former prophetic historian, which yields to the other in depth and originality of thought, did not the subject of these thoughts concern a distinct side of prophetic truth in each.

If we then regard closer the truths which are here forced upon us, we shall have to confess that they flow from a height of prophetic activity and advanced national culture totally foreign to the Book of Origins. The developed Messianic expectations, the truth of the infinite all-surpassing grace of Jahveh beside the deep sinfulness and corruption of the earthly

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xii. 1-3, xviii. 18 sq., xxii. 16-18, xxvi. 4 sq., xxviii. 14.

(or natural) man,<sup>1</sup> the similar truth of the non-casual origin of the wicked principle in man,<sup>2</sup>—these are such illustrious thoughts, which first sprang from the sacred soil under the influence of the sun of these ages.

The language is essentially the fully developed prose style; but from the author's intellectual peculiarity in the treatment of history it always inclines towards a prophetic loftiness of description, wherever the subject will at all allow of a more soaring flight, as at the call of Abraham and the other periods of this great hero's life, at the call of Moses and his deeds in Egypt. But from this prevailingly prophetic tenor of the discourse it is, on every favourable occasion, only one step to the poetic; and this natural transition into purely poetic matter, or to an actual verse, of which we had the bare rudiments in the Third Narrator (p. 98), proves to be an important criterion of this and still more of the following narrator.<sup>3</sup> For through the passage Gen. xlix., spoken of on page 69, might, and obviously did, form a precedent here, yet so constant an intermingling of the poetic as this work displays, is a new phenomenon only to be explained from the species of historical composition that was now gaining ground.<sup>4</sup> Even where the author is not exactly revealing the highest prophetic truths, he likes to intermingle poetic colours of language, and follows a more artistic plan. But how a true poetic air may be spread over the narration when at the same time the former strictness of the Mosaic account of God (Mythology) was being relaxed, and greater freedom on this subject also was making way, is clearly shown by such glorious examples as Gen. xviii–xix. 28, and xxiv., which have a truly epic plan, and the last of which is quite comparable to an idyl. Mere narration with old-fashioned brevity or with the terseness demanded by the nature of the sources never distinguishes this narrator, who deliberately prefers a beautiful and bold revivification of antiquity.

One consequence of this great freedom of description is, finally, that the historical distinctions of the various ages are more and more dropped in narration, and the ideas and colours

<sup>1</sup> Gen. iii., xviii. 1–xix. 28, xxxii. 11 sq., Ex. xxxiii–xxxiv. cf. Gen. viii. 21 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. iii. cf. viii. 21 of same narrator.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. ii. 23, xxiv. 60; in the Fifth Narrator, Gen. ix. 25–27, xxv. 23, xxvii. 27–29, 39 sq.; Num. xxiii. 7–xxiv. Gen. iv. 23 sq. is of a different kind, as one may see from the historical references therein contained, which could not possibly have sprung from the author himself; cf.

p. 49, note.

<sup>4</sup> In a similar way in the Arabic histories mentioned on p. 100, the language passes easily into verse, wherever a fitting opportunity occurs to insert it: cf. *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, vol. i. p. 95 sq., 101 sq. In still later times, this freedom penetrates into the prophetic style, see my *Prophets*, vol. iv. p. 162 sqq., 280.

of language current in the author's age are without much ceremony transferred to the primitive times. We saw (p. 91) how the Book of Origins preserves a strong consciousness of these distinctions, and prefers to portray the Premosaic antiquity after its own fashion; but this narrator, and the next even more, feel no scruple about transferring purely Mosaic ideas and phrases to that age. This certainly at the same time proves how firmly Mosaic notions had now long been rooted in the nation, and in how great a degree, precisely from this cause, the clear consciousness of previous totally different circumstances was fading away. Thus not only in the history of Noah (Gen. viii. 20–22), but even in that of Abel and Cain (Gen. iv.), regular Mosaic sacrifices are described, without an anxious thought whether they are in their place at the gate of Paradise. In the same way we must understand the fact that our narrator, over-leaping the limit observed by the Book of Origins (p. 84), and also by the previous narrator (according to p. 89, note), calls God from the first *Jahveh*, and is always glad to employ this peculiarly prophetic name wherever possible.<sup>1</sup> Some little reserve and avoidance of too common phrases, however, might well consist with the tendency alluded to, and is indeed clearly discernible; as for example it is not accidental that the expression, so frequent in later times, *Neüm-Jahveh* (i.e. '—is Jahveh's saying'), with which the Prophets of the times after David introduced or concluded their words, though first transferred to the primitive age by our narrator, yet even by him is used only once, and therefore seems to have crept in by an oversight.<sup>2</sup>

That the author wrote as late as the age of the greater Prophets, may be equally clearly inferred from other considerations also. The tranquillity and polish of the narrative manner of these passages fully answers our expectations of the poetry of the eighth century. But besides, the narrative of the great

<sup>1</sup> He intentionally avoids it from reverence, e.g. in speeches addressed to heathens or among heathens, Gen. xxxix. 9; and of this kind is the instance in Gen. iii. 3–5. With this view, that the name *Jahveh* is identical with God, another view is certainly closely connected, viz. that being in itself conditioned by the opposite idea of frail humanity, it must have arisen in the primeval age, together with the name of the forefather Enos (*Enosh*), i.e. man. This beautiful conception, mentioned only too shortly by the Third Narrator in Gen. iv. 26, apparently emanates from that narrator himself, the earliest who would make so bold a use of the name *Jahveh*, whereas the

following narrator acts quite differently in this matter: see *Jahrbücher der Biblischen Wissenschaft*, vi. p. 18. This variety of Divine names, therefore, in the primeval history, is not without weight for the discrimination of its elements: but it presents only a single token, which must everywhere be judiciously interpreted and brought into harmony with all other indications; for when adopted and insisted on without such careful judgment, it leads into great errors. Moreover, it is obvious that different histories require the application of different laws.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xxii. 16. In the whole primeval history it is only used on one other occasion, Num. xiv. 28.

abomination at Gibeah in Judges xix. is by all indications the prototype of that about Sodom (Gen. xix.); for the one cannot have originated independently of the other, and it is more natural to suppose that to a narrator like ours the historical story served the purpose of dressing up short legends of antiquity, than the reverse. Moreover Hosea<sup>1</sup> quotes the abomination at Gibeah certainly from that source, and yet does not, like our narrator,<sup>2</sup> limit the moral degradation of the early times to the two cities of Sodom and Gomorrah only. But since Amos<sup>3</sup> had begun to employ these two cities alone by way of example for purposes of instruction, our narrator confines himself to them, even when speaking at length. But, on the other hand, this narrator must have written at a tolerably long interval before the succeeding one. We shall probably err but little, therefore, in fixing him at the end of the ninth or commencement of the eighth century.

b.) If we enquire about the ends that the narrator in this age kept before his eyes, we shall perhaps find the truth nowhere so evidently confirmed as here, that throughout the whole life of an ancient nation like Israel the writing of history always follows other effects and tendencies that have already gained strength, and hence changes with them; and that it is not, like poetry, prophecy, and religion, something original and anterior. Prophetic activity attained at that time its culminating point in Judah, and had already produced a multitude of lofty and eternally true thoughts. Now as these forced their way even into the contemplation of history, and sought admission into the yielding domain of the primitive history, the old conceptions of it were evidently no longer universally sufficient, and new ones arose imperceptibly. The Divine blessing awarded to the Patriarchs was now no longer confined, as in the Book of Origins (p. 75), to the single nation of Israel, but extended, according to the true Messianic view, over all nations of the earth:<sup>4</sup> and that everything ultimately depends upon faith and the proof of faith, was now the great prophetic dogma, which was soon to bring the primitive history into accordance with itself.<sup>5</sup> The poetical and prophetical literature had at this time attained a similar height; they now exerted a sensible influence on historical writing also, especially on the history of the earliest times, so that the artistic arrangement and glowing descriptions

<sup>1</sup> Hos. ix. 9, x. 9

<sup>4</sup> Gen. xii. 2, 3, xviii. 18, xxii. 18,

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xiii. 13, xix., xx.; see how: xxvi. 4.

over x. 19; Hos. xi. 8.

<sup>3</sup> Amos iv. 11; and likewise Isaiah i. following narrator: Gen. xv. xxii.; Ex. iv. 5.

9, 10.

that we missed in the older works made rapid way in the more recent. Here we discover the two objects that this work, by its peculiar treatment of the subject, was chiefly intended to secure. It almost seems not to be the matter, as such, of the primitive history, which is the main thing, but the mode of conception and delineation—that is, the clothing of a frequently-treated subject-matter in a beautiful or at least a new dress. Many an old reminiscence of antiquity that would else easily pass away is refreshed by this spirit of the new age into more pleasing and attractive forms. And if it be true that the history of a nation's antiquity only after such a regeneration becomes its inalienable possession (page 36), we shall be forced to admit that, whilst much matter has been destroyed or rendered difficult of recognition by modification, and much quite thrown away as insignificant, at least as much has been by this means preserved which would perhaps also have been entirely lost.

But though the majority of the fragments of this narrator thus present nothing but old matter newly worked up after the literary fashion demanded by the best prophecy and religion then in vogue, nevertheless the creative power of the nation, as applied to their old legends, was by no means exhausted; and many legends which had assumed an entirely new form may now have found their way into literature. Let us here only call attention to the story in Gen. xxxviii. of the circle of the ancestors of David's house, which without naming David, can hardly have originated without a tacit reference to the royal tribe of Judah. But especially, a flood of foreign legends of a mythological character had poured in upon Judah through the nation's freer and wider commerce since the time of Solomon; these our narrator received into the circle of the early primeval history, modified as far as possible through the spirit of the Jahvistic religion. These are the important fragments briefly indicated above (page 39), and to be further discussed in their historical context; which are peculiar in being perhaps all referable to this narrator.

c.) At all events, however, this work was quite an independent one, as much so as any of the foregoing. Indeed, in a literary point of view, there could hardly be another work so new and independent as this, because beautiful and copious delineation is a main point with it.<sup>1</sup> So far as we are able to

<sup>1</sup> This furnishes also a weighty ground for completely separating this narrator from the following one. Passages, for instance, such as Gen. xviii. 1–xix. 28, from a literary point of view, exhibit so

clear, pure, and powerful a flow of speech, as to render it impossible even on this account to refer them to the same author as Gen. xv.

observe, the narratives of this new work did not even rest upon fragments of older ones; its peculiar genius being for actual creation.

### 3.) *The Fifth Narrator of the Primitive History.*

It is quite otherwise with the work of the Fifth Narrator. As such we are to understand the author from whose hand proceeded the first great collection and working up of all previous sources of the primitive history, to whom therefore is to be referred the whole existing Pentateuch together with the Book of Joshua, with the exception of three kinds of additions which (as is soon to be elucidated) were intercalated still later.<sup>1</sup>

a.) At the time of this author the literature of the primitive history had long swelled out to an extraordinary bulk. Most various works of various ages and from various districts were then by all indications extant in considerable numbers; the age had been growing constantly more learned, and the very multitude of works in this, as also simultaneously in other branches of literature,<sup>2</sup> excited the demand for finer sifting and new combinations. Accordingly we have here a narrator who, though he delineates some points anew with his own hand and after his own taste according to the demands of his age, yet generally only either repeats word for word from older books, or slightly modifies the accounts of others, and who was on the whole rather a collector and worker-up than an independent author and original narrator of history.

But if we enquire in what is this narrator still independent, we find it first of all in the partiality for a prophetic bearing and loftiness of thought. Here indeed he only carries further what had already appeared in the previous narrators, especially in the last; but it is characteristic of him that he brings out Messianic ideas less prominently,<sup>3</sup> and with great emphasis inculcates the

<sup>1</sup> It might indeed be supposed that the Fifth Narrator was as independent a writer as his predecessors, and that we owed to him only long passages such as Gen. xv., Num. xxii-xxiv.; while a subsequent author used all these works, and thus became, in the sense already explained, the *latest* author. This view, moreover, might be recommended by the consideration that the task of a compiler of books or history may be quite distinct from that of an historian, and is in itself enough for one man. But I could not adopt this opinion here, because it is obvious that the last narrator, whose hand is seen in passages like Gen. xi. 25,

26, x. 21, must be the same who wrote such narratives as Gen. ix. 18-27, xv.; see *Jahrbücher der Biblischen Wissenschaft*, vi. p. 9 sqq., 16, 17, vii. p. 25 sqq. ix. p. 19 sqq. With this may be compared the way in which the latest prophets, though acting as collectors and compilers of prophetic works, always made independent additions of their own. See my *Prophets*, vol. i. p. 95 sq.

<sup>2</sup> See my *Dichter des Alten Bundes*, vol. II. (Proverbs), pp. 41-55.

<sup>3</sup> Especially, he dwells only upon the eternal possession of the land as promised to the Patriarchs, Gen. xv., xvi. 4, Num. xxii-xxiv. How far Messianic hopes

truth that only that faith which stands the test of trial is the crown of life.<sup>1</sup> But whereas the boldness of employing the histories of the earliest times for instruction and for a mirror of the existing times increases, and whereas the descriptions are often more splendid and buoyant than those of the previous narrator, still this writer's style has already lost much of the former tranquil beauty and perfection.

Whilst prophetic thoughts and descriptions were raised to so high a pitch in those ages, the popular element (as will be further elucidated below) felt itself increasingly restricted, repelled, and depressed; which was followed in the literature by a gradual decline from the beautiful perfection of style and description, and in the disposition towards other nations by a certain sourness of tone and embittered enmity. Both these characteristics are unmistakably present in this historian. The sharper-impressed nationality and sorer tone towards other nations, especially kindred or neighbouring ones, are testified by passages such as Gen. ix. 20-27, xix. 31-38, xxvii. 1 sqq.; Num. xxii-xxiv., all of which sharply distinguish this historian from the older writers on the primitive history, and breathe almost the same spirit that declares itself in the expressions of Joel and later prophets about foreign nations. And as in general the separation of opinions and tendencies may become more and more trenchant in the progress of time (until some happy fate brings about a higher reconciliation of opposite views), and as just in that age a sharper partition was growing up between the friends and the foes of spiritual religion, this historian remarkably completes the ideas of the Book of Origins by establishing a contrast of salvation and destruction, of good and bad, even in the earliest stage before the Flood (Gen. iv.; compare above, pp. 80, 102), whereas the former author had already pursued the origin of evil further, to the first man, and there discussed it likewise in a prophetic spirit (Gen. iii.)

The true age of the work can be most certainly discovered by considering more closely those relations in which, according to evident indications in this work itself, Israel then stood to foreign nations. It was especially Edom, Moab, and Ammon who were again powerful and active at that time, and on whom accordingly the narrator, who treats the history in general with great freedom, bestows his chief attention even in the earliest times. Now of Edom it is indicated (Gen. xxvii. 39 sq.) that

are contained even in this narrative is *schaft*, viii. p. 22 sqq.  
shown in *Jahrbücher der Biblischen Wissen-* <sup>1</sup> Gen. xv. 6, xxii.; Ex. iv. 5.



this wild warlike tribe, though subservient to its brother Jacob, should deliver itself from his yoke, if it would only earnestly strive for that end.<sup>1</sup> Thus the happy deliverance after earnest resolution is put as the latest in time; and the narrative of Gen. xxvii. is planned so as to lead to the result, that Edom does after all finally gain a blessing from his father, a very restricted one though it be: his land shall be less fruitful than Jacob's, but his earnest wrestling to throw off Jacob's yoke shall not be without result. So the whole kingdom of Judah, to which our author may belong, was then manifestly excited by the contest with Edom and the successful revolt of the latter. And this consideration of itself leads to a time not far distant from the prophecies of Joel; that we may regard as the extreme limit, before which the narrator cannot have written.<sup>2</sup> A similar indication, but when closer examined, far more distinct, is given by the conclusion of the long prophetic passage in Num. xxii-xxiv., although for several reasons this is difficult for us to understand with perfect security. The prophecy put in Balaam's mouth comes, towards the conclusion, to speak of a star that should rise out of Israel, not in the age immediately succeeding Balaam, but rather at a distant future time, to chastise and crush Moab, Edom, and all similar proud tribes (Num. xxiv. 17-19):

*I see him, but not now,  
I behold him, but not near :  
A star appears from Jacob's midst,  
And a sceptre arises out of Israel ;  
Smites both the temples of Moab  
And the crown of the head of all the sons of pride,  
So that Edom becomes a possession,  
And Seir becomes a possession—his [Israel's] enemies,  
While Israel puts forth valour.<sup>3</sup>*

It is not possible to see in the illustrious king from whom this picture is borrowed any later one than David. Moab,

<sup>1</sup> מִקְרִי in Hiphil, has undoubtedly the meaning of *wrestling, striving, desiring*, like the common Arabic word *مُقَرِّ*, in which, however, the meaning is still further weakened.

<sup>2</sup> My *Prophets*, vol. i. p. 112 sq.

<sup>3</sup> The structure of the passage v. 17-19 is somewhat confused. In v. 19 the first member is evidently too short and seems mutilated. In v. 18 מִיִּי appears to afford no sense unless י be prefixed to it; but this only appears so. [It is here taken

as in apposition to Edom and Seir: Edom and Seir, Israel's enemies; like צִיִּין in v. 8.] In v. 17, however, מִיִּי i.e. מִיִּי, is undoubtedly the proper reading; so also is מִקְרִי according to Jer. xlviii. 45: for the figure of the right and left temples of the head is only made complete by that of the crown; and, conversely, the haughtily raised vertex harmonises very well with the sons of pride. See *Jahrb. der B. W.* viii., p. 35 sq.

indeed, again fell off from the northern monarchy under Ahab's son, and Jeroboam II. subjugated it anew after a long interval (2 Kings i. 1, xiv. 25; compare Is. xv. sq.); but neither this Jeroboam nor any other king after David conquered both Moab and Edom so completely at the same time. But this shining star is not the latest thing that Balaam knows of. Of the further destinies of Moab, indeed, he says no more; and an inhabitant of Judah like the author could have no reason for particularly desiring its reconquest by Samaria. But while Balaam's eye wanders at last with single, disjointed, ghostlike glances, over his remotest future (which however is the actual present of the author, and filled with all his living experiences and desires), he declares concerning Amalek (verse 20):

*Amalek is an old primitive people ;  
Nevertheless, his end hastens to the nether world ;*

and concerning Ken (the Kenites) (verse 21 sq.):

*Thy dwelling is a rock,  
Thy nest is fixed on a cliff ;  
Yet Ken will have to burn ;  
How long—ere Ashur carries thee away captive ?*

Now at the first glance, indeed, it is obscure how these tribes come to stand in this connection; for both the 'primitive people' Amalek and the Kenites evidently disappear gradually from history in the times after Solomon; and yet here, in a connection where we expect allusion to events and aspirations of these ages, they appear sufficiently important to be specially noticed. As to the Kenites, however, we are fully entitled (from 1 Sam. xv. 6) to bring them into so close a connection with the Amalekites that, if we succeeded in discovering the latter in any suitable historical position, there can be no further doubt about the former. Now as the previous declaration concludes strongly and significantly enough with the relation of Edom to Israel, the conjecture forces itself upon us that Amalek, a part of which was at that time fused with Edom, according to Gen. xxxvi. 12, 16, is here mentioned because of its intimate connection with Edom,—perhaps because in some war between the Idumeans and the Israelites it had indulged anew its old national hatred against the latter. And, fortunately, this more definite account has been preserved by Josephus:<sup>1</sup> that in the war waged by Amaziah<sup>2</sup> against Edom, the Amalekites and Gebalites fought on the side of the Idumeans. Now we may confidently assume that they did

<sup>1</sup> Josephus, *Ant.* ix. 9, 1, 2.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Kings xiv. 7.

not remain inactive under Uziah when the same contest was renewed.<sup>1</sup> For even by Uziah Edom was not completely and permanently subjugated. The declaration about Dumah (Is. xxi. 11 sq.) is easily reconcilable with the sense of our passage. And if the Amalekites and Kenites, so often subjugated before, still maintained themselves erect in Edom as though in defiance of Israel, then it is explained how a prophetic voice of the first half of the eighth century could announce to them a chastisement by the Assyrians. For the Assyrians were then evidently already menacing the more southern tribes, but under Uziah or Jotham they must have been regarded in the kingdom of Judah rather as friends and welcome deliverers from the oppressions of the neighbouring tribes. Upon this foundation the declaration about Japheth which our author puts into the mouth of Noah<sup>2</sup> receives a remarkable interpretation. But finally the seer concealed beneath the name of Balaam lifts the veil yet higher: Balaam's concluding words, in which he appears once more to wake up like a spirit, and then to become mute for ever (v. 23 sq.):

*Alas! who shall live after God has done this?  
And ships from the coast of the Chittites,  
They shall then afflict Asshur and afflict Eber:  
Nevertheless, they too hasten to the nether world.*

—undoubtedly allude, from their position, to an event which must then have been the most recent historical fact, the mention of which was obviously intended to give the distinctest intimation of the actual present. A pirate fleet coming from the Chittites, i.e. the Phœnician Cyprians, must, a short time before, have harassed the Hebrew, i.e. Canaanitish and Phœnician coasts, as well as the Assyrian, i.e. Syrian, farther north. We have no other distinct account of this event, the consequences of which cannot have been very lasting. But as, according to the Tyrian Annals of Menander,<sup>3</sup> the Tyrian king Elulæus vanquished the revolted Chittites, and Salmanassar, then in his war against Tyre, desired to use this discord for his own ends, evidently implying that this revolt had been a considerable one, we are justified in assuming that the revolt of the Chittites had lasted a long time before it was quelled by Elulæus. We should,

<sup>1</sup> 2 Chron. xxvi. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. ix. 27; a sentence which derives its significance only from the peculiar circumstances of the time. How completely Assyria and its history at that time filled every mouth, is seen from the immediately following interpolation of the whole passage about Nimrod, Gen. x. 8-12; a very

palpable addition, which could only originate with one of these two narrators: see *Jahrbücher der Biblischen Wissenschaft*, ix. p. 7, x. p. 51.

<sup>3</sup> See Josephus, *Antiquities*, ix. 14, 2; Isaiah xxiii. 12 (comp. 10) obviously alludes to the possibility of such rebellion among the Chittites.

therefore, by no means necessarily come down to the times of Salmanassar, when Judah's relation and disposition towards Assyria was totally altered.

The supposition that the author wrote in the kingdom of Judah is most strongly favoured by the arrangement of the words of Balaam, which concern especially the relation of Edom to Israel; for not Moab or Ammon, but Edom, always remained in the closest connection with Judah in the times after Solomon. To the temple-hill Moriah, moreover, we are directed by the form that the ancient legend of the sacrifice of Isaac here assumes (Gen. xxii. 1-14).<sup>1</sup> The story inserted as an episode in Gen. xxxviii. does not, indeed, originate in a very favourable disposition towards the house of David and its progenitors; but at times sentiments might be formed which diverged to some extent from the ordinary opinions—sentiments which could expand themselves nowhere more readily and innocently than in the domain of the primitive history by a semi-facetious treatment of an ancient legend.

b.) The author certainly used for his great elaboration of the primitive history all the sources that passed in his time for authorities. These were in the main the above-described works, and perhaps a few others besides, that we can trace with less distinctness.<sup>2</sup> He especially bases his history upon the Book of Origins, beginning with its noble introduction (Gen. i. 1-ii. 4), and confining himself throughout the whole history to the frame supplied by that work to chronology. He mostly only works up the older sources into one another, without adding much new matter of his own. But, in the first place, the flow of his own exposition naturally expands more freely where he finds a fitting occasion to pursue the ideas which were characterised above as peculiar to him. And, secondly, having thus brought together such various matter from the most manifold literary sources, he endeavours at the same time to give it a more living connection and more comprehensive arrangement by throwing in a dash of stronger light on certain passages. An accurate observation of the manner in which he conducts this introduces us to the actual workshop of his labours. It may be remarked that at the commencement of a new section he likes to exhaust in a single great picture all the great things that can be said or thought about a hero or any considerable phenomenon in history, thus

<sup>1</sup> See the recent remarks on this point in the *Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen* for 1863, p. 637 sqq. That in Num. xxiv. 19, the *עיר* (city) must be Jerusalem, I have already shown elsewhere; see *Jahrbücher der Biblischen Wissenschaft*, xi. p. 202.

<sup>2</sup> As, for instance, what is said in Gen. iii. 20, iv. 1, about Eve, may have been taken from some work unknown to us; see *Jahrbücher der B. Wissenschaft*, ii. p. 165.

leading, by a brilliant introduction in a prophetic spirit, into further details. In this, according to some indications, the previous narrator had prepared the way for him; but he carries this mode of description further and with superior art. So in Abraham's life he exhibits a striking prophetic picture at the head of each of its three sections (Gen. xii. 1-3, xv. and xxii. 1-19); similarly Isaac's life is reached by a descent from an elevation (Gen. xxvi. 1-5); the same thing is done for Jacob's life by the prophetic hue of the story of his dream (Gen. xxviii. 10-22); and in the case of Moses similarly an exceedingly brilliant introduction leads on to his prophetic appearance (Exod. iii. sq.) Now many things that this narrator puts in this prominent position had been mentioned in the earlier chronicles at a later occasion, as for example the covenant with Abraham, which is described in chap. xv. in the most brilliant colours, but which, according to the ancient arrangement, did not occur till chap. xvii., where it is fortunately retained by the last narrator. Accordingly this peculiarity in the narrator is intimately connected with another: filled as he is by the contents of the history of a given period, he generally likes to bring in all the most important circumstances as near to the beginning as possible, and sometimes at the commencement of a new section knits a regular epic or, to speak more correctly, prophetic knot; but afterwards lets the older sources of history speak for themselves, in so far as he admits them. This peculiarity may be traced into the utmost details; it is repeated on the small as on the large scale. As he first describes the corruptness of the earth (Gen. vi. 1-8), intending to return thence by a fitting transition to his ancient historical authority, and as after the Flood he gives a short preliminary description after his own fashion (Gen. viii. 20-22) of the renewed blessedness of Noah (Gen. ix.), so he inserts some notices of Ishmael's history, which occurs in chap. xxi. and xxv. 18, at the earliest possible occasion in chap. xvi. 7-14; and by an epic artifice indicates the main point of the dispute between Esau and Jacob as early as xxv. 22-34, and gives the explanation of the name Jahveh (Ex. vi. 2 sq.), according to his fashion, preliminarily in Ex. iii. 13-16. Such transpositions, rendered possible by the fluctuating nature of legend, occurred occasionally even in the earlier writers. The later narrators generally transposed an event from a later to an earlier position: but details will be better discussed in their place in the history. Similarly in Joshua's life the narrator only gives a few lengthy descriptions at the outset, especially in Josh. ii., iii. sq., v. 13-vi., and viii.

If we consider this our narrator's peculiar method of treating his subject, we shall find it to be probable that the transpositions in the Book of Origins, mentioned on page 87 sq., are due to him. Whilst elaborating that ancient work in the manner described into a new one, and leaving out or transposing much of it (which will be shown more fully below), he may at first have determined on leaving out various passages of the Book of Origins, but subsequently have fortunately supplied the omission at a later place. And the circumstance that these transposed passages are always transposed to a later, not to an earlier position, lead necessarily to the assumption that we have here not the effect of chance or a multitude of hands, but the habit of a single reviser. On a smaller scale we see the same thing in the old Book of Kings, or the present Books of Samuel.

The author has evidently entirely omitted much from the authorities that lay before him. This is self-evident upon a closer understanding of the relics of ancient works received by him; occasionally a great abridgment of the fuller narrations of earlier works is very perceptible in fragmentary recapitulations, such as the sentences about the Titans of the primeval world in Gen. vi. 1-4: other omissions and contractions can be with certainty discovered only by a sharper insight into the subject and origin of the extant narratives.<sup>1</sup> For the very reason that the author wished to condense so many and such various sources into a single readable work, he had to leave out much in order to avoid too many repetitions and too evident contradictions.

Although this compiler unmistakably worked up and blended together the very various matter which he held worthy of insertion, yet it is equally certain that he did not deem perfect uniformity necessary in the matter he inserted. He was evidently determined mainly by the importance of a passage from the earlier books whether to insert or to omit it, or to abridge it more or less. Of slight repetitions and unprominent contradictions in the contents of the narrative he was but little afraid; still less of variety in the mere use of language. He preserves accordingly in the passages which he repeats from older books the diversity of the names of God, Elohim and Jahveh, in general exactly as he must, from the above remarks, have received it, though, agreeably to the progress of his time, he himself calls God Jahveh by preference. Only here and there, especially on occasion of transitions, as in Gen. ii. 4,

<sup>1</sup> As I have lately shown in *Jahrbücher der Biblischen Wissenschaft*, ii. p. 163, 164, by an instructive example.

xvii. 1, he puts the name Jahveh in the midst of the words of an old work. But it seems as if, through the constant compilation of passages in which the names for God varied, the employment of these names themselves had imperceptibly grown more familiar to the author. He does not call God Jahveh so exclusively as the Fourth Narrator; and in the history of Moses he prepares the way for the explanation of the name Jahveh by a sort of emulation of the Book of Origins. He therefore calls God Elohim for a time, until the decisive moment (Ex. iii. 4-15, 18); and, as if he would bring prominently forward at the outset of the whole work that the two names in their ultimate significance are intrinsically but one, and that Jahveh is only more definite than Elohim, he of himself adds to the one name Jahveh the other Elohim, in the first passage which he borrows from the Fourth Narrator, Gen. ii. 5-iii.,<sup>1</sup> but abolishes this cumbrous reduplication of appellations from the commencement of the new fragment Gen. iv., and thenceforward calls God always by a single name. He especially likes to call God by the lower name when speaking of mere manifestation by dreams,<sup>2</sup> as if any divine agency were adequate to produce the effect; but in other connections also, as in Gen. iv. 25, &c.

c.) As regards the extent of the works of this narrator (not including the Third and Fourth Narrators), he cannot be proved to have brought down the history beyond the death of Joshua;<sup>3</sup> on the contrary, everything goes to prove that that event formed his conclusion.<sup>4</sup> For though the oldest book of history, described on p. 68 sqq., had embraced also the times of the Judges, and the Book of Origins, according to p. 76 sqq., had narrated some facts down to the first age of the monarchy, and the

<sup>1</sup> A special proof of this is given just before, in Gen. ii. 4, where he similarly appends Jahveh to Elohim; see *Jahrbücher*, ii. p. 164.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xxii. 1-3, xlvii. 2; Num. xxii. 9 sqq., compared with 8.

<sup>3</sup> At the utmost it might be objected that in Josh. vi. 26 there was a direct allusion to an event which took place under king Ahab, the fulfilment of which is given in 1 Kings xvi. 34; and therefore that the author intended here at once to write down its fulfilment also, and consequently to carry down the history to Ahab's time. But rather it only follows from this that the Third or Fourth Narrator found a narrative existing similar to that in 1 Kings xvi. 34, and could therefore allude to it in the life of Joshua: in fact, the short notice in Josh. vi. 26 is an in-

dependent and nowise necessary addition. In 1 Kings xvi. 34, also, the mention of the event is equally brief and isolated; but from this only follows that these two last narrators, the historian of the primeval history and that of the monarchy, took this event out of an earlier writing, where it was undoubtedly presented in its entire freshness and completeness. The event itself, however, is too incidental and insignificant to serve in any way as a connecting link between the primeval history and that of the monarchy.

<sup>4</sup> The last author, according to Deut. xxxi. 16-22, only mentioned at the close that after the age of Joshua Israel fell away from Jahveh; but this may have been briefly observed, and we now actually find in Josh. xxiv. 31 some words which may have suggested the remark.

Third and Fourth Narrators appear also to have followed that precedent ; yet the last chapters of these books might easily be severed from the rest and elaborated into later books treating only of the history after Moses and Joshua. For, as Moses and Joshua had concluded the greatest epoch of the early history, their death was certainly regarded during the progress of the monarchical period, as the great boundary-line of the ancient and the modern age. Agreeably to this, as will soon appear more clearly, a very different style of historical composition was developed for each of these two periods.

#### 4. *The Deuteronomist : last modification of the Book of Primitive History.*

However freely the above-described Fourth Narrator treats the primitive history, he nowhere betrays a legislative aim ; for, on the one occasion when he delivers laws (Ex. xxxiv. 10-26), he does so only in his habitual emulation of older works, to expound the Decalogue and its origin after his own fashion. Equally far removed is the last of the just-described prophetic narrators from any peculiar legislative aim : but later ages are the more indebted to him for having preserved the important legislative portion of the Book of Origins almost uncurtailed, and thus, by admission into his work, having perhaps saved it from total oblivion. He is, indeed, very fond of introducing prophetic words, but in a purely poetic garb and always in the midst of circumstantial narration.

But this literary employment upon the primitive history, which had been kept up so long, and yet had never led to real historical investigation, at length burst its last bounds. It begins to regard the consecrated ground of this history as merely matter for prophetic and legislative purposes ; and herein it was evidently confirmed by the other tendencies of the age. For not only did the power of prophecy approach its slow but irrepressible fall at the end of the eighth century, but the later ages, weighed down by the aggravated burden of circumstances, felt themselves less and less capable of directly carrying out any serious improvement of the national life. But as literary activity was still constantly progressing, and taking a hold upon the prophetic and legislative matters, which was constant in proportion as public life was estranged from such objects, this activity attached itself most readily to the consecrated domain of the primitive history ; Moses and his age being regarded as the great originators of both tendencies, so that every passage about him in the old books might excite in the writer literary



fancies and the desire of speaking on prophetic and legislative topics, and might be expected to be received by the reader in the most favourable frame of mind.

1) The earliest discoverable commencement of this method of treating, or rather of only using, the Mosaic history, is displayed by the inserted passage, Lev. xxvi. 3-45. This gives a prophetic promise and menace which, though formed upon the type of Ex. xxiii. 22 sqq., is not only much more copious and rhetorical, but holds out far more extended threatenings; so that it is observed that the early and better times of the nation were gone and the full flood of national ills been poured forth over the land. This passage has been purposely tacked on to this part of the Book of Origins, because the conclusion of the description of so many laws, especially the concluding ones about the festivals and the year of Jubilee (Lev. xxiii. 25-xxvi. 2), goes off into generalities, opening the way most naturally for a prophetic elaboration of general promises or menaces; and the recurring allusion to the sabbaths and years of jubilee in verse 34 sq. and verse 43 (compare v. 5) shows that it was originally intended to be annexed at this place. Now, although in such passages as verse 9, 12 sq., 45, it distinctly imitates the language of the Book of Origins, yet it shows prevaillingly so peculiar a shade of words and phrases<sup>1</sup> that we must necessarily ascribe it to a writer of whom there is nothing else extant. If we observe accurately how it not only takes for granted at least a complete disruption of the one kingdom, but also (in verses 36-40) describes in the liveliest colours the sorrowful feelings of the descendants of persons thus scattered among foreign lands, we cannot doubt but that a descendant of the exiles of the northern kingdom indited this strong prophetic menace, with the intention of showing emphatically in the domain of the primitive history, what were the general consequences of disobedience towards Jahveh, and of thereby calling men to repentance. Accordingly this insertion cannot have been written before the end of the eighth century or the beginning of the seventh; but to this period points the relation in which it stands to the other books of the Old Testament.

<sup>1</sup> To instance only a few examples: the words and phrases קָרַי, vv. 21, 23, 24, 27, 40, 41, קִקְמִינִית, v. 13, בִּלְקָה, v. 36, אֲשַׁבֵּעַ בְּ, or עָלַי, vv. 18, 21, 24, 28, were never imitated by later writers from our author. On the other hand, later writers have often imitated some words which appeared in no widely-read book before this; such are עָלַי

to spurn, vv. 11, 15, 30, 43, 44, the strong expression לָלַי to denote an idol, v. 30 (properly a horror, from the verb לָלַי to reject with scorn, connected with נָעַל, first repeated in Deut. xxix. 16 [17]), and the expression of the increase of the land, vv. 4, 20 (compare Deut. xi. 17; Ezek. xxxiv. 27; Ps. lxxvii. 7 [6], lxxxv. 13 [12], with which compare lxxviii. 46 [45]).

Whilst the resemblance to sayings of the prophets of the eighth or earlier centuries<sup>1</sup> rather testifies a dependence of this author upon them, we find this passage quoted at no earlier date than Deuteronomy,<sup>2</sup> as well as in the writings of Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and others of the same character, but very distinctly and considerably used by them.

2) The last expounded tendency of literary activity broke forth most thoroughly in those passages of the present fifth book of the Pentateuch and of the Book of Joshua which are inserted from the work of an author whom we may briefly call 'the Deuteronomist.'<sup>3</sup> At a time when, after the downfall of the northern kingdom and the death of the good king Hezekiah, the southern kingdom also was in the greatest danger of succumbing to lawlessness and other internal maladies, a member of this kingdom living in foreign parts attempted, with all the vigour of prophetic speech, to recommend the old law, altered and renovated in such a manner as to suit his times, as the sole salvation of the kingdom. This he does, it is true, on the domain of the primitive history, and therefore in the Mosaic manner and style, but yet treating the subject-matter with the greatest freedom. As to the external form he keeps quite close to the ancient history, by the loftiness of which he feels himself exalted in his unhappy times, and from whose pure strength alone any hope was to be drawn for the future; but the narrative quite recedes with him into the background, and serves only either to introduce discourses and exhortations or for some special literary purpose; and therefore is generally limited to a few words or sentences thrown shortly off.

a.) It is not my present business to expound the entire significance of the work of the Deuteronomist, or prophetic renovator and perfecter of the old law—a book which is in many respects to the Old Testament what the Gospel of John is to the New, and which, though wearing an historical dress, still is widely removed from the circle of historical books. The sole eminent significance possessed by this work when its true contents and aim are regarded, as well as the great historical results

<sup>1</sup> The model to verse 5 is rather to be found in Amos ix. 13 sqq., that to verse 8 in Isaiah xxx. 17 (compare Deut. xxxii. 30); and that to the often-recurring phrase וְאֵין כְּחַרְדִּיךָ v. 6 in Micah iv. 4 (that is Joel) or even Isaiah xvii. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Besides this, compare verse 16 with Deut. xxviii. 22; the whole long chapter xxxviii. of Deuteronomy is only a heightening of this passage.

<sup>3</sup> The name *Deuteronomy* may be retained as perfectly appropriate, although in those passages where it is first found in the LXX., Deut. xvii. 18, Josh. viii. 32, it rests primarily upon an incorrect translation; for מִשְׁנֶה here is obviously intended to denote only a *copy*. It is only the general feeling which guided the LXX. that we can recognise as correct.

soon produced by it, will be more suitably described in the history itself. But we must here consider more closely, how the author carried out this historical investment of his subject, how he interwove his own words into the primitive history, and in how far he possibly even modified the latter. And we must observe at the outset that the historical dress freely chosen by the author, and in those times undoubtedly the most conducive to his purpose, is kept up very consistently. For he desired most emphatically to recommend the essential and eternal contents of the old law, renovated and transformed by the new prophetic truths now gained, and to do this as the conditions of that advanced age and the desire of thereby working for the improvement of the existing kingdom of David demanded. He therefore introduced the only hero of antiquity who could serve as the right instrument for this end, namely, Moses himself, as speaking and acting a short time before his death in this spirit. But he not only desired to prescribe and recommend the right, he also wrestled with all the powers of his mind to see it realised, and destined his work to contribute towards this end likewise. He therefore needed a second hero, who, as soon as ever Moses had published this last bequest of his love to the people and died, should enter into it as a popular leader and realise it all as the dying Moses had wished and ardently striven for. Here Joshua naturally occurred to him, the faithful follower of Moses and realiser of his plans, according to the definite recollections of antiquity. As the author, with his words of prophetic aspiration, hides himself under the high shield of Moses the great Prophet, so under the portraiture of Joshua he conceals the ideal King of his own times such as he would have him, a realiser of what is essentially better. And as the prophetic author endeavours to bring about a complete renovation of the people and kingdom on the basis of the laws here expounded, or, in other words, a new covenant between the people and Jahveh, so far as this was possible in writing, he causes Moses to declare to the people before his death a new and better covenant (Deut. xxvii-xxx.), and Joshua to act quite in accordance with it. Thus then all that he had to represent fell into two halves, divided by the lives of Moses and of Joshua. But as the exposition of the contents of the new covenant that he desired for his times necessarily took up the most room, and as moreover the most powerful effect of the work would proceed from the living words of Moses himself, these two halves could not but be very unequally divided. Where the author introduces Moses speaking and acting, the

bounds of the work are expanded to their utmost extent, and there he lays down the varied and important matter he is about to say, according to a large plan and an arrangement carried out with tolerable accuracy.

The author desired, then, to introduce Moses as a popular orator, speaking very much as the prophets of that age used to speak before the assembled thousands. Though, however, even the later prophets are here and there carried away by the old prophetic style of speech, in which the Divine Ego issues directly from the oracle and the human Ego of the prophet vanishes before it, yet here the discourse freely breaks through this conventional barrier of the prophetic style. As if he who desires to preach spiritual love as the highest good ought to speak in a new way, more as a friend than as a prophet in the old sense of the word, the author most successfully ventures on this innovation, thereby infusing a hitherto unknown charm into these purely human discourses of the great hero. Thus indeed is produced a great difference between these speeches and the manner in which the Book of Origins, for instance, constantly makes Jahveh first speak to Moses and then Moses declare in the same form to the people all that he has heard from Jahveh. Here are for the first time speeches direct to the people on the highest topics according to a consistent plan, the orator always speaking out from himself to the multitude—the prevailing plan in the New Testament as opposed to the Old. And this innovation is the happiest that the later writer could have hit upon, if he really wished to bring the full life of antiquity before the eyes of the after-world and not to resuscitate the great prophet and popular leader in vain. And, desiring to introduce Moses renovating the old law by new truths and repeatedly urging its acceptance with hearty zeal, nay, even with threatening warnings, he selected the last two months of his life as the most fitting occasion for this. For then under the feeling of approaching death the Man of God, looking back upon the experiences of the last forty years, could still urge his loving heart to make a last exertion, but would be forced to leave to his successors the execution of all that under the influence of the glorified vision and aspiration of departing life he had desired.<sup>1</sup> These are the preliminary calculations of the inventive mind of the author.

<sup>1</sup> A similar case is that of 'Ecclesiastes,' when the poet introduces Solomon two or three hundred years after his time, as pouring forth his serious and instructive thoughts in his old age; but the persona-

tion in this later work, notwithstanding its poetic form, is not maintained with anything like the ease and firmness which we admire in Deuteronomy.

(i.) After a short introductory narrative, or rather a longish heading (Deut. i. 1-5), Moses is made to deliver an introductory speech consistent with such a purpose, looking backwards upon the time since the ratification of the first covenant on Sinai and forwards upon the uncertain future impending. And hence it appears how qualified the speaker is to inculcate the whole law anew, and to desire a second covenant that the people shall not transgress as they had the first (Deut. i. 6-iv. 40). As, however, it was scarcely conceivable that Moses should have held all the speeches of this book without any intermission, the author fills up the pause after the first speech (chap. iv. 41-43) by an act of Moses, the essence of which he certainly took from the Book of Origins,—an act which he may very well have performed just before his death, but which that old book did not ascribe so definitely to him.<sup>1</sup>

(ii.) After another long heading (ch. iv. 44-v. 1), follows the second and principal speech of this book, as if the speaker had spoken the entire compass of the words from v. 1 to xxvi. in one strain. This is the place at which the law, in the form which it is to assume for the future, is really solemnly laid before the assembled people, and at the end a declaration given whether they will accept it or not. And as its contents, so difficult to be embraced at a glance, were to be exhausted here, the whole is classified according to its main divisions, the author starting from the Decalogue and its renewed inculcation in v. 1-vi. 3, and then with a fresh beginning (vi. 4) undertaking to discuss the great subject in its own way, in all its bearings and in the greatest detail. The classification adopted descends constantly from the higher and more general to the lower and more special. The author (1) begins with Jahveh as the single great object of love, and makes every effort to commend love of him alone and complete avoidance of all other Gods (vi. 4-xiii.) He thence (2) turns to what is most closely connected with that subject, viz. to the special things and acts which are or ought to be esteemed holy, and then enters more into detail, giving a number of special commandments (xiv-xvi. 17). Passing now from what intimately concerns religion in the narrower sense of the word to the outward realm and its arrangement, he (3) discusses public rights, both the Laws of Persons—the duties and functions of public persons, namely, the supreme magistrates (judges and kings), priests and prophets—and the public Laws of Things (xvi. 18-xxi. 14). To this is appended

<sup>1</sup> As is clear from Num. xxxv. 14, compared with Josh. xx. 8.

subsequently (4) what we should call Private Law, which from its infinite extent is all treated here mostly in very short clauses without any discoverable sure arrangement of details. However, the section begins with household matters at xxi. 15; and after a return, by way of example, to the sacred acts to be performed by the individual (xxv. 17-xxvi. 15), the entire long speech is wound up by a short and powerful recurrence to its commencement (xxvi. 16-19).

(iii.) In the concluding speech would be expected the reciprocal obligation to the covenant whose contents have now been expounded, on the part of the people, and on that of the speaker as agent of Jahveh. But here another consideration interferes. The covenant containing all this was surely not really concluded by the people at that time, for where were the pledges and documents of it from the country beyond the Jordan? Rather it was intended for the people only after they had settled in Canaan; indeed, strictly speaking only for those who lived in Jerusalem at the time of the writer. On this account there follows a more intricate threefold concluding speech; (1) the command is given, only *in future* to erect on one of two holy mounts on the nearer side of the Jordan memorial-stones as records, and from this sanctuary to bind the people to the new law. This has its foundation, as will be explained, in a real reminiscence of the ancient holiness of the mountains round Shechem (chap. xxvii.) Then, as if perceiving that this better law will yet not be kept for centuries in the land on this side of the Jordan, the writer (2) exerts his prophetic powers to the utmost, to bring home to his readers the twofold possible consequences of their conduct towards it—what blessings it will bring, and what a curse the neglect of it will draw down. But it is the latter that is chiefly depicted in the liveliest colours and utmost range; and it seems as if the speaker here, overpassing the course of centuries, borrowed the hues of his delineation direct from the terrible calamities which had already come upon the people, which indeed were oppressing them even at the time of the author, and the removal of which he expected only through their acceptance of that amendment which is here enjoined; or as if the foreboding spirit of the noble speaker of antiquity exactly touched that putrefying sore, well known to the real contemporaries, from which, except through a total change and cure, utter destruction was inevitable (xxvii. 9 sq. and xxviii. 1-68).<sup>1</sup> Only after these premisses follows (3) the real conclusion

<sup>1</sup> The verses xxvii. 9, 10 are wrongly placed here; but before ch. xxviii. they give the proper meaning, and indeed are necessary there. In the work of the

—which alike in tenderness and impressive force, and in profound and eternal thoughts, constitutes the true crown of the whole (xxviii. 69—xxx.)

With this comes to its close that which, in the sense of the author, may be rightly called ‘the Second Law’ or ‘the New Covenant.’ If he then, desiring to complete that chain of historical events with which this law is hedged round, describes Moses (xxxi—xxxii. 47) as writing it down at a higher command, and depositing it beside the Ark of the Covenant, and therein accomplishing his last earthly work, with a few heartfelt parting words directed especially to Joshua, we can but say that in giving this turn to the narrative he is true to himself and to his artistic point of view. Assuredly this is a vast stride in the art of historical representation, and exhibits a freedom of treatment which we should seek in vain in earlier times. The Book of Origins represents Moses as receiving the stone tables of the Decalogue, written by the finger of God, and as seeing in the heavens the archetype of the sanctuaries which it describes (p. 87); but it nowhere gives the least intimation that it was itself written by him. Rather, by stating in exceptional cases that the names of the encampments were written down by Moses,<sup>1</sup> it implies the contrary. The Fourth Narrator indeed shows somewhat more boldness in assuming the use of writing from the hand of Moses: he represents Moses as breaking the original tables of stone, and restoring them with his own hand;<sup>2</sup> and relates that at the command of God he wrote down a Divine announcement that would reveal its full meaning only after a long interval.<sup>3</sup> This latter event is described just as it certainly often occurred in reality among the prophets of the ninth and eighth centuries,<sup>4</sup> and the narrator here also does but follow his own strictly prophetic method; but even in this latter case it is evident that he had before him an ancient document, and one which he had found in a book of very great age, which he may have verily believed had been written by Moses. But the Deuteronomist ventures to ascribe to a record from the hand of Moses the entire Book of Deuteronomy, though he himself was the first to put it forth in this form, just as he states (ch. xxvii. Josh. viii. 32) that the memorial-stones on Mount Ebal had contained, by Moses’ appointment, the more strictly legislative

Deuteronomist, also, there are misplacements, but of a different kind from those observed (p. 87) in the Book of Origins; and it would carry us too far to discuss them all here.

<sup>1</sup> Num. xxxiii. 1, 2; see above, p. 68.

<sup>2</sup> Ex. xxxiv. 27, 28.

<sup>3</sup> Ex. xvii. 14–16.

<sup>4</sup> Isaiah viii. 16, xxx. 8.

part of it from ch. v. to xxvi. And this great boldness of historical assumption is emphatically one of the many signs of the later age of this author; an age which precisely because it felt itself so far removed from that of Moses allowed the utmost license to the historical contemplation and treatment of it. For although in Deuteronomy the author derived many laws and other matter from old manuscripts which in his time might already be reckoned, in the most general sense of the word, Mosaic, and in so far might regard his new production as a Mosaic work, because written in the spirit and to a great extent in the words of Moses, yet the history itself shows that this extreme license in authorship was very gradually developed.

But if the author in this way wrote the chief portion of his work (Deut. i-xxx.) quite independently, the case becomes different from the moment at which the words of Moses come to an end, and the events themselves are further described. Here he visibly takes as a basis the original history, in the same manner as in the previously described work of the Fifth Narrator, and up to the death of Joshua adds only what his purpose requires. How from this point he manipulates that work we may at once see by the following example. It is very remarkable that in the midst of the portion, Deut. xxxi. 14-22, in which the Deuteronomist repeats words which are by unmistakable signs recognised as written by the Fifth Narrator,<sup>1</sup> a song is put forth which Moses and Joshua were said to write and teach to the community for an everlasting testimony to the mercy of Jahveh, which even after their backslidings always sought them again; and, frequently as the expressions of this second document may run counter to those of the former, still the Deuteronomist makes distinct reference to this song as delivered by Moses before the assembled people (xxxi. 27-30, xxxii. 44). From this it would seem as if the great song in ch. xxxii. had been first introduced, not by the Deuteronomist, but by the previous narrator in his history of Moses; which makes a great difference in respect to the question of its age and origin. The form and contents of this song, indeed, prove that it must have been composed in an age subsequent to the time of Solomon;<sup>2</sup> but it comes from a poet otherwise

<sup>1</sup> This appears from the conception of the pillar of cloud, which is peculiar to this narrator, v. 15; from the expressions *הָפַקְר* *הָפַקְר* to break the Covenant, *הָפַקְר* for despise, *הָפַקְר*, v. 21 (on both the word and the sense, see Gen. vi. 5, viii. 21), which are as foreign to the Deuteronomist

as they are habitual to the Fifth Narrator; and from other indications.

<sup>2</sup> The period depicted by the poet as Antiquity is, according to vv. 7-18, no other than the age of Moses; and his Present, a generation which had already fallen far from the loyalty and happiness of the Mosaic age and the first period after



unknown,<sup>1</sup> who embodied in it some of the weightiest prophetic truths of his time, and can have originated neither from the Deuteronomist, who nowhere shows himself a poet, and from whose mode of expression it widely departs; nor from the previous narrator, who indeed (according to p. 102) freely introduces his own songs, but whose poetic power and diction are different. The narrator who inserted it here must have met with it as an anonymous song, perhaps not more than fifty or a hundred years old, and have judged it in power and sentiment to be worthy of the dying Moses.<sup>2</sup> And since, according to all indications, it must have originated about the last quarter of the eighth century<sup>3</sup> (but in this case cannot have been inserted by the previous narrator), it must in all probability have been intro-

the conquest, and had become effeminate and presumptuous, and was then greatly afflicted by cruel foes and other evils, and inclined on that very account to murmur even against Jahveh. Now the poet on his side ought strictly to speak words of the severest denunciation against this unthankful race; but he controls himself, and prefers to begin in gentle tones to sing the praise of Jahveh's faithfulness: he is, however, carried away in the midst of his song by his wrath against the ungrateful people, and summons them to listen to the teaching of antiquity (vv. 1-7). Here Jahveh appears as the kind Father and Benefactor of the people (vv. 8-14); but, through the very excess of their happiness in the beautiful lands of the conquest, they suffered themselves to be seduced into rebellion against him, so that he in his turn is now compelled to turn against them (vv. 15-21). This is the central point and pause of the song, which on close inspection is seen to consist of six equal strophes. Advancing from this point to the prophetic end, the thought is carried on, in the following manner: Great indeed are the present chastisements, and were it not that the enemy would grow too overweening, Jahveh would inflict the merited final destruction (vv. 22-27). Would that Israel could understand that it is the heathen who must fall, not those who have a better foundation (vv. 28-35); and assuredly the true Messianic hope shall yet be fulfilled (vv. 36-43). Hence it is clear that this poem is one of those—and they were not few—which arose from the overflowing of prophetic thoughts and Messianic hopes into song; and that for this reason, if for no other, it cannot be believed to have existed before the beginning of the eighth century. The diction, although here and

there very strained and abrupt, is on the whole rather expanded and elaborate than terse and really antique. But it is equally clear from the contents, that it does not in the least profess to have been composed in the name of Moses.

On this song see also my *Jahrbücher der Biblischen Wissenschaft*, viii. pp. 41-65; and *Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen* for 1862, pp. 375-383.

<sup>1</sup> This might easily be shown from its very peculiar diction.

<sup>2</sup> Other phenomena of a like kind are met with. Confining ourselves to the historical books, we may recall the Song of Hannah, 1 Sam. ii.

<sup>3</sup> The 'people that is not a people' (v. 21) who so long plagued the Israelites, is unquestionably the Assyrians, at about that stage of their dominion which is described by Isaiah, ch. xxxiii., if not at a still later. Imitations of the words and ideas of this song are not met with till after the diffusion of Deuteronomy; thus, for instance, יְשֻׁרִין is appropriate as an expression of fondness, and certainly original in v. 15; but in Deut. xxxiii. 5, 26, and Isaiah xlv. 2, is merely copied from thence: further, the word הָקָל in v. 21, for *idol*; the great calamities in vv. 24, 25 (compare Ezek. xiv. 21; 2 Kings xvii. 26, and elsewhere); v. 35 (compare with Hab. ii. 2); and in v. 36, the proverbial expression קָצֵר וְעוֹבֵר *the close and the loose*, that is *everything* (as we say with a similar alliteration of initials, 'through thick and thin,') which phrase is frequently repeated by the last author of the Books of Kings. The same age is indicated by such words as לָקָח v. 2, אָלוֹהַּ v. 15, and others.

duced by the Deuteronomist in the place of another, as seeming to him more suitable.<sup>1</sup> Finally he concludes the life of Moses with the remark that no prophet so great had ever again arisen (Deut. xxxiv. 10-12),<sup>2</sup> which entirely agrees with the expression in ch. xviii. 15-18, and in connection with this proves that he designed the 'New Law' to endure for the whole future, or, according to another view, till the advent of the Messiah.<sup>3</sup>

But the views of the Deuteronomist are not fully satisfied until he can set forth in conclusion how Joshua, as the true leader and the successor of Moses, strengthened and encouraged by Jahveh, zealously and with the happiest results entered into this higher law, and concluded with the people the new covenant desired by Moses. Thus many passages in the present Book of Joshua were first brought into their existing form by the Deuteronomist. The mention also of the memorials of the new covenant at Shechem, and the statement that Joshua himself wrote down everything,<sup>4</sup> repeat in trivial things that which had been said respecting Moses in great ones, and must be judged in the same way. To suppose, however, that he introduced everything that the present Book of Joshua contains is incompatible with the whole character and object of his work. But certain as it is that this life of Joshua was made public by the author at the same time with the new-moulded life of Moses, it is also evident that his object as a writer was thereby fully attained; and it is neither capable of proof nor even credible that he treated in his peculiar manner the history of any later period.

b.) That the Deuteronomist had read and made use of the historical work to which the Fifth Narrator gave its latest form, is certain, not only from what has been adduced above, but also from other indications.<sup>5</sup> But a careful examination of his words shows that, besides this, he also drew largely upon many documents, both of a narrative and of a legislative character, which are now entirely lost:<sup>6</sup> for the age had long been devoted to

<sup>1</sup> The words of ch. xxxi. 28 do really allude very manifestly to this song; but not so those of ch. xxxi. 21.

<sup>2</sup> From the complexion of the words and ideas, also, these three verses can only belong to the Deuteronomist. Compare v. 12 with iv. 34, xxvi. 8, &c.

<sup>3</sup> In itself and in the mind of the Deuteronomist, the passage Deut. xviii. 15-19 is by no means Messianic; but it readily obtained at a later period, especially through the allusion to ch. xxxiv. 10-12, a Messianic application. The Deuteronomist, on the contrary, considered the full treatment of the Messianic idea to lie beyond his province and his object. To

what extent, however, his words nevertheless stand in some relation with that idea, may be seen in *Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen* for 1861, pp. 1414-16, and for 1862, p. 1194.

<sup>4</sup> Josh. xxiv. 26.

<sup>5</sup> Not only is the narrative of Ex. xxxii-xxxiv. repeated step by step in Deut. x., but also that of Num. xxii-xxiv. is certainly presupposed both by Josh. xxiv. 9 and by Mic. vi. 5; and further proofs of the same might be given.

<sup>6</sup> When, for example, he says (xvii. 13 and xxviii. 68) that Jahveh had before commanded the people never to return again to Egypt, we naturally expect to

learning, and the collection of ancient works on history had doubtless become an established custom, as we know on documentary evidence was the case with other branches of literature.<sup>1</sup> Much has been thus preserved by him from these sources, which would otherwise have been lost. Moreover, having amassed a comparatively rich store of authorities upon antiquity, he takes a manifest pleasure in pouring forth at suitable places an abundance of curious historical lore,<sup>2</sup> to give to his work a fitting breadth of historical clothing. Even in the middle of a speech of Moses appear some historical notes taken from old books, as though even then the learned author was involuntarily more prominent than Moses who was introduced as speaking.<sup>3</sup> All this expenditure of antiquarian learning, however, is incurred, assuredly not in order to help on the history or narrative itself, but simply to aid the legislative and prophetic aims of the writer; and accordingly the historical observations, lavishly poured forth in some places, are generally broken off suddenly so as not to encroach upon that which has to be said. The narrator last described deserves the name of narrator, since the representations of antiquity and the delineation of certain inherited traditions are the objects aimed at by him; but here we no longer find a narrator, but a speaker with the pen, who uses history only as a dress, and rarely narrates anything at length.

With this is also connected the peculiar nature of the diction of this author. This not only (as may be easily perceived) differs much in single words and phrases from that of all the other portions of the Pentateuch and of the Book of Joshua, and never approaches near to that of the Book of Origins,

find some law respecting this in the older books: for it is the characteristic habit of the Deuteronomist, when referring to earlier works of this character, always to have his eye upon some previous declaration by Jahveh. But no such declaration is to be found in the older extant books, since the words in Ex. xiii. 17, being spoken only with reference to one special and temporary object, cannot be meant. Therefore the Deuteronomist must have had before him an ancient passage which is lost to us, in accordance with which these words are to be taken, somewhat like those noticed below, p. 130, note.

<sup>1</sup> See my *Dichter des Alten Bundes*, vol. II. (Proverbs), pp. 47-55.

<sup>2</sup> This is shown by the whole opening speech, with its historical introduction, Deut. i. 1-iv. 40. Examples of this occur at the very beginning, in i. 1, 2, since

these remarks, which contain much that is not found in other sources, merely serve the purpose of describing the locality of Moses in the last month before his death.

\* It may, indeed, be fairly doubted whether the passages here alluded to (Deut. ii. 10-12, 20-23, iii. 9, 11, 13 (last half) and 14, x. 6-9) actually belong to the speeches, from the tone of which they entirely and without any visible reason depart. I hold them rather to be marginal annotations, which have here crept into the text; and the position, barely capable of yielding any sense at all, which the passage x. 6-9 now occupies, affords strong confirmation of this view. We should thus have here in the Old Testament a MS. with marginal annotations from the hand of its author; and such a fact would sufficiently show how firmly established erudition in the strict sense had already become.

except where the author repeats old laws almost verbatim; but exhibits in general a colouring and a method which cannot be conceived to have existed till about the seventh century. The differences extend even into the minutest points.<sup>1</sup> But, broadly considered, the essence of the diction is pure rhetoric, and this in an advanced development which suggests approaching decay. By the great Prophets of the ninth and eighth centuries the rhetorical capabilities of the language had been developed as far as was possible in the public life of those times; and the influence which this development gradually exerted upon the narrative style is shown by the two last-mentioned revisers of the primeval history. Prophetic orators, indeed, still existed even in the seventh century, as we know from the life of Jeremiah; but as the bloom of prophetic power and activity had already faded, oratory also lost its inward vigour and terseness, and fell into a laxity which repudiated those just restraints by which alone beauty and force can be united. And in the Deuteronomist we see rhetoric already succumbing to this relaxation; only in certain places, as for instance in the impressive conclusion (ch. xxx.) does he attain terseness of style, and a vigorous and facile grasp of his materials. The fact that rhetoric absolutely predominates in the work would itself suffice to show that it certainly cannot have been written before the age of the great Prophets of the ninth and eighth centuries; the fact that the rhetoric itself exhibits certain signs of decay guides us to an even lower antiquity.

c.) It would lead us too far to show here from various other discoverable indications that the author wrote about the latter half of the reign of king Manasseh, and in Egypt. As the proof cannot be given briefly, and his work is closely connected with a large portion of the history of the seventh century, this point can be better treated of hereafter. But its relations to the other books of the Old Testament also lead to the same result. Whereas even in single words and detached thoughts it presupposes the existence of the older books, and even of the Book of Job,<sup>2</sup> it was itself much read and imitated

<sup>1</sup> As, for example, the combination  $\text{לִפְנֵי}$  in certain cases for the older  $\text{לְפָנֶיךָ}$  before: Deut. vii. 24, xi. 25; Josh. x. 8, xxi. 42, xxxiii. 9; these passages are imitated in Esth. ix. 2. The entire root  $\text{פָּעַל}$  or  $\text{פָּעַל}$ , otherwise foreign to the language of the Pentateuch, has through the great poem Deut. ch. xxxii. been rendered familiar to the Deuteronomist also.

<sup>2</sup> Even if we do not account for the passage Deut. iv. 32 by the influence of Job viii. 8, yet the words and thoughts of Deut. xxviii. 29, 30, 35, point necessarily to Job. v. 14, xxxi. 10, ii. 7; and thus we possess at once a very important testimony to the age of the older portions of the Book of Job. Deut. xxviii. 49 sqq. is derived from Isaiah v. 26 sqq. and xxxiii. 19, and in great part from the previous

as early as the age of Jeremiah ; and, as might easily be proved, no book exerted a stronger influence both on the life of the people and on their literature than this, when in the seventh century peculiar circumstances rendered it the authoritative basis of the Reformation under king Josiah.<sup>1</sup>

3) During the last gleam of happiness which once more shone upon Judah after the national Reformation under Josiah effected through Deuteronomy, and consequently while Josiah was still reigning, the Blessing of Moses, which has been preserved as an interpolation in the book of history and law recast by the Deuteronomist (Deut. xxxiii.), was probably written. For this imitation of the Blessing of Jacob (Gen. xlix.) presupposes a very happy internal condition of the country, or at least a very satisfactory position of the ancient religion, such as we must believe to have existed exactly at that time, when, after the internal reformation, a bright hope for the future would naturally spring up and find poetical expression. Here, then, it might seem suitable to put the old Blessing of Jacob as a new Blessing into the mouth of the dying Moses. For the love of Moses embraced not the mere separate tribes but the whole community, and regarded the tribes only as the units of which that was compounded. He, therefore, could only desire unmitigated blessing for them all, and the separate tribes here appear subordinated to the higher unity of the Community of Jahveh. From this conception the speaker sets out in verses 2-6, and in this he concludes in verses 26-29 ; and as for the whole, so for each single tribe according to its special position, a blessing is implored. We may thus regard this even as an improved recasting of the old Blessing. The desire expressed in verse 7, that Judah should come to his people, that is, that the dynasty of David might again rule over the whole people of all the tribes, is one of the most significant points of detail, and moreover completely in accord with the history of this time. Equally characteristic is also the designation of Levi as the honourable Priest-tribe (verses 8-11), and of Jerusalem as the place of the Temple (verse 12), as also the fact that the Northern tribes are blessed for turning towards the Mount of the Temple in Jerusalem ;<sup>2</sup> for Galilee appears early to have turned towards

Fourth Narrator. Besides Jeremiah, the passages Isaiah lvii. 5 (compare Deut. xii. 2) and Zeph. iii. 19, 20 (compare Jer. xiii. 11, and Deut. xxvi. 19) stand nearest to Deuteronomy.

<sup>1</sup> It is unnecessary here to speak further of the views held upon Deuteronomy in this day by those who ignore history. I

have shown up the utter perversity of a recent very prolix work of this kind in the *Jahrbücher der Biblischen Wissenschaft*, x. pp. 183-189 : see also *ibid.* vii. p. 212.

<sup>2</sup> For it cannot be doubted that by the Mountain in v. 19, which these tribes invoke, and on which they offer sacrifices of

Jerusalem. Against this no argument can be founded on the fact that the old blessing pronounced upon Joseph, though no longer quite suitable in this age, is simply repeated, in verses 13-17, from an older work consisting likewise of blessings. To judge from the language, the song proceeds from an otherwise unknown poet of the age of Jeremiah; in respect to its position, it is merely interpolated loosely where it stands, and not (as the poem in Deut. xxxii.) adopted by the narrator as part of his own work. The greatest error of all would be to suppose that the Deuteronomist had inserted it; for with his spirit it has no affinity, and his language finds no echo in it. But, taken together with the case of the Deuteronomist, it serves to show how industriously the most different authors of the seventh century sought to give form and authority to their thoughts by transplanting them into the Mosaic world.

4) Now it is true, the work of the Deuteronomist originally appeared by itself: it represents itself everywhere as a work that stands and has meaning by itself: and as such, too, we are able to trace it in history at its first appearance; moreover, the beginning of the work, with its detailed description of the place and circumstances in which Moses began to speak (i. 1-5) sounds quite like the introduction of a new book. Nevertheless the real author, in whose times there already existed a great abundance of ancient historical and legislative works, some undoubtedly held in high honour and much used, had certainly no intention of supplanting these, since his manifest design is only to produce a sort of final completion of all the most valuable materials that then existed. It is for one special object, rather than with the view of gathering together everything that since the time of Moses had become law among the people, that he re-opens, as it were, the mouth of the great Lawgiver. But in fact we see that he sometimes makes Moses in his speech refer back to some historical fact which could only be understood if there were earlier narratives containing a fuller account of it;<sup>1</sup> and in the case of the laws respecting leprosy, which for his purpose he wished scarcely to touch and yet not entirely to pass by, the speaker refers with sufficient distinctness to the priestly directions concerning it contained in the Book of Origins.<sup>2</sup>

righteousness (i.e. those referred to in vv. 8-11), Zion is to be understood.

<sup>1</sup> As, in particular, the words of Deut. v. 25-28 [28-31], xviii. 16-19, which refer back to the narrative in Ex. xx. 18-21; but they certainly imply the existence of a much more detailed and vivid account of the events than is contained in the words of

Exodus, which are taken from the oldest and simplest narrative. But the Deuteronomist may have found such a narrative in some other early book; perhaps in a passage of the Fourth Narrator's. See p. 126.

<sup>2</sup> Deut. xxiv. 8. See my *Antiquities*, p. 158.

Now, although under Josiah this Book of Deuteronomy was publicly recognised as the great and fundamental law-book of the kingdom of Judah, yet of course, along with this, the earlier works, which were already much used, especially for certain purposes, and by the priests, might still be largely read, and employed according to their contents. Such prophets and authors as Jeremiah and Ezekiel, therefore, had recourse to similar works of an older stock besides Deuteronomy, which either stand in the present Pentateuch, or were lost at a later period.<sup>1</sup> But it was inevitable that the same art of book-making, which was so active among the ancient people (see pp. 59 sqq.), and had been long practised especially on this domain of primeval history, should again be tried. It was held good to work-in the book of the Deuteronomist into one of the earlier works, or (what might appear equally important) to enrich the latter with the former, so as to bring together all that was valuable respecting the ancient history. Any further additions from other sources could then be easily appended. And certainly, among all the greater works with which that of the Deuteronomist might have been conjoined, the choice fell most happily upon that of the Fifth Narrator (p. 106 sqq.) We can also clearly recognise the manner in which this last compiler and editor of the great History of the Early Times as it has reached us proceeded. He left the work of the Fifth Narrator exactly as he found it, up to the section, shortly before the death of Moses, to which the chief portion of the Deuteronomist's work could suitably be attached. But since the latter (as observed p. 125) had written the life of Joshua very briefly, the editor proceeded, after the death of Moses, on a freer plan, uniting the more detailed narrative given by the older work with the essential contents of the Deuteronomist's, and so blending the two works completely into one. It was certainly this last editor who inserted the Blessing of Moses (Deut. xxxiii.); a passage which even yet stands quite disconnected. In this (v. 1) Moses is called for the first time 'the Man of God.' This name, in the two only passages of this great book where it occurs (here and in Josh. xiv. 6), indicates a different hand from that of the Deuteronomist. The very fact of the insertion of this passage enables us to recognise most distinctly a last editor, who, however, must have lived before the end of the seventh century, or at all events before the destruction of Jerusalem, and brought the work into its present and final form.<sup>2</sup> For there is no single indication to lead us to any lower antiquity.

<sup>1</sup> On this point see what I said in 1859

<sup>2</sup> It might indeed be presumed that in vol. vii. (Germ. ed. 1868) pp. 467 sqq. this last editor was also the last modifier

In conclusion, we can now understand what extraordinary fortunes this great work underwent, before it attained its present form—how from a small beginning it was enlarged and modified at every important epoch of Hebrew literature till the end of the seventh or the beginning of the sixth century, and concentrated within its limits the most beautiful and lasting literary achievements of centuries; just as, in other fields of literature, may be observed in the collection of the Prophets, the Psalter, and the Book of Proverbs; with two exceptions—(1) that in the region of history it never became customary to give the names of the narrators as vouchers for their statements, nor to mention those of the compilers (p. 56 sqq.), and (2) that this work came to a comparatively early close, because it was commenced the soonest, and its subject, as being purely historical, was necessarily the soonest exhausted. In the course of the modifications and transformations which the work underwent, much of it gradually lost its original clearness and its peculiar character. The Deuteronomist gives to his work which is included in the book as it now stands, the name (which indeed the whole volume might well bear) of *Book of the Law of God*,<sup>1</sup> or *Book of the Law of Moses*;<sup>2</sup> by which however is strictly meant only the chief portion of the book, excluding the present Book of Joshua. Sometimes he calls it more briefly the *Book of the Law*,<sup>3</sup> since the legislative portion seemed to him the most important; and thus the older names—*Book of Origins*, and the rest—were thrown into the background. Thus, too, the ancient divisions of the Book of Origins are very much obscured by later transformations and additions; and the whole work in its latest form is partitioned, we know not by whom, into six large sections,<sup>4</sup> which by the Hellenists in Egypt and

of the whole; and that thus the first four books of the Pentateuch were cast into their present form by him, and that, for instance, the abridgments which have evidently been made in Gen. iv. and vi. (see p. 113) proceeded from him. But on further consideration I find this view not tenable, if only because there is nowhere the least trace of the spirit of the Deuteronomist before the first verse of the Book of Deuteronomy. And such passages as Deut. v. 25–28 [28–31] and xviii. 16–19 yield no sufficient proof that the D. in a previous portion of his work had described the whole history of Moses, since what has been already said is a sufficient explanation. But the use of *the* in cases like Deut. iv. 41, Josh. x. 12 (compare Ex. xv. 1), Num. xxi. 17, may

perhaps be the sign of the last editor.

<sup>1</sup> In Josh. xxiv. 26; likewise 2 Kings x. 31; in Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah.

<sup>2</sup> In Josh. xxiii. 6; the same name appears elsewhere after that time, 1 Kings ii. 3; 2 Kings xiv. 6, xxiii. 25, and in Chronicles and similar writings. In Deuteronomy, as well as in Josh. viii. 31, 32, only Deuteronomy itself is to be understood by the term; but from its intimate connection with the older work, the wider use of the name must have been from the first possible.

<sup>3</sup> Deut. xxxii. 46; compare 2 Kings xxii. 8, 11, and elsewhere. With this name that of *Book of the Covenant*, 2 Kings xxiii. 21, is interchangeable.

<sup>4</sup> The only natural divisions which the subject-matter itself creates in the great



elsewhere were called the Pentateuch (of Moses) and the Book of Joshua. But from amid the wreck of the oldest writings and the multitude of later additions, there still shines forth very much that is original: nor have any of the later transformations been able entirely to obscure either the grand remains of the earliest times or the whole history of the gradual creation of the work itself; at least in the presence of that exact research, which alone is both suited to the importance of the subject and fruitful of results.

work are the following:—1. Genesis; 2. The history of Moses as far as Deuteronomy; 3. Deuteronomy; 4. The time of Joshua. But the second of these parts must, on account of its great extent, have been very early broken up into three portions, such that the whole work fell into six nearly equal parts; but this par-

tion into three books—Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers—agrees only remotely with the original divisions of the Book of Origins (p. 86). The sixth of these parts might then the more readily be further separated and treated as a distinct book, and entitled the Book of Joshua.

## II. THE GREAT BOOK OF THE KINGS.

## BOOKS OF JUDGES, RUTH, SAMUEL, AND KINGS.

THE first phenomenon that strikes the observer here is the marked difference in the language of this great Book of Kings, in comparison with that of the preceding great book of the primitive history. Although both are equally made up of passages by the most diverse writers, yet on the whole each is distinguished by a peculiar cast of language. Many fresh words and expressions become favourites here, and supplant their equivalents in the primitive history; <sup>1</sup> others that are thoroughly in vogue here, are designedly avoided in the primitive history, and evidently from a historical consciousness that they were not in use in the earliest times; <sup>2</sup> but the most remarkable and pervading characteristic is, that words of common life, which never occur to the pen of any single relator of the primitive history, find an unquestioned reception here.<sup>3</sup> I have no hesitation in

<sup>1</sup> Such as נָשִׂיא *prince*, instead of נָשִׂיא mentioned at p. 93 (it is also peculiar to the Chronicles in places which are wanting in the four books of Kings, 1 Chron. v. 2, ix. 11, 20, xiii. 1, xxvi. 24, xxvii. 4, 16, xxviii. 4, xxix. 22; 2 Chron. vi. 5, xi. 11, 22, xix. 11, xxviii. 7, xxxi. 12 sq., xxxii. 21, xxxiv. 8); בָּעַר in the signification to sweep away (not to burn; Deuteronomy is the first that obliterates the distinction); מְשֻׁמֵּם in the sense of prevalent custom;

גָּלַה אֶזְנוֹי for to reveal, 1 Sam. ix. 15, xx. 2, xxii. 8, twice; 2 Sam. vii. 27; Ruth iv. 4. There are quite new words, such as מְאֻמָּה anything (which only occurs in the Fourth Narrator); כָּנַע in derivatives, with the signification of to subdue, to humble; גִּדְדָר troop, 1 Sam. xxx. 8, 15, 23; 2 Sam. iii. 22, iv. 2; 1 Kings xi. 24; 2 Kings v. 2, xiii. 20 sq.; also הִשָּׁמָה to be silent (which sense is expressed by many other words) first appears in prose in Judges xviii. 9; 1 Kings xxii. 3; 2 Kings ii. 3, 5, vii. 9, and only in later times in poetry, except Ps. xxxix. 3 [2].

<sup>2</sup> This is especially shown by the name יְהוֹנָדָב, 1 Sam. i. 3, 11, iv. 4, xv. 2, xvii. 45; 2 Sam. v. 10, vi. 2, 18, vii. 7, 26 sq.; 1 Kings xviii. 15, xix. 10, 14; 2 Kings iii. 14. On the other hand, the Books of Chronicles are again sparing in its use, and only use it in the life of David; it is entirely unknown to the Pentateuch, Joshua, and Judges.

<sup>3</sup> Such as בְּלִיַּעַל, which was really first introduced into the written language by David (cf. my *Psalms*, vol. i. p. 67); 1 Sam. i. 16, ii. 12, x. 27, xxv. 17, 25, xxx. 22; 2 Sam. xvi. 7, xx. i; 1 Kings xxi. 10, 13; Judges xix. 22, xx. 13, which, in the other province, has only penetrated into Deut. xiii. 14 [13], xv. 9; the oath וְנָתַתִּי לִי אֱלֹהִים וְנָתַתִּי לִי אֱלֹהִים which is also put into the mouth of heathen, the verb in that case being made plural, 1 Sam. iii. 17, xiv. 44, xx. 13, xxv. 22; 2 Sam. iii. 9, 35, xix. 14 [13]; 1 Kings ii. 23, xix. 2, xx. 10; 2 Kings vi. 31; Ruth i. 17; the similar oath of common life, which, however, can only be used by Hebrews,

saying that the established usage of centuries must have sanctioned for the primitive history a style of narrative and a cast of language utterly different from those customary in the history of the Kings; just as the style of the regular historians of the Greeks differs from that of the so-called logographers, and—to cite a nearer example—as the Arabian narrators of easy style, the authors of Wākidi's books, of the Thousand and one Nights, and others, select a form of language different from that of the older historians.

This remarkable phenomenon—quite worthy of minute investigation, and sufficient to rouse us to profound meditation on the great changes Hebrew historical composition has undergone—necessarily leads us to assume that when historians began to treat of the period of the Kings, the mode of delineation of the stories of antiquity had long since adopted its established tone and style, seeing that the above-described Book of Origins (pp. 74 sqq.) does not indicate the commencement, but the highest perfection, and in a certain sense the consummation, of the development of the primitive history. When therefore a new branch of literature, describing the history of the Kings, was originated, doubtless by different writers at first, it naturally created for itself a new style of narrative and of language, and thus two species of historical composition, differing in many respects, were established: the long developed style of the primitive history, which occupied a province more or less sacred; and the new style of the history of the Kings, whose province was that of common life and daily progressing events.

חַלְלָהּ וְחַי נַפְשָׁךְ 1 Sam. xx. 3, xxv. 26, 2 Sam. xi. 11 (with some variation), xv. 21; 2 Kings ii. 2, 4, 6, iv. 30; and in a shorter form 1 Sam. i. 26, xvii. 55; 2 Sam. xiv. 19. To this class belong also the common proverb of the dead dog, or dog's head, 2 Sam. iii. 8, ix. 8, xvi. 9; 1 Sam. xxiv. 15 [14], further shortened in xvii. 43; 2 Kings viii. 13; as also the two phrases כִּשְׁתֵּי בָקָר 1 Sam. xxv. 22, 34, 1 Kings xiv. 10, xvi. 11, xxi. 21, 2 Kings ix. 8, and עֶצֶר וְקִזְבֹּז 1 Kings xiv. 10, xxi. 21, 2 Kings ix. 8, xiv. 26 (which occurs nowhere else but in the song Deut. xxxii. 36, where it is most likely to be original, see p. 86); with this distinction only, that we discern a certain difference between older and later writings of this province in the use of the latter.

Some words of the same species are at any rate very rare and doubtful in the Book

of Origins; as the term of execration חַלְלָהּ which only occurs in Jos. xxii. 29; and the exclamation to secure a favourable hearing from a superior בְּי אֱלֹהֵי (1 Sam. i. 26; 1 Kings iii. 17, 26; Judges vi. 13, 15, xiii. 8), which, though used by the later narrators of the primitive history, Gen. xliii. 20, xlv. 18; Ex. iv. 10, 13, to whom Num. xii. 11 may also belong, in the Book of Origins appears only in Jos. vii. 8, if it is the original reading there. The meaning of the latter expression is hardly to be explained by such longer phrases as that in 1 Sam. xxv. 24; we might rather assume that בְּי was an abbreviation of בְּיָן (compare בְּי Jer. xlix. 23); but the most probable explanation is, that בְּי is shortened from אֶבְי (Job xxxiv. 36; 1 Sam. xxiv. 12 [11]) into a mere interjection: see my *Lehrbuch*, 7th edition, § 101. c, p. 258.

The history of the Kings followed the events themselves much sooner and more immediately, before centuries had separated the sacred from the secular elements in them; nay, it began with the most documentary registrations and minutest descriptions of memorable events. Springing from the immediate life of the time, and presenting a more exact picture of the day, it was also more ready to take the colour of the language of the day, and less fastidious in the employment of phrases of common life. In conformity with this, it did not enter, while it retained this simple form, on those wide surveys and lofty generalisations which are inseparable from the primitive history, and which, on account of their sublime import, demand a higher language.

The difference between the two styles is most sensible when the late historical composition is new. How far, for example, is the Book of Origins removed as to character from the earliest book of the Kings, although as to date separated by scarcely a century! This diversity indeed gradually decreases; the later revisers of the primitive history occasionally introduce a word hitherto foreign to that sphere; and on the other hand the later writers of the history of the Kings attempt grander descriptions after the fashion of the primitive history. Nevertheless, the diversity never entirely disappeared down to the end of David's reign; and even the latest redactors of the primitive history retain certain characteristics of the ancient language with great consistency.<sup>1</sup> This is essentially the same feeling as that which prompts the author of the Book of Job to preserve the air of antiquity in his representation of the affairs and persons of the primitive time; for we are by no means to fancy Hebrew literature in the period of its fullest development and art to have remained quite unlearned and simple.

The style in which the period of the Judges is described, like the period itself, stands in the middle, and has less distinctive character. Treated in the earlier portions like an appendix to the primitive history, and written in a similar tone accordingly, it subsequently, as the diversity of the two styles develops itself, assumes the type of the history of the Kings; and the later writers properly treated the period as only a preparation for the history of the Kings.

The most copious source left to us for the recognition of the

<sup>1</sup> In this class we include חַוָּה for חַוָּה and נָעָרָה for נָעָרָה and all other archaisms that pervade all portions of the Pentateuch, even Deuteronomy. Yet נָעָרָה

is found in Deut. xxiii. 19, and חַוָּה in Lev. xvi. 31 (where the Samaritan, however, has חַוָּה), Num. v. 18; see *Lehrbuch*, § 175. b, 184. c, p. 455, 479.

general character and special modifications of these histories is found in those narratives which have been inserted in the Great Book of Kings—that is, what the LXX. call the four Books of Kings (the two Books of Samuel and the two of Kings), and the Books of Judges and Ruth, which belong to them. But the Chronicles also serve to supplement these sources, and often in important matters. Tracing the development of this kind of writing, as deducible from all these indications and testimonies, we obtain the following picture of it.

### 1. *First history of the Kings.*

It is evident that the great events and successes of David's time stimulated many to attempt to preserve, at first only in outline, written records of what was most memorable. Moreover, after the fashion of the great monarchies of adjacent countries, the new office of Court Historian had been instituted under David.<sup>1</sup> It was the duty of that official to register an authentic account of the events of his own time; and we are doubtless indebted to him for many very exact notices of the history of the Kings, that have been preserved.<sup>2</sup>

The first attempts at histories of the Kings were in general of that twofold character that we should expect from the twofold tendency that pervaded those times, and also continued throughout the duration of the monarchy. They either set out from a simple observation of occurrences, and made the mere history of the king and the state their staple—a kind of work that doubtless grew into the *Diaries of the Kings*, or State-annals, the only original portion of which may be supposed to have been those finished immediately on the death of each king; or they set out from a prophetic view of events, and mainly represented the operation of prophetic energies in Israel.

1) We still possess some very instructive pieces of the first class, which all indications justify us in reckoning under this head: (1) the long list of David's great warriors who sustained his throne, 1 Chr. xi. 10–47, with some remarks on the achievements and qualities of the most important of them: a list which is now also found in 2 Sam. xxiii. 8–39, but with the

<sup>1</sup> This custom was retained to the last, as we see from 1 Macc. xvi. 23, 24, and also Josephus, *Ant.* xvi. 6, 3, where the Greek name τὰ ἡγουρήματα τοῦ βασιλέως Ἡρώδου first appears.

<sup>2</sup> The notices given in Kings and Chronicles of the children and wives of the various kings, and in Judah of the king's

mother also, and the accounts of their buildings and other undertakings, show what care must have then been bestowed upon many points of contemporary history, and on how uniform a plan the domestic and state records of the kings must have been kept.

omission of some of the names at the end; (2) the list of the warriors who went over to David in Saul's lifetime, 1 Chr. xii. 1-22; (3) the list of the captains and their suite who met together in Hebron to elect David king over all Israel, 1 Chr. xii. 23-40, with some historical remarks; (4) an enumeration of David's later wars against the Philistines, with a minute account of the achievements of some of his warriors, 2 Sam. xxi. 15-22, of which the later half only is repeated in 1 Chr. xx. 4-8; (5) a survey of the state of the kingdom at the end of David's reign, 1 Chr. xxvii.<sup>1</sup> These passages, with some similar registers of the tribe of Levi, only relate to the general affairs of the state, the king, and the people, and are free from all special reference to a prophetic or sacerdotal view of history. They contain indeed the richest treasure of purely historical records, which, notwithstanding the greatness of the events, have remained entirely uninfluenced by the power of tradition, and give them quite rough and hard, without the roundness and circumstantiality of detailed description, and without any real flow of narrative;—as if it were still sufficient to register the mere names of the great worthies and events, with a few remarks; whereas later times feel the great number of such names and mere documentary minuteness burdensome. In addition, the language of some of these pieces displays so great an affinity with that of the Book of Origins,<sup>2</sup> that we must infer that they had a similar source, or at least contemporary sources, which, according to pp. 76, 82, there could be no difficulty in admitting. And it is expressly stated that the State-annals, which appeared after the death of each king,<sup>3</sup> and after the death of several were united in a larger work, contained such detailed lists of the families of the officials and worthies.<sup>4</sup>

In like manner some coherent remnants of the State-annals

<sup>1</sup> But verses 23, 24 must be later additions by the Chronicler, deemed necessary on account of the previous narrative in chap. xxi.

<sup>2</sup> The expressions חֲלָצִי עָרָא 1 Chr. xii. 23, 24, and עָרָא יִצְחָק ver. 33 (compare v. 18, vii. 11; Num. xxxi. 5, xxxii. 27; Josh. iv. 13; Num. i. 3, 20, 22, sqq., xxvi. 2 sqq.); נִקְבְּנוּ בְּשֵׁמוֹת 1 Chr. xii. 31 (compare Num. i. 17); לְנִלְוֵלָה 1 Chr. xxiii. 24 (compare Ex. xvi. 16, xxxviii. 26; Num. i. 2, 18, 20, 22, iii. 47) and others, as well as the general method and arrangement of the long taxing-rolls, &c., leave no doubt on this point. Although the

Chronicles and other late writings do often imitate the style of the Book of Origins and other parts of the Pentateuch, this is proved by the concurrence of all the indications to be no mere imitation.

<sup>3</sup> That this was always done at the express command of the following king (a thing probable in itself), is evident from the fact that the life of the last king of each kingdom is wanting in the official annals of both: 2 Kings xvii. 1-6, xxiv. 18-xxv.

<sup>4</sup> It will afterwards be made evident that the Chronicler had good reason for thus referring to the State-annals; 1 Chr. xxvii. 24 compared with ix. 1.

have been preserved, which must have been written down immediately after the death of Solomon. I mean the passage in 1 Kings iv. 1-19, to which the remarks that follow in v. 2 [iv. 22] sq. vi-viii. belong. These remnants, which the Book of Chronicles does not repeat, as if they were too insignificant for the history, furnish a view of Solomon's household with such minute details as could not have been obtained except immediately after the king's death. The minute account of Solomon's buildings must also have been written down soon after his death.

Here then we recognise, by distinct remains, the origin and character of the State-annals, and even though there were no such great achievements and events to record under the kings after Solomon, yet it is certain that the custom introduced after the death of David and Solomon was never relinquished, and that many genuine historical notices which are scattered about our present Books of Kings must be derived from such sources. With regard to their general contents, however, we must above all bear in mind that they were written by royal command, and therefore admitted only public, not purely domestic topics: wherefore such accounts as those about David's household, 2 Sam. xi. sqq., or Jehu's violent conduct, 2 Kings ix. sqq., can hardly have found a place in them.

(2) How events were described from the prophetic point of view, however, is shown by the passage about the first wars against the Philistines after David was anointed, 2 Sam. v. 17-25. We here find a description of several successive battles, which, in local knowledge and graphic delineation, is quite on a par with the passage in 2 Sam. xxi. 15-22, noticed at p. 137, but which is prominently distinguished from it by the circumstance that it views the whole with reference to the question how far the result corresponded to the oracle which David had each time consulted. And when we consider how great was the influence of the oracle in those times, and what a share prophets had in fashioning events, we shall see that every great event might be described either popularly or prophetically, as the writer regarded the one side or the other. To this class belongs a portion of the original account of Nathan's speeches about building the Temple, 2 Sam. vii.; and many other stories, or at least their first rudiments, as 1 Sam. xiv. 18 sqq., xxii. 5, xxiii. 1-14, xxx. 7 sqq.; 2 Sam. ii. 1: whereas throughout the whole of Absalom's rebellion, for instance, there is no mention of a single oracle, or of the oracle being consulted.

We are naturally led to suppose that this continued to be the

condition of things after David also. And in fact, besides the fragments preserved in Chronicles, we possess one great instance of this, belonging to later times, in the history of Hezekiah and his age. This narrative, contained in 2 Kings xviii. 13-xx. and Isaiah xxxvi-xxxix, must, if only from its peculiar style, be regarded as borrowed from a special work, which was most likely composed soon after the king's death, and probably by a scholar of Isaiah, as its sentiments are truly prophetic, and it contains some of Isaiah's declarations, evidently derived from accurate tradition. In the Northern Kingdom, also, we might have expected to find similar records equally partaking of the historical and the prophetic character. But no such clear traces of these have come down to us: although the history of Ahijah, 1 Kings xi. 26 sqq., xiv. 1-18, and still more that of Elijah and Elisha, 1 Kings xvii-2 Kings xiii, show how powerful, even here, was the influence of the prophet's activity upon the conception of history, and how it tended to drive into the background all other kinds of history. And besides this, strictly prophetic books always contained some historical remarks and explanations.<sup>1</sup>

**2.** *General history of the ages of the Judges and the Kings. The Prophetic Book of Kings.*

But the history of the monarchy could not always remain enclosed within these original limits; its facts, drawn from the most various sources, had by degrees to be amalgamated and harmonised together. Later readers may have felt increased dissatisfaction with the crude disconnected sketchy narratives, with their thousands of numbers, and their unexplained names, often left as they stood in the State-annals,—all presenting broad masses of undigested materials. Moreover, no grand survey of a period and selection of its events, such as is demanded from the historian, is generally possible until the period itself has retired in some degree into the background.

But as this interest in a general survey of the history of the Kings gathered strength, it was attended by a desire to study also the long antecedent period of the Judges, as forming a fitting introduction to the history of the earliest kings. No doubt much that took place during the period of the Judges might more truly be viewed as a continuation of the primeval history, and in fact (as already stated, pp. 69 sqq.) was long so treated. But with the prolonged duration of the monarchy,

<sup>1</sup> See my *Prophets*, vol. I. p. 62 sq. especial importance in reference to the The question alluded to here possesses authorities of the Chronicles.



men became accustomed to contemplate the transitional period of the Judges from their own later point of view, and thus to unite its history, in some form or other, with that of the origin and progress of the monarchy.

Many clear indications prove that this method of historical composition bore sway with little interruption during a considerable period, and attained a glorious maturity. And exactly from this period of highest bloom, there are preserved the remains of many works which fully attest the high degree of excellence which this historical method had attained, and its paramount influence in this region. Since these remains are discoverable only as incorporated in later works (and in fact only in one later work in any considerable measure), and since moreover a more uniform narrative style prevailed from this time onwards, it is very difficult to discriminate them. However, by following such indications as rise clearly into view, we are able to discriminate the following works.

1) We must here distinguish, in the first instance, a work which, by its happy example, appears to have laid the foundation of this new method of writing history, though, as the oldest discoverable by us, it is naturally preserved with the least completeness. This work still held a place far removed from every higher, i.e. prophetic survey of history; it recorded the events separately and with the utmost simplicity, and only in occasional scattered remarks gave hints of the differences as well as the progress observable in the great periods of history. Its sole adornment was gracefulness and poetic animation in the narrative: and it described nothing else with the same completeness as it did the history of wars. This is the work from which are preserved important fragments of the history of Saul, 1 Sam. xiii., xiv., and which fully described both the earlier and later wars of David; and it is very possible that the author of the next following work had this before him when he wrote his survey of the campaigns of David, 1 Sam. xxx. 26-31 and 2 Sam. viii. But to these narrative portions, the two which close the present Book of Judges xvii-xviii., xix-xxi. bear so decided a resemblance in their extreme historical clearness and antiqueness, as well as in the colouring of the separate expressions,<sup>1</sup> that we may derive them from the same

<sup>1</sup> In prose, the phrase **וְהָיָה כִּי** is found only in Judges xx. 2 and 1 Sam. xiv. 38; the repeated mention of the priestly oracle under the stereotyped phrase **וַיִּשְׁמַע יְהוָה** Judg. i. 1, xx. 18, 23, 27 (compare

xviii. 19), 1 Sam. xiv. 37, is here as characteristic, as it is foreign to the Book of Origins and other books, even where this very subject is specially treated of, Num. xxvii. 21.

source. And thus we obtain an insight into the immediate objects of this work.

The author may have lived soon after Solomon, perhaps under the prosperous reign of Asa: the latest traceable portion of his work guides us to about this time,<sup>1</sup> and we have no reason to place him later. In fact the division of the kingdom of David had introduced so radical a change, and turned men's thoughts so decidedly upon the earlier history of the monarchy, that the historian must have felt himself thereby stimulated to greater activity: and we can readily understand how an important work could be produced, whose main object was to give the first connected narrative of the late glorious age, and the unhappy division which had now taken its place. Besides, when this author wrote, the monarchy excited almost the same feeling of universal respect that it did at the time of the Book of Origins, according to pp. 75 sqq., and the people still felt vividly enough the social advantages secured by it. One main object therefore with the author was to display, through the narrative of preceding events, the misfortunes of the times before the monarchy, when caprice and lawlessness were unchecked, and to contrast with this the happiness of the kingly age; and he enforces this point as far as possible throughout his narrative.<sup>2</sup> This work appears not to have contained any enumeration of the Judges and their deeds, but, in its description of times anterior to the monarchy, rather to have taken its stand upon the abstract idea of the Community of Jahveh, and of the High Priest as the representative of its unity at all events in a legal sense. In order therefore to have a fixed starting-point, the author commenced with the period succeeding Joshua's death, and took as his basis the ancient Book of Covenants already described, pp. 68 sqq.<sup>3</sup> But though he may perhaps have described more than these two events belonging to the period of the Judges, yet he certainly did not dwell very long upon this

<sup>1</sup> For in the account of the revolt from David's house, the description of the national assembly in 1 Kings xii., especially verse 20, corresponds exactly with the earlier one in Judg. xx. 1 (compare on the other hand 2 Sam. ii. 4, v. 1.); also the expression *וַיִּשְׁתָּׁא* 1 Kings xi. 34 (in which, as in *רָנָה* xii. 18; this book accords with the Book of Origins) was probably adopted from this work into the later one; and the phrase 'Israel rebelled against the house of David unto this day' (1 Kings xii. 19) points to a writer who lived

before Jehoshaphat, when the Northern Kingdom was regarded as simply rebellious against Judah.

<sup>2</sup> Judg. xvii. 8, xxi. 25; compare xviii. 1, xix. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Besides what has been already mentioned, there is the phrase *וַיִּשְׂתָּא בְּאֵשׁ* to set on fire, for to burn up, Judg. i. 8, xx. 48 (elsewhere found only 2 Kings viii. 12, and, from imitation, Ps. lxxiv. 4), used rarely of cities, for *וַיִּשְׂתָּא בְּ* which occurs in Judges xviii. 27.

period, as he used it merely as an introduction to the history of the monarchy.

2) But of another work which sprang from the same tendency, there have come down to us such extensive and connected remains (many passages being preserved to us in their original fulness and almost unchanged), that we are able fully to survey its scope and extent and the division of its parts. This is the work whose remains extend from the beginning of the Books of Samuel into the Books of Kings, and which cannot be briefly designated more appropriately than as the Prophetic Book of Kings. Next to the Book of Origins, but embracing a different sphere, this is the most agreeable and influential of the historical books. But the peculiar charm of this work is mainly derived from the fact, that it is the first upon the field of history which is entirely pervaded by the prophetic spirit; and indeed without this no writing among the ancient people of Israel could become highly attractive. This narrator may be distinguished among the historians of the monarchy as emphatically the Prophetic historian. On this account his preference for a larger survey and closer combination of the expanding historical materials ought not to surprise us at that early date, since no one would be so ready to present these as a Prophet from his higher point of view.

(a.) From the existing remains of this book it is easier to discover its commencement than its close. For we cannot doubt that this work, like our present Books of Samuel, began with Samuel's birth and career. In this case nothing is presupposed which must necessarily have preceded it, and been elsewhere more fully treated; for a new epoch obviously opens with the life and activity of Samuel, from which all that follows is developed; and whatever is mentioned of a prior period respecting Eli and his sons, really serves only as a counterpart to the history of Samuel.<sup>1</sup> The narrator's main subject, to which he is evidently hastening on, is indeed the monarchy; but the foundation of this was so indissolubly bound up with

<sup>1</sup> Except that the fact that on Eli's death the length of his judgeship is also given, 1 Sam. iv. 18 (compare vii. 15), might be taken as a proof that the narrator had commenced his work with a general history of the Judges. But if at the time of the narrator the commencement of a history of the Judges had been already made (and this cannot be disproved), he might consider his work as a continuation of that, and on occasion of Eli's death,

which he could not but mention, add the customary notice of the length of his judgeship. A similar view must be taken of the appeal made to the history of Abimelech, the son of Gideon, 2 Sam. xi. 21; for although this is a different thing from a reference to the sacred history known to everyone (1 Sam. iv. 8), the author might assume that that also was known from older books on the period of the Judges.

the entire career of Samuel, that he could only obtain a firm foundation by giving an account of that prophet's life.

The close of the work seems more difficult to discover, owing to the loss of the original words, but indications are not wanting which enable us to determine the epoch to which the author must have brought down his history. With the least attention, it might have been seen long ago, that this work did not close with the present Books of Samuel, for (passing by for the present all other signs) the first two chapters of the First Book of Kings continue the narrative so exactly in the same style and colouring, that we cannot discover the slightest trace of another hand. But these two chapters which carry on the thread of the narrative of the Books of Samuel are by no means a mere supplement describing the death of David, since they carry on the narrative farther, and describe also the earliest actions of Solomon as king in such form and with so little apparent close as to arouse our curiosity, if we had not felt it before, to know more of the deeds of this king; so that we regret to see the thread of the narrative then suddenly cut short. There is however one especial passage at the very beginning, which gives us the clearest insight into the actual age of the writer. The author pauses here to survey the great whole which he is about to describe, 1 Sam. ii. 27-36 (and the same is repeated in essence but more briefly, 1 Sam. iii. 11-14), and thus skilfully ensures the attention of the student from the beginning to the close (see p. 35). Since Eli is here threatened in prophecy with a time when he and his father's house (i.e. the whole sacerdotal house of Ithamar), amid the utmost national prosperity, would come to extreme want, and his dignity be taken from him, and given to another priest (and his house), and when, especially, all the grown members of his house would fall, and the younger ones beg priests' bread from the High Priest of the other house,<sup>1</sup> it is perfectly obvious that the author hereby indicates a time when the house of Ithamar was in disgrace, a time, too, which he had himself passed through, and which he intended to describe fully in the course, or rather at the close of his work. When we consider the importance of the sacerdotal house in those earlier times, and reflect that, next to the king, it possessed the highest hereditary authority in the state, we can understand how a narrator, himself probably a Levite, while writing the history of the monarchy, could use the fortunes of this house as a sort of prophetic frame for his work. In fact,

<sup>1</sup> The same thing occurs on a smaller scale in the case of Joab, 2 Sam. iii. 28, 29; compare 1 Kings ii. 28 sqq.

through all events, whether of war or peace, the narrator holds fast the thread he had tied at the very outset by constantly referring to the fate of the heads of the Priesthood, and remarks significantly that on occasion of David's flight from Jerusalem in Absalom's rebellion, the greatest delay was made by Abiathar the descendant of Eli.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, the prophecy in question cannot have been written long after the fall of the house of Eli, since the circumstances of that event appear to the narrator quite vivid and undimmed by time; besides that this house must have afterwards in some degree recovered from this fall, as will be shown farther on. If we ask, then, at what time the various heavy misfortunes of this house, which the work at its commencement promised to reveal, actually came to pass, and in what part of the work they are narrated, we find it indeed announced, with an express appeal to the prophecy made to Eli,<sup>2</sup> that Solomon immediately after his accession degraded Abiathar from his office, and exiled him to his own estate. But this cannot possibly be the complete fulfilment of that prophecy: moreover the narrator here ascribes to Solomon the very significant declaration 'that he would not *now* put him to death,' as if he intended on a later occasion to describe far heavier misfortunes that fell upon him and his whole house. Indeed, from the declaration at the very commencement<sup>3</sup> that the expected faithful High Priest 'should for ever go in and out before the anointed of Jahveh,' it undoubtedly follows that at the time of the writer the rejection of the house of Eli had long taken place. Moreover this anointed one can be identified only with Solomon (or possibly his successor), but certainly not with David. This fact, as well as the general tone of the passage, naturally carries us beyond the death of Solomon, and we must regret the loss of those passages of the work in which the complete and final fulfilment of the prophecy was given.

But the clearest indication of the age of the author is found in the fact that the same hand which begins the account of the life of Solomon in 1 Kings i. sq., is frequently visible also in the succeeding narratives in the Books of Kings, where it may be infallibly distinguished from all other documents by its extreme individuality, until it appears for the last time in the account of the elevation of king Jehu, 2 Kings ix. 1-x. 27. On a nearer view it is impossible to doubt that the same prophetic narrator who related the raising of Saul to the throne in 1 Sam. ix. sq., sketched also this vivid picture of Jehu's elevation; for even

<sup>1</sup> 2 Sam. xv. 24.<sup>2</sup> 1 Kings ii. 26, 27.<sup>3</sup> 1 Sam. ii. 35.

the separate phrases display the greatest similarity without any appearance of imitation. It was consequently during the excited period which followed Jehu's elevation that this work was composed; and everything indicates that the author was a prophet belonging not to the northern, but to the southern kingdom: but that exaltation had affected both kingdoms at once, and was like the last flashing up of the flame of inspiration of the old prophets. Through this great king, the last who was urged on and raised to the throne through prophetic activity, the recollection of the harmonious cooperation of Prophets and Kings as it had been ever since the days of Samuel, must have been vividly recalled. And thus this history has no other object than to display this very cooperation from the time of Samuel and Saul down to that of Elisha and Jehu, and to derive the fortunes which befell the monarchy in Israel from a prophetic foundation. Consequently, no other historical work contributes more information than this on the earlier Prophets of Israel.

b.) At the same time the author also desired to present a general history of the times after Samuel. He obviously employed for this purpose the best written and oral authorities,—amongst others the songs of David, derived from a trustworthy source,<sup>1</sup> of which he introduced as many as appeared desirable (p. 17 sqq.) Yet the stream of his discourse is most copious and eloquent wherever he approaches the main object of his narrative; elsewhere, especially in the history of wars, he makes it much shorter; as is most distinctly seen in 1 Sam. xiv. 47, 48. But as the time was now come to attempt to understand the hidden forces engaged in the development of those events, and especially of the more remote among them, in the conception and presentation of his subject the author occasionally rises far beyond the merely material, in order to place clearly before the eye the prophetic truths involved in the external events. And this prophetic view and treatment being especially familiar to him, we may justly assume that he was himself a Prophet; and from the careful attention which amid so many other more weighty events he bestows upon the fortunes of the Ark, as well as the Priests and Levites, and from his apparent close acquaintance with everything pertaining to them, it seems equally certain that he was also a Levite. The prophetic survey of events, however, which is this author's

<sup>1</sup> The tone of the expressions, 2 Sam. i. 17, iii. 33, xxii. 1, xxiii. 1, leaves no doubt that this writer himself interpolated

such songs; on the first occasion of doing this, 2 Sam. i. 18, he names his authority.

most characteristic contribution to historical knowledge, and the transformation of the earlier portions of the history hence arising, breaks forth far more freely in the case of Eli and his sons, and of Samuel and Saul, than in that of David, where we scarcely find even an indication of it. In general, it first appears only as a light veil thrown in certain places over very transparent historical recollections. But it is precisely this conjunction of the two unamalgamated factors of the narrative (the factor of an almost perfect recollection of all the particulars of the history, as they had formerly appeared and been understood by contemporaries, and the new factor contained in the higher survey of the history as a whole, which at first however affected only isolated particulars) that constitutes the most remarkable and likewise the most instructive speciality of this work.

But with regard to the arrangement and distribution of these extensive historical materials, it is remarkable how this work, which is preserved to us nearly complete, already displays the very same plan and method which is observed in even the latest Semitic works of a similar character, especially in the Arabic Annals of the Chalifs and other rulers.<sup>1</sup> It thus appears as if it were an ancient usage of all Semitic historians, to which the old Hebrew writers were also glad to conform.<sup>2</sup> I allude to the prevalent custom in these works to reserve all general information about a ruler—the account of his house and establishment, his wives and children, his habits and customs of every kind—to the close of the record of his life. If however the arrangements of a ruler had undergone numerous modifications during the course of a long and changeful career, as was in fact the case with David, the historian could then select some convenient pause even in the middle of the ruler's life, at which such general observations might be introduced. Through the combination and reconciliation of this custom with the prophetic treatment of the subject, the following arrangement and division into sections arose:<sup>3</sup>

(i.) As already stated, it is the life of Samuel as ruler, 1 Sam. i–vii., which lays the foundation for this history of the Monarchy (which if it must have a general title ought undoubtedly to be called the *Book of Kings*). This, as is required by the general

<sup>1</sup> E.g. Abulfida's *Chronicles of Islâm*.

<sup>2</sup> Hence it makes no difference to the exposition of 1 Sam. vii. whether the words are referred to this or to the following narrator. Josephus retains this usage in his *Antiquities*: although 1 Maccabees shows that it might be gradually relaxed.

We find, however, something very similar in Tacitus, *Ann.* vi. 51.

<sup>3</sup> We leave for the present unnoticed the later additions which it received, as well as the minor curtailments to which the separate parts were subjected.

plan of the work, is closed by general observations respecting Samuel, vii. 15-17. But although Samuel still survives, and even after the section of his life here described takes part in public affairs, still the grand division relating to him must close here, inasmuch as here the account of his sovereign rule as judge comes to an end, and the history henceforth moves onward towards another ruler. This phenomenon, surprising at the first glance, repeats itself in a case in which on a superficial survey it is easier to overlook it: for

(ii.) When the narrative passes over to the choice of the first king and his government, 1 Sam. viii-xiv., the history of Saul's reign might appear to be closed too early with the requisite general observations respecting him, xiv. 47-52, since his death does not occur until chapter xxxi. Yet it is after all quite correct that the special history of Saul as reigning sovereign, as understood by the author, should close with chapter xiv. For with chapter xv. commences at once the account of the Divine rejection of Saul, and, closely connected with this, that of the Divine election of David, thereby occasioned and rendered imperative: according to the prophetic sentiment of the writer, therefore, Saul ceases at chapter xiv. to be the true king, and the history both of the people and the monarchy begins to move on towards David as the grand centre of the work.

(iii.) With the life of David we reach the fullest and richest portion of the work; for the lives of the following kings, of which only scanty remains have been preserved, could scarcely have presented such a long and constantly attractive series of varied incidents and extraordinary vicissitudes. It is not surprising therefore that this great section was subdivided into several distinct portions, corresponding with an equal number of parts of David's life. Thus we have first the account of the rise of David brought down to the death of Saul, in which the two heroes move near each other, like rising and setting stars, until finally the one is completely set, and the other ascends towards the zenith, 1 Sam. xv-xxxi. But here as elsewhere the original work is no longer found pure and complete, and still less does the succeeding history of the reign of David in 2 Sam. i. sqq. present the appearance of a satisfactory order in its extant form; but this must be referred to a later compiler, respecting whom more hereafter. What the original form was, however, can be at least approximately discovered, if we attend to all the scattered indications of it. Here we have in the first place to consider that a work which deals with its materials in so independent, so peculiar, and moreover so agreeable a



manner as this, cannot well be supposed to have given such long and wearisome lists as that of David's warriors, 2 Sam. xxiii. 8-39, comp. 1 Chron. xi. They may perhaps have been merely copied out of earlier works, or with equal possibility be due to the hand of a later collector and reviser. And since the work of this reviser is discoverable by other signs also, we must abide in the belief that such passages as are most evidently heterogeneous did not belong to the work. The comparison of 1 Chron. xi-xxix. is instructive on this point. The original form of the biography of David as king, which we elicit from these and other indications, appears to have divided this portion of his history, in conformity with its subject-matter, into the three following sections:

a) The life of David after the death of Saul, until as king over all Israel he had gained a firm position in Jerusalem; a period of uninterrupted prosperity, during which the highest possible fortune seemed destined to fall unmixed to his share. The extant portions of this section are discovered in 2 Sam. i-vii, and it undoubtedly finds a suitable close in the narrative of the exertions made by David, when himself firmly established in Jerusalem, to provide an equally permanent abode for the sanctuary also, 2 Sam. vi, closing with the great prophetic passage 2 Sam. vii. Here a pause is even still perceptible in the history.

b) The central portion of David's reign in Jerusalem. Here the work obviously compressed into the smallest space the most heterogeneous materials. As might indeed be expected from the writer as a prophetic historian, he first treats with the greatest possible succinctness of the foreign wars and victories of David, 2 Sam. viii. 1-14 (as he had previously done those of Saul, in 1 Sam. xiv. 47, 48, only that in the case of Saul still greater conciseness was possible), apparently epitomising the earlier history of the wars already described, p. 140;<sup>1</sup> then passing over to internal affairs, he gives only a very scanty account of the internal arrangements of the kingdom at the commencement of this period, 2 Sam. viii. 15-18; then, however, he describes at great length the moral behaviour of David towards the posterity of Saul, 2 Sam. ix, and towards his own house, x-xx. 22, and closes with an account of two plagues which clearly did not occur until his later years, xxi. 1-14, xxiv. The passage respecting later wars with the Philistines which placed

<sup>1</sup> That the notices of the wars in chap. viii. have been much abridged, may also be inferred from the fulness (probably equalling that of the authority consulted) with which the war with Ammon, x., xii. 26-31, is presented, on account of its connection with the history of Uriah.

David's life once more in utmost jeopardy, xxi. 15-21, must, originally at all events, have proceeded from another hand. We discover the same arrangement in 1 Chron. xviii-xxii. (excepting some omissions to be hereafter explained); and it cannot be denied that after thus cutting out the disconnected portions,<sup>1</sup> we obtain as the result a simple and appropriate arrangement.

c) To the last division, the commencement of which is indicated in express terms in 1 Chron. xxiii. 1, would belong, according to the above-explained plan and the corresponding example in 1 Chron. xxiii-xxix, more general surveys of David's position and his connections especially towards the end of his life. We no longer know how much the work originally contained on this point, since the Chronicles here follow other authorities: but of the extant portions, the following pieces belong to this place: a second brief table of the internal arrangements of the kingdom, 2 Sam. xx. 25, 26 (wanting in the Chronicles); David's magnificent song of victory, composed in his later years, ch. xxii, and the 'Last Words of David,' xxiii. 1-7. With these the entire section was suitably closed; <sup>2</sup> for nothing then could well be added excepting his death, and that is more appropriately taken in connection with the account of Solomon's accession.

(iv.) The account of the reigns of Solomon and his successors, down to the limit already indicated, followed next. We have indeed to regret that just at this part the work has come down to us very imperfect. Yet even here many of its narratives are preserved almost without change. Thus the notices of Solomon's enemies, xi. 11-40,<sup>3</sup> quite take us back to this work by their peculiar style; and in the narrative of the division of the kingdom, 1 Kings xii, many ideas and phrases recall this work;<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Namely, the passage 2 Sam. xx. 23-26, which will soon be considered, and two others, xxi. 15-22 and xxiii 8-39, of which we have already spoken, pp. 136 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Anyone capable of fancying and insisting that after David's *Last Words* in 2 Sam. xxiii. 1, when we naturally expect nothing to follow but the account of his death, the narrator could tell the story of the pestilence, ch. xxiv., must have the meanest opinion of the writers of the best period of antiquity. But everything goes to prove that those writers were not so thoughtless and unmethodical; and we have already seen in the Book of Origins how passages were torn by later hands from their original connection and transplanted elsewhere.

<sup>3</sup> Excepting several words and phrases, especially in vv. 32-34.

<sup>4</sup> The description of the Revolt in verse 16 bears the colour of the time, and agrees almost word for word with 2 Sam. xx. 1.

Again, the formation מְלִיכָה for *kingship* is peculiar; 1 Kings xii. 21, compare i. 46, ii. 15, 22, xi. 35, xxi. 7; 1 Sam. x. 16, 25, xi. 14, xiv. 47, xviii. 8; 2 Sam. xii. 26, xvi. 8; but elsewhere only in 2 Kings xxv. 25, and Dan. i. 3, apparently by way of imitation. Rarely it interchanges with

מְלִיכָה 1 Sam. xx. 21; 1 Kings ii. 12, and מְמַלְכָּה 1 Sam. xv. 28; 2 Sam. xvi. 3; but the latter, as well as מְמַלְכָּה 1 Sam. xiii. 13, 14, xxvii. 5; 2 Sam. iii. 10, v. 12 (which is, indeed, necessary where it denotes a 'kingdom,' and which alone admits of a plural), seems to have got into the text only on a later revision; compare

but these details can be better discussed hereafter, when we are treating of this period of the history.

c.) Not only the plan and subject-matter of this work as above described, but also its style and phraseology, exhibit a perfect unity in so far as its language is original, and not due to mere verbal quotation of earlier authorities. The description is not so luxuriant and gushing as in the Book of Origins, but yet full of internal power and external beauty, sensibly flowing from a national life still sound and strong on the whole, and sustained throughout by a charming simplicity and life. Since the work was once undoubtedly very popular, its diction served as a model to later authors; and it is therefore difficult to descend to details, and discover many words and expressions strictly peculiar to it: yet a closer examination shows that such are not wanting,<sup>1</sup> and brings us to the conviction that it must have had somewhere about the extent already indicated.

Since, then, all indications show that this work remained the fixed basis of all popular histories of the monarchy, it was afterwards naturally often retouched, being occasionally lengthened, but oftener still very seriously shortened. The extensive remains of this and the former work contained in the Books of Samuel and Kings, exhibit traces of very considerable abridgment, not only at the end, but in the middle also. This is especially seen in the fact that in these fragments an unexpected allusion is often made to subjects which ought to have been explained before, but are now left wholly unexplained.

1 Sam. xxiv. 21 [20], xxviii. 17; 2 Sam. vii. 12, 13, 16; 1 Kings v. 1 [iv. 21], ix. 5, xi. 11, 13, 31, xii. 26, xiv. 8, xviii. 10; 2 Kings xi. 1, xiv. 5, xv. 19.

<sup>1</sup> Besides the examples already furnished, we may observe, for instance, that the ordinary expression for the Community in the Book of Origins, *קָהָל*, is wholly wanting in this work, which employs the periphrasis "עַם *people of Jahveh*, instead, 1 Sam. ii. 24; 2 Sam. i. 12, vi. 21, xiv. 13; 2 Kings ix. 5; an expression used in the Book of Origins, Num. xvii. 6 [xvi. 41], only with especial emphasis, and very rarely elsewhere (Num. xi. 29; and somewhat differently, Judges xx. 2). The analogous phrase, also, the *heritage of Jahveh*, 1 Sam. x. 1; 2 Sam. xiv. 16, xx. 19, xxi. 3, appears to have passed first from this into other historical works, 1 Sam. xxvi. 19. Another favourite phrase of this book, *as thy soul desireth* (an idea which might be expressed in various other ways), 1 Sam. ii. 16 (xxiii. 20); 2 Sam. iii. 21; 1 Kings xi.

37, is unusual elsewhere; which is also true of *אָכַל* to eat, 2 Sam. iii. 35, xii. 17, xiii. 5 sqq. The particle *אָנֹכִי* only, though not used here, as in the Book of Origins, to the exclusion of *אֲנִי* (1 Sam. i. 13, v. 4), certainly greatly predominates. On the other hand, many words elsewhere very common, never occur here; as *הִרְבֵּה* denoting to root out (in the Book of Origins also little used); *קָהָל* to assemble, with all its derivatives (such passages as 1 Sam. xix. 20, 2 Sam. xx. 14, point at all events to a somewhat different root); *בָּטָח* to be quiet; *נָסַע* to start on a journey; *חָק* and *חֻקָּה* in the plural. There are also expressions which at least prove the similarity of several portions, as *פָּשַׁע* in a warlike sense (not used in the Pentateuch and Joshua), 1 Sam. xxiii. 27, xxvii. 10, xxx. 1, 14 (xxxi. 8); cf. Judges xx. 37, ix. 33, 44; *חָץ* for *חַץ* arrow; see *Lehrbuch*, § 186. e, end, p. 484.

Thus Jonathan appears quite unexpectedly in the account of a military expedition, 1 Sam. xiii. 2, without being described either previously or here as Saul's son. In 1 Kings i. 8, Shimei and Rei appear among the firmest supporters of the throne of the young Solomon, without our having the slightest prior intimation of the importance attaching to these two men. In 1 Sam. xxx. 26-31, a passage remarkable in many respects, a number of cities in the tribe of Judah are carefully enumerated, to which David sent booty from the Philistine city of Ziklag as a present to his old friends, because he had formerly rested there with his army. From this we naturally expect that David's expeditions towards this region must have been already mentioned in the proper place, since the reference is otherwise unintelligible; but we now search in vain for the passages to which reference must be here made. How much then must have been lost between 1 Sam. xxiii. and xxx., while later hands inserted chapters xxiv. and xxvi.!

3) With the passages from this and the former work are variously interwoven those of another which must have described very nearly the same period. For these fragments are very similar to the former ones, and in any case written not much later; yet the delineation is thinner and more faded than in the two prior works. It also appears that in this the prophetic element did not so decidedly predominate as in those. A reference to 1 Sam. v-viii. or chapter xxxi. with their surroundings will enable us sufficiently to appreciate the somewhat impalpable differences between this work and the two former ones, both in the phraseology and in the subject-matter.

It is however probable that this is the very writer who prefixed to his history of the Kings a history of the Judges, of which a considerable portion is still extant. By this we mean the book from which a still later author took the separate histories of the Judges, now found Judges iii. 7-xvi., to be then modified or rewritten after his fashion. This narrator described that long period with reference not to the High Priests as his predecessor had done (p. 141), but to the Judges. Of these he counted up the round number of twelve, and gave careful statements, at least from Gideon onwards, respecting the length of their tenure of office and their place of burial. The constancy of this habit of itself points to an author possessing great individuality. Moreover his judgment upon the monarchy (Judges viii. 22-24) differed greatly from that of the previous writer, but was in perfect agreement with the passage already noticed, 1 Sam. viii. 5-18; compare x. 18, 19. Since moreover

he also directed his attention to the almost constant wars which the people had then to bear, he seems to have arranged his work especially with reference to the duration of these wars and of the intervening years of peace. On suitable occasions, it is his custom to mention in set phrase, both the fact and the length of the rest secured to the land after each great commotion.<sup>1</sup> And since this same phrase, peculiar to him,<sup>2</sup> is repeated in some of the fragments preserved by the Book of Chronicles from the history of the kings of Judah immediately succeeding Solomon,<sup>3</sup> which appear from other indications also to contain ancient remains,<sup>4</sup> we have every reason to assume that this work brought down the history in like style and arrangement to more than a hundred years after Solomon. The delineation in such passages as Judg. iii. 7 sqq. is quite in accordance with that already described in the earlier histories of the Kings, and especially in the passages of this third work. But the author here obviously makes use of very varied and very ancient sources in important sections, as in Judges vi-viii. of a history of Gideon which must have been written in the north country,<sup>5</sup> and in other passages the earliest historical work, described p. 68 sqq.<sup>6</sup>

Side by side with these more important works, there undoubtedly existed many smaller ones devoted to the history of individual heroes. Thus the history of Samson was the subject of a special composition of a very peculiar character, as we can still see from its remains preserved in Judges xiv-xvi.

### 3. *Looser treatment of this period of history.*

Thus did this branch of historical composition reach its highest bloom at a comparatively early period, and it is really surprising how much we feel the want of such beautiful histo-

<sup>1</sup> Judg. iii. 11, 30, v. 31, viii. 28: the omission of this phrase in the accounts of the later Judges is probably to be ascribed to the later editor.

<sup>2</sup> For the expression in Josh. xi. 23, xiv. 15, though similar, is not the same, and the number of years is not given.

<sup>3</sup> 2 Chr. xiii. 23 [xiv. 1]; xiv. 4, 5 [5, 6].

<sup>4</sup> 2 Chr. xiii. 4-7, 19-21, exhibits a more antique style, but the other verses the ordinary style and views of the Chronicler; note especially the words *בְּיָמֵי הַלְלִיטָל* xiii. 7 (p. 133) and *בְּיָמֵי הַלְלִיטָל* xiii. 5 (p. 69). The matter contained in each of the two narratives is equally distinctive.

<sup>5</sup> Compare my *Hohes Li. d.* (p. 2). This

authority is also marked by the phrase 'the spirit of Jahveh moved him,' *Ju. g. vi. 34*, elsewhere found only in the ancient fragments 1 Chr. xii. 18 and 2 Chr. xxiv. 20, for our present author himself employs a much simpler one (*וְהָיָה עָלָיו*) Judg. s. iii. 10, xi. 2; compare 2 Chr. xv. 1, xx. 14. In Judg. xiv. 19, xv. 14, on Samson's life, there is a different phrase again with the same meaning (*וְעָלָה עָלָיו*), which occurs nowhere else except in the prophetic Book of Kings already described.

<sup>6</sup> Judg. ix. and x. 8 present glimpses of a very ancient work both in the subject-matter and in certain words, as *וְהָיָה* ix. 4, which recalls Gen. xlix. 4.

rical fragments in the Second Book of Kings after the limit assigned to them above (viz. 2 Kings x.) It seems as if the succeeding age had lost the power of producing works so grand and yet so pleasing. The events of the day were now noted down with increasing promptness, but historical composition on a grand scale gradually degenerated with the entire national life, until in the end the events recorded of the latest kings took a form curiously resembling those of the primeval history.

This last point is of great importance here. For we cannot fail to observe, that in the earlier portions of this great division, as they faded away into the distance, the same kind of loose paraphrase as we have already seen upon the primeval histories gained a footing, though here necessarily restrained by the greater accuracy of memory. We may observe this to take place in very various ways.

1) A distinct example is presented by the history of Saul and David. For as this is now put together in 1 Samuel by an author whom we shall soon have occasion to characterise, it also contains in chapters xii., xv-xvii., xxiv., xxvi., xxviii., fragments from two or three later works, in which only recollections of the most striking portions of the history are narrated with so much freedom as to make them appear as if newly produced, and a special effort is made to present them with suitable dignity, and, where possible, with the elevation of prophetic speech. The traces of a work which narrated the life of Solomon in its greatness, with strict concentration and prophetic severity, has also been preserved in 1 Kings. We will put off this discussion, which would require considerable detail, to the history of the time in vol. 3.

2) The history of Elijah and Elisha, the greatest Prophets of the Northern Kingdom, as we now have it embodied in 1 Kings xvii-2 Kings xiii, mixed with other materials, and abridged by the loss of its commencement and in various other ways, clearly underwent many modifications, not merely orally, but also in writing, before it reached its highest point of exaltation. We possess in this the most striking example of the development of stories of the Prophets during successive centuries; and, on a close survey of the extant portions of this special division of historical literature, we are able to recognise the very various elements of its composition, its earlier and its later points of view, the original materials furnished by actual memory and their gradual transformation, also the unmistakable colouring of different authors, wherein however the peculiar prophetic terseness and keenness of speech is never forgotten.

3) Another different and very instructive example of the great freedom with which subjects belonging to this department were gradually treated is furnished by the story of Ruth. This story, the historical substance of which cannot be discussed here, belongs essentially, in design as well as in arrangement (iv. 17-22), to the circle of Davidical histories, although it contains only one single event taken from the domestic life of David's ancestors. We no longer have the means of tracing the story through its earlier stages, but the fragment of it presented in the Book of Ruth is sustained in existence not so much by its absolute historical value as by the preeminent beauty of its pictures and descriptions. Upon the primeval history it has been several times observed that in proportion as it was more treated by later writers the freer treatment gradually prevailed, and mere description was increasingly admitted into the place formerly occupied by narratives more strictly bound to the repetition of the original facts; but here we find something quite new and peculiar added. On carefully examining the kind of description prevailing here, we find not merely a very gentle and lovely painting of Hebrew domestic life, which, as we may hence infer, must have assumed a beautiful form in many places where it needed not to trouble itself about the great world, but also a truly artistic and learned as well as faultless and pleasing treatment of the subject. This blending of learning and art for the production of a beautiful narrative is the feature most characteristic of this small historical work. Without anxiously concealing by his language all traces of the later age in which he wrote, the author had obviously read himself into the spirit of the ancient works both of history and of poetry, and thus produces a very striking imitation of the older work on the Kings (see p. 142 sqq.) Having investigated the antiquity of his people, he (in iv. 7) can describe obsolete national usages with the careful discrimination of a scholar. But again, antiquarian lore does not alone interest him; he employs it merely as a medium through which, with artistic skill and a true feeling for moral beauty, he may present a charming picture of antiquity, and wake anew a nearly forgotten tradition from the early age of David's house. A gentle and gracious as well as poetical spirit animates this little historical picture, and the style itself often insensibly passes into actual poetry, as when Naomi (i.e. the *joyous one* in name as well as in fact) exclaims (i. 20, 21):

*Rather call me the 'Troubled one,'  
For the Almighty has greatly troubled me;*

*Rich in blessings I departed, yet poor has Jahveh led me home :  
How then call ye me the ' Joyous one,'  
For Jahveh has bowed me down, and the Almighty has brought upon me evil !*

In this we distinctly hear an echo from the Book of Job, not merely in the general style, but even in some single words and phrases.<sup>1</sup>

This story undoubtedly stands isolated among the many historical books of the Old Testament, and we shall search in vain for an historian otherwise known to us to whom we may ascribe it. We must admit that we have here a narrator of a perfectly individual character, whom it will be most correct to regard as having lived during the Captivity; for though considered by itself (as the similar cases Gen. xxxviii. and the Song of Solomon show), such a narrative respecting a female ancestor might readily have originated during the rule of David's house, yet the whole literary treatment of this passage, and especially the way in which it is mentioned (iv. 7) that a custom existed 'in Israel' formerly (which could only cease with the national existence) points clearly to a later time—to an age which found one of its noblest literary occupations in reviving the glorious traditions of early times, and especially those relating to David's house.<sup>2</sup>

But it is inconceivable *à priori* that an historian of that age should have written and made public such a small piece by itself alone. Therefore here, as in the similar case of Jonah,<sup>3</sup> we are led to conclude that this story of Ruth is only one taken from a larger series of similar pieces by the same author, and that through mere chance this is the only one preserved. And it certainly owes its preservation to the fact that the latest editor of the Great Book of Kings, of which we shall treat immediately, inserted it in that work at its proper place. Of this we can at once produce a clear proof. For it cannot but strike the reader as very curious, that the Books of Samuel never describe David's family and lineage, neither where the first mention of him occurs, nor elsewhere; but on the contrary his father, 1 Sam. xvi. 1, enters upon the scene quite isolated and without introduction. This is by no means the general style of that work. David's family and lineage ought even more than

<sup>1</sup> See especially Job xxvii. 2. This freer use of the simple name ישי as an abbreviation for ישי אלה here and in Ps. xci. 1, was evidently rendered possible only through the grand example of the Book of Job. Possibly the first instance

of this shorter form is Ps. lxviii. 15 [14]; but unluckily that is only one isolated ancient verse. See besides Num. xxiv. 4, 16.

<sup>2</sup> See also the *Jahrb. der Bibl. Wiss.*, viii. p. 156, 57.

<sup>3</sup> *My Prophets*, V. p. 91-96.



Samuel's (1 Sam. i. 1), or Saul's (1 Sam. ix. 1), to have been explained, since David is obviously far more than either Samuel or Saul the hero of the book. We may therefore justly suppose that this statement was removed from it by a later hand: but then the conviction irresistibly forces itself upon us, that no one else was so likely to do this as the author who inserted this story of Ruth into the larger work, because its occurrence there rendered the former account needless and disturbing. On this view the LXX., who append this narrative without special title to the Book of Judges, and place it before 1 Samuel, were quite correct; for the latest writer, seeking a fit place for this piece, could find none more suitable than this, to which it belongs according to date, causing no interruption, and at the same time preparing us for the immediately following history of David. And the fact that in the modern Hebrew Bibles this piece is treated as an independent work, and forms one of the five Megilloth, is known to have its foundation only in a later collection of books used in public festivals.

#### 4. *The latest form of these Books.*

Lastly, when we examine the latest form which the history of the Kings assumed, the first thing which we ought to consider is perhaps the remarkable influence of the Deuteronomic ideas upon this field. For after the Reformation by Josiah, these ideas, the age of which has been already approximately determined (p. 117 sqq.) evidently penetrated deeper and deeper into every department of life and literature. Thus they produced a new mode of regarding the period of the Judges and the Kings, which could not be long without influencing its treatment by historians. We are still able to trace the steps by which these ideas gradually gained possession of this region, and ultimately quite transformed it, and produced their own peculiar aspect of history.

But in the meantime books of narrative were growing more and more numerous, whilst the times which they had to describe were lengthening and becoming more difficult to survey. Hence here as in the primeval history, the desire naturally arose to fuse into one narrative, by proper selection and abridgment, the rich but not always self-consistent materials which this diffuse literature had produced. And the more completely the Deuteronomic ideas took possession of the extensive field of the history of the Judges and the Kings, and strove to illuminate and recast its more important features, the easier did it become to omit from the fuller earlier works much which under this new light seemed to have lost its importance.

1) *The last Editor but one.*

a.) The beginning of this change may be very clearly discerned in a remodelling of the old work on the Kings described p. 142 sqq., to which a large part of it as preserved to us has been subjected. We here find on the one hand the freest impress of the Deuteronomist, and recognise even the peculiar colours of his style,<sup>1</sup> but on the other we perceive that the Deuteronomic ideas are as yet very far from entirely penetrating and remodelling that early work, and indeed that they only very rarely at favourable opportunities here and there gained admission, as if cautiously feeling their way. These two facts taken together lead to the supposition that this is the first instance of an old historical work being remodelled according to Deuteronomic ideas, and we shall soon discover a still later labourer upon this same work, already adjusted to Deuteronomic ideas. We cannot, indeed, determine to a single year the time when this author wrote, but all the traces which we can here observe and collect lead clearly to the conclusion, that he did not compose his work later than towards the close of the prosperous reign of Josiah.

The passages which were then introduced by him into the older narratives may be easily recognised, in part by their Deuteronomic sentiments and peculiarities of style, and in part also by the circumstance that they add nothing to the historic contents of the narrative, but only present reflections, or carry somewhat further a subject already given. We thus perceive that it is not the history in itself, but an idea, that guided the author to such expositions as seemed most wanted by his contemporaries. Besides, the words of this writer show us an age in which, although the nation was much weakened, yet the kingdom of David and the Temple still existed, and the hope of their permanency still lingered.<sup>2</sup> This could be no other than the earliest time after the Reformation by Josiah, when the declining kingdom appeared to be rising into new and glorious life, and especially Jerusalem and its Temple to have triumphed for ever over the darts of fortune.

<sup>1</sup> A marked instance of this is furnished by the highly characteristic expression 'with all thy heart,' originally employed by Joel ii. 12, but first made current by the Deuteronomist's discourse on all matters of religion; it reappears here as a pet phrase, 1 Sam. vii. 3, xii. 20, 24; 1 Kings ii. 4, viii. 23, 48, xiv. 8; 2 Kings x. 31. But the following writer, although quite Deuteronomic in his views, uses this phrase much less frequently; see 2 Kings xxiii.

25. A characteristic expression of similar meaning is 'his heart was not perfect with Jahveh,' 1 Kings viii. 61, xi. 4, xv. 3, 14; 2 Kings xx. 3. This is not to be attributed to the Deuteronomist, as is evident from the consideration that neither this writer nor the next speaks of that love towards Jahveh, the urging of which is the most striking feature of the Deuteronomist; see also Josh. xxii. 5, xxiii. 11.

<sup>2</sup> As is seen in 1 Kings viii. ix.

When we survey all these passages,<sup>1</sup> it becomes clear how similar they all are in every respect, and how completely they differ from the older work into which they are inserted, as well as from all the earlier works already brought under consideration.

b.) But this compiler was certainly the first who collected and skilfully blended those materials of the older works which appeared to him the most important; of which the clearest example is found in the long section, 1 Sam. i-1 Kings ii. Here the different masses and strata of the narrative lie before us, so unmixed and distinct as to be readily recognised on close inspection, and separated into their original elements; whereas from 1 Kings iii, where the great curtailment effected at a later time begins, they are far more difficult to trace. It is obvious that this compiler took as his basis the work of the Prophetic Narrator, the most beautiful of those already described (p. 142 sqq.), and blended into one narrative with it all the materials he wished to take from other works, as well as additions of his own. But he everywhere used his own judgment in the selection of his materials, and often placed them near together, with but little attempt at amalgamation. The principal work also which he employed as his basis he by no means gave without curtailment.

Among the additions which are not Deuteronomic, but introduced by the compiler, we may with great probability reckon

<sup>1</sup> These are as follows: 1 Sam. vii. 3, 4 (which two verses, moreover, disturb the context); parts of 1 Sam. xii. (a narrative introduced in its present form solely for the sake of the warnings attributed to Samuel, and presenting great discrepancies in its incidental historical allusions); 1 Kings ii. 2-4 (where, on occasion of David's last injunctions to Solomon, instead of such words as may have originally stood there, we now read exhortations which in every particle and phase of thought clearly bear a Deuteronomic colouring. These three interpolations are all that are found between 1 Sam. i. and the beginning of 1 Kings iii.—the very place in the ancient Book of the Kings where the great abridgments begin, of which we shall soon have to speak. Perhaps, then, this compiler himself effected these abridgments, commencing from this very passage? But the question is no sooner asked than it must be answered in the negative; for no reason can be adduced why a writer who up to this point had only made occasional suitable additions, and certainly had never made any great

curtailment, should now all at once adopt an opposite course. Since, on the other hand, in the subsequent history we still occasionally find indubitable traces of his hand, we must suppose that he treated in the same way the further portions of the history of the Kings up to the reformation under Josiah, using at the same time as his basis earlier works upon the monarchy. The tone and position of the words in 1 Kings iii. 14, vi. 11-13, and ix. 6-9, also direct us to the same writer; and his style is clearly discernible throughout Solomon's long prayer at the dedication of the Temple in 1 Kings viii. 22-61, which, from its whole tone, and especially from verses 41-43, must have been written before the destruction of the Temple. The favourite phrases describing David's race as a light set up by Jahveh in Jerusalem (1 Kings xi. 36, xv. 4; 2 Kings viii. 19), and Jerusalem as the chosen city of Jahveh (1 Kings viii. 29, 44, 48, ix. 3, xiv. 21; 2 Kings xxi. 4) could at no other time have been so readily adopted by the historian as during the latter part of Josiah's reign.

the Song of Hannah, which is inserted at 1 Sam. ii. 1-20, interrupting the original narrative. The poem was then undoubtedly taken from an older collection of songs, in which it stood without a name, whence it was possible to have regard only in the most general way to the nature of its contents, and to apply it to a different age and person from the one originally intended. It does not seem to have been composed by David himself when he was already king, but was undoubtedly written by one of the earliest kings of Judah.<sup>1</sup>

c.) Many indications show that as the author in narrating the events of successive centuries approached his own times, his work became more detailed, and he introduced many considerable passages of his own composition. In the story of the founding of Solomon's Temple, 1 Kings ix. 6-9, he already cast a true prophet's glance forward at its possible destruction, just as had been then done by Jeremiah; and doubtless he also is the author who, in a narrative clothed in prophetic form of the life of the first king of the ten tribes, 1 Kings xiii. 1-32, alludes to Josiah, the king of his own day, and his great work;<sup>2</sup> thus enabling us from the beginning of the history to infer its close, and likewise approving himself as a prophetic narrator. The work thus became truly prophetic not merely in form but also in fact, inasmuch as it contained predictions; for, though the author certainly witnessed the influence of the pious king Josiah, he did not live to see the destruction of the Temple, of which he only gave prophetic hints in the course of his narrative. To this writer we are also undoubtedly indebted for the extremely accurate and instructive account of the internal condition of the Samaritans towards the close of the reign of King Josiah, 2 Kings xvii. 24-41.

## 2) *The last Editor of the History of the Kings.*

The history as it proceeded from the hand of this first Deuteronomic editor was, from all these indications, very comprehensive; but this very extent may soon have become somewhat burdensome to later readers. Besides, this work did not extend to the close of the history of the Kings: hence another editor might soon become necessary, who would not only shorten many parts, but also add to it much that was of importance.

That one final author and collector edited the present Books

<sup>1</sup> Compare my *Dichter des Alten Bundes*, I. i. pp. 158-160; a similar instance, and not far removed from this in time, has already been elucidated (p. 123).

<sup>2</sup> Compare 2 Kings xxiii. 15-18; if in verse 18 *Samarita* is the correct reading, it perhaps furnishes a clue to the earlier form of the story in 1 Kings xiii. 1-32.

of Judges, Ruth, Samuel, and Kings as a whole, is to be concluded from many signs, of which one has been already mentioned, and others will be noticed presently. This last author of the present Great Book of Kings, enlarged by the history of the Judges as an introduction, cannot have written before the second half of the Babylonian Captivity, when King Jehoiachin, who had been carried off very young to Babylon eleven years before the destruction of Jerusalem, had been taken into favour at court by one of Nebuchadnezzar's successors, and was already dead.<sup>1</sup> The year of his death is not known; but it was certainly under the Chaldean rule, since his honourable restoration at the Chaldean court is the last historical event the author has it in his power to record of him. After the close of the Hebrew monarchy history itself passed a very audible final verdict upon the ages succeeding Moses and Joshua. The various principles which had acted and reacted upon each other while the great waves of that history were still surging, separated themselves in the calm which succeeded the dissolution, and the great serious question of the age, Whence came so much misery upon the people? not only invaded the dominion of history, but even sought preeminently there for its most deliberate answer. The true Prophets had indeed long since given a general answer to such questions, and since history had now on the whole substantiated the anxious forebodings of the earlier prophets, the historian, even in that age, could not well have done otherwise than enter into their truths; but now the narrator's first duty was to verify them throughout the various events of history.

But it was impossible to an age so deeply wounded in its patriotic feelings to examine dispassionately and describe at length the history of the many centuries between Joshua and the destruction of Jerusalem; the national grief was too severe, and the national mind too intent upon deriving consolation and instruction from the history, to be able to examine it impartially. Hence, as the Deuteronomic treatment of history had commenced long before, the prophetic truths became yet more fully the light and life of the views now taken of history. Wherever the history as a whole confirmed them, they were brought prominently forward, and were used chiefly to raise the student above the interminable details of history and give

<sup>1</sup> 2 Kings xxv. 27-30; that the last king, the still older Zedekiah, was already dead, follows from Jer. lii. 11.—This last narrator certainly wrote in the neighbourhood of the Chaldean court; and therefore when he speaks in his own person he de-

scribes the Holy Land as lying on the other side of the Euphrates, 1 Kings v. 4 [iv. 24] (twice); compare Ezra iv. 10 sqq., and a full exposition of this subject in the *Jahrbücher der Biblischen Wissenschaft*, vii. p. 212.

a more lifelike view of its principles. He then who looked through this long period to find an answer to the question, through what cause had the kingdom fallen, or when and how had it been most flourishing, could evidently not contemplate any age except that of David with unmixed pleasure, and must have regarded with sorrow the centuries which preceded, as well as those which followed, this sublime historical point, because they repeatedly indicated a dissolution of the unity and stability of the kingdom as well as of the true religion. But on this very account it was especially easy to attach to his remarks the historical lesson and warning which was then most needed, and which the author inculcates in an important passage, repeated almost word for word in another.<sup>1</sup> Therefore while it would appear desirable to give the beautiful middle portion of the history with all the detail which the records permitted, enough might seem to be done for the two long side-pieces, the earlier and the later history, with their many painful occurrences, by rendering the narrative as concise as possible, so as to bring prominently forward only the general lesson of the history. In accordance with all this the whole history must have been divided by this last compiler into the three following main sections:

a.) He placed first the present Book of Judges as an introduction to the history of the Monarchy. For this book, in its present form, was attached to the present Books of Samuel with the single object of having here the history of the Judges and the Kings, i.e. of the whole period after Joshua, brought together. This is made clear by a peculiar expression of the last author respecting Samson, namely, that he had *begun* to deliver Israel from the power of the Philistines.<sup>2</sup> But if Samson only began this deliverance, then the reader naturally expects to be told of its further prosecution by others after his death. Thus a hint is already furnished by anticipation of the history

<sup>1</sup> The passages meant are Judges ii. 6-23 and 2 Kings xvii. 7-23, which both in thought and in expression so closely resemble each other (see especially נתן בִּיר שָׁמִים Judg. ii. 14, 16; 2 Kings xvii. 20), a phrase very unusual in prose) that we cannot well help attributing both to the same writer. Otherwise we must suppose that the last compiler, having received from previous ages the Book of Judges in its present form, imitated it as an antique work; and certainly 'the driving out of the land,' mentioned in Judges xviii. 30, need not include also the captivity of the

inhabitants of the kingdom of Judah. But on careful consideration the former assumption appears not only probable but absolutely certain, from the relative position as well as from the style of the two passages: see *Jahrb. der Bibl. Wiss.* x. p. 140. It is also specially noteworthy that in 2 Kings xiii. 4, 5, xiv. 26, 27, the latest writer views and describes the raising up of Jehoahaz precisely as in Judg. ii. 14 sqq. he had done that of the Judges.

<sup>2</sup> Judges xiii. 5; this is the obvious meaning of this passage, confirmed also by verse 25.

of Eli, Samuel, and David, and it cannot therefore be affirmed that the conclusion of the present Book of Judges closes the history and renders that book independent of what follows. In truth, the conclusion of the series of Judges formed by Samson's tragical fate is so unsatisfactory as to be to the reader the first strong stimulus to know the further course of the Hebrew-Philistine history. But the last author seems to have wanted either the materials or the inclination to fill up the short interval between the death of Samson and the middle of the rule of the already aged Eli; and he had only (as already shown, p. 155 sq.) the story of Ruth to fill up this gap.

The last author then did nothing with reference to the strictly historical matter beyond combining the two earlier works on the age of the Judges, the very diverse character of which has been already explained, p. 140 sq., p. 151, and working them up in Deuteronomic fashion, so to speak. Here again we find the essential feature of the work to be, not the actual narrative and history of earlier times, but the way in which the history is treated and used for moral lessons. Thus,

(i) The author began with a general introduction taken from the ancient work, which, according to p. 141, viewed this period without regard to the military leaders of the people; and he there described how the tribes had not conquered the whole country, and had in so far failed to accomplish the Divine plan, Judges i-ii. 5; a passage which seems to be greatly curtailed, and would be much more intelligible if we had the original at full length before us.

(ii) Then the author, passing from the death of Joshua to the description of the Judges, and following the other authorities already noticed (p. 151 sq.), first presents a general survey of the entire period of these Judges and of their position while it lasted, ii. 6-iii. 4. And this point of the history gives to the Deuteronomic ideas and doctrine an opportunity of their freest and fullest expression. Sins against Jahveh, repentance, and amendment, are the three pivots on which the Deuteronomic scheme turns. The nation which during that age, after each effort at amendment and the successive raising-up of a great deliverer or judge relapsed again into unfaithfulness and thence into misfortune, furnishes at once the example and the lesson, how faithless behaviour towards Jahveh always punishes itself, and the greatest national sufferings then become necessary for the moral probation and purification of the nation. In order to establish the truth of this doctrine in each individual case occurring from iii. 7 to xvi., the writer commences his account

of the first Judges, and then of each of the five others of whom there was much to tell, with the previous falling-away from Jahveh, and the misery consequent thereupon, and then shows how this pressure brought the people back again to Jahveh, who alone could raise up the true deliverer. In the few principal actions of the period more life is occasionally infused into this monotonous narrative by a beautiful description of a Prophet in times of misery raising his voice in sorrow or in anger to declare the truth to the people, vi. 7-10, x. 10-16. In these descriptions the author unquestionably had in his thoughts the older passage, ii. 1-5, which sounds more historical, besides such passages as 1 Sam. ii. 27 sqq. In the actual history of the Judges the author generally adopts the narrative of the earlier authority almost verbally. But in the case of Samson, the last of these Judges, whose life was also given by the compiler by abridgment from a special work (see p. 152), and served as a fitting occasion to explain the nature and origin of Nazirism, this lofty introduction expands into a grand picture of Divine manifestation and annunciation, xiii. 1-24, such as the Fourth Narrator of the primeval history loves, according to p. 111 sq. This however comprises almost all that the last author has added of his own, for elsewhere he has merely shortened or slightly altered the wording of his authority, but added nothing of importance to the history itself. And if we reflect that he nowhere distinctly describes the evil to which, after each amendment of their conduct, the people constantly recurred during that age of vicissitudes (for such names as Baal and Astarte are used quite loosely according to the custom of after-times, and assert nothing distinctly but the relapse from Jahveh), there can be no doubt that the description of individual events was coloured by his general conception of the period; just as the same author in the Books of Kings calls each individual king of the Northern Kingdom wicked without any qualification, because to his peculiar conception that kingdom was intrinsically corrupt.

(iii) The whole is closed (ch. xvii-xxi) with fragments from the very different ancient authority mentioned p. 140, which described two remarkable events of that age external to the circle of the Judges. Here the last compiler is still further from adding or changing anything; for nothing of a mere Deuteronomic tendency is given. But if we ask wherefore this compiler (or possibly even the former one) inserted only these two stories, since he doubtless found many similar ones in the document whence they were taken, the most obvious reply is,



that both relate to Levites, and moreover to Levites from Bethlehem (xvii. 7, xix. 1), and thus possessed an especial interest for an author who undoubtedly sprang from Judah, and was probably a Levite.<sup>1</sup>

The time at which this book thus received its present form cannot in general be matter of doubt, owing to its Deuteronomic principles; there are also found distinct traces of dependence on the Book of the Law in its latest development. The diffuse description (xiii.) of the angel's appearance to Samson's parents obviously imitates many shorter delineations of similar events which the author found in the older books of law and history;<sup>2</sup> and the phrase 'they turned quickly out of the way which their fathers walked in,' ii. 17, is both here and in Deut. ix. 16 taken from a story given by the Fourth Narrator in the Book of the Law, Ex. xxxii. 8, where it is undoubtedly far more genuine and perfectly appropriate. It is also a very decisive circumstance that where the author begins to speak freely from himself, ii. 6-10, he takes up the thread from the last words of the present Book of Joshua xxiv. 28-33. Now here words are found which cannot have been inserted by any earlier writer than the Deuteronomist.<sup>3</sup> It would be incorrect to conclude from this that the author wished to combine the history of the Judges into one whole with the Book of Joshua and the Pentateuch; for he merely joins on at the end of Joshua for the sake of a suitable commencement, and it cannot be proved that in early times these books were ever united (see p. 114 sq.) But it does follow from the above fact that, at the time of the author, the Deuteronomist had long completed his work.

b.) The history of the *Origin of the Monarchy* until the accession of Solomon is given by the latest author entirely, or almost entirely, unchanged from the previous compilation. For it was not till after Solomon's time that the lesson that the kingdom had fallen because the greater number of its princes had fostered the repression of the higher and purer religion, assumed prominence in the history. And as David had in fact remained very true to the ancient religion, and in the later

<sup>1</sup> The fact that the Book of Ruth is concerned with Bethlehem has no connection with this, as has been pointed out p. 153 sq.

<sup>2</sup> The principal passages which the author had in view in chap. xiii. are Gen. xvi. and xxv. 21, also Judges vi. 17 sq.; we find, likewise, 17, 18, an amplification of the shorter image, Gen. xxxii. 30 [29].

<sup>3</sup> Josh. xxiv. 28 is connected with the

preceding Deuteronomic narrative; and verse 31 must be by the Deuteronomist, on account of the phrases *הָאֱלֹהִים יְהוָה* Deut. iv. 26, 40, v. (16) 30 [33], vi. 2, xi. 9, xvii. 20, xxii. 7, xxv. 15, xxx. 18, xxxii. 47, and *מִשְׁעָה יְהוָה* Deut. iii. 24, xi. 3, 7. Moreover, according to p. 114, something similar from the hand of the Fifth Narrator of the primeval history must have originally stood here.

times was moreover looked upon as the single perfect example in that long list of kings, of a good ruler and faithful worshipper of Jahveh, it was believed to be not from David's reign, but only from that of his successor, until the first overthrow of the kingdom, that the introduction of foreign religions and the dissolution of the ancient order had been dragging the state down into corruption and inevitable ultimate ruin. The history of the monarchy therefore was divided by this author into two halves, separated by David's death: on the first of these, which was almost entirely filled by the personality of David, the thought and hope of the writer's age dwelt with evident joy and exultation: and as moreover David's idealised image had become an inexhaustible source of consolation and instruction for the Messianic hopes, the author published this first half, up to the accession of Solomon, in its original fulness, without any noticeable omission or addition.

But apparently it was this last editor who finally added some fragments of David's biography which he had at first designed to omit; at all events this is the simplest explanation of the order in which the fragments in 2 Sam. xxi-xxiv. now stand (see above, p. 148). We may also plausibly assume that the Chronicler had here before him the compilation of the previous Deuteronomic editor: he read the passage 2 Sam. xxiv. in another order (see p. 148 sq.); and he found the long list of David's heroes which is given in 2 Sam. xxiii. 8-39, and is probably extracted from the State-annals, standing after 2 Sam. v. 10 (see 1 Chron. xi. 10-47) and in a more complete state.

c.) From Solomon's time, however, he gives only extracts from this and other earlier records, as if this long period of ever-increasing dulness and darkness required only the briefest description. But he begins here again to treat the history in his independent way, to make it the medium for his own views, and to add to the older book whatever he thought suitable. It may therefore be said that the first half of the earlier great work on the kings, which reaches to 1 Kings ii, was only re-edited by the later writer, but that the latter half, from 1 Kings iii, may be justly considered as his own work. It might therefore have been divided into two parts more correctly than has been done:—1. the history of the Kings until Solomon's accession to the throne (the present Books of Samuel and 1 Kings i. ii.); 2. the Kings from Solomon to the Captivity (the present Books of Kings from 1 Kings iii). The LXX., who enumerate 2 (4) Books of Kings after the Book of Judges, show at all events more perception of the original connection of this great

work. And to discriminate the first from the second half, the name of Book or Books of Samuel, on account of that hero's importance, would not be wholly inappropriate to the former, only that the first two chapters of the Book of Kings ought to be added to it.

The author himself indicates the chief extracts he has made from other works, by referring at the close of Solomon's life to the Book of the Acts of Solomon (1 Kings xi. 41), and at the close of the life of each king of both kingdoms to the State-annals of one or the other kingdom, as the place where more of the history might be found. An exception to this is made only by the last king of each kingdom (which curious fact has been already noticed, p. 137 *note*), and by the two kings Jehoahaz and Jehoiachin,<sup>1</sup> each of whom reigned only three months, so that the State-annals probably did not contain much more than is here narrated of them. In the lives of David and Saul, on the other hand, such references are evidently wanting only because the last editor does not begin to abridge his principal document till 1 Kings iii. The 'Life of Solomon' also, to which the author refers, was probably not a separate work, but only a part or one volume of his chief authority. This previous compiler may have constantly referred to the State-annals; but we have no reason for doubting that the last editor also consulted them. From the method of quotation however thus much is certain, that the author either wholly omitted, or greatly shortened, most of the particulars given in these authorities respecting the wars, the buildings (if not ecclesiastical), and other secular enterprises of the kings, as also their mere personal affairs; but on the other hand retained in full whatever referred to religion and especially to the Temple. In this he was governed by certain fixed principles: for instance, although elsewhere not telling much of the personality of the kings, yet in the case of each king of Judah, he mentions his mother's name, evidently on account of the important part generally taken by the queen-mother in the government, especially when the king was a minor.<sup>2</sup> But that he abridged the narrative of his authorities even when he aimed at completeness is seen by a comparison of 2 Kings xviii. 9-xx. with Isaiah xxxvi-xxxix, where he omits the song of Hezekiah.

The most important element added by the author, the pro-

<sup>1</sup> 2 Kings xxiii. 31-35, xxiv. 8-17. It is true that an account of the reign of the last king of Judah was prepared very early (see p. 167, *note*); but as this could receive no authentication from a successor,

it might for that very reason not be received into the State-annals of Judah.

<sup>2</sup> See 1 Kings xv. 13, which is here decisive; also ii. 19.

phetic lesson of the whole history commencing with Solomon, is expounded with the greatest freedom where he speaks of the overthrow of the Northern Kingdom, indicates its causes, and at the same time casts a glance upon the coming similar overthrow of the Southern Kingdom, 2 Kings xvii. 7-23; but, even in the middle of Solomon's life, the author takes a suitable opportunity to introduce the same truth in the words of the previous compiler, 1 Kings ix. 6-9. Thus, though less forcibly than in earlier writings (p. 159), is reproduced the prophetic treatment of the history, since its entire course from Solomon corroborates the warning revealed to him in a dream at its commencement. And as the early fall of the yet guiltier Northern Kingdom is the centre of the evil elements of this history, so do its good elements centre round the pious king Josiah, who radically extirpated the worship on high places, and carried out a national reformation with equal sincerity and power, 2 Kings xxii. sqq. And as our author, in agreement with the previous compiler (compare p. 159) and many of the Prophets, ascribes the ruin of the kingdom of Judah especially to this worship on high places, he takes care to observe at the very outset of his own writing (1 Kings iii. 2: comp. xi. 7-10) that they existed even in Solomon's time; and adds to his account of even each good king of this kingdom, that in protecting them he did what he ought not to have done. The fact that he calls every king of the Northern Kingdom without exception an evil-doer in the sight of Jahveh, arises from his general view of the origin and nature of that kingdom; but he thus designates all those kings of the Southern Kingdom also who had favoured heathen forms of worship. It is especially these standing judgments pronounced upon each ruler which impress upon the work the stamp of that melancholy desolation which at the time of its composition weighed heavily upon the dispersed nation. Thus also in the general treatment of this part the same method is discernible which characterises the present Book of Judges (p. 162 sq.)

We here see in brief what additions most specially belonged to our present author; but besides these, he must have also written and appended the life of the last king Zedekiah, which was not yet bound up with the history of the kingdom,<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is clear that the writer had access to written authorities, from 2 Kings xxv. 22-26, which is derived from Jer. xl-xliii.; on the other hand, Jer. xxxix. received many additions from this end of the Books of Kings, and a still later compiler

appended to the Book of Jeremiah the whole of chap. lii. from the same source, omitting however the narrative in 2 Kings xxv. 22-26, because he knew that it had been already given in Jer. xl-xliii.

as also the still later narratives. The later portions of the stories of Elisha may have been introduced by him, as they appear to be merely further developments of old materials,<sup>1</sup> and with respect to their contents, which are far removed from the fulness and substance of the older histories, stand upon the same level as the story in 1 Kings xiii. 1-32.

The hand of this latest author is recognisable besides, not only in certain favourite phrases,<sup>2</sup> but also in a great infusion of later and foreign elements of speech, of a kind which we have not as yet seen in any historian from Judah. This infusion however appears only occasionally, and is far from permeating the whole work. Many of these foreign words, too, may be attributable to the authorities employed by the author.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Even from very different regions: 2 Kings iv. 14-16 springs from Gen. xviii. 9-11, and 2 Kings vi. 17-20 from Gen. xix. 11. It is often very characteristic of such imitations that they flow copiously from one single passage, as if it alone had been in the mind of the later writer.

<sup>2</sup> We may here class "עֲשֵׂה הָרַע בְּעֵינַי" which is as frequent in Deuteronomy, Judges, and 1 Kings from ch. iii. as it is elsewhere rare (Num. xxxii. 13; 1 Sam. xv. 19; 2 Sam. xii. 9). הִתְמַכֵּר in 2 Kings xvii. 17, imitating 1 Kings xxi. 20, 25; the use of כִּי for *only*, and the constant use of אָז *then*, in the loose transitions, which occur especially frequently in abridgments of histories; 1 Kings iii. 16, viii. 1, 12, ix. (11) 24, xi. 7, xvi. 21, xxii. 60

[49]; 2 Kings viii. 22, xii. 18 [17], xiv. 8, xv. 16, xvi. 5; also the use of אָנֹכִי in narrative, 1 Kings iii. 10, but not the frequent employment of אֱלֹהִים in the same (iii. 5, 11, 28, v. 9 [iv. 29], x. 24, xi. 23, xii. 22), as this may be derived from the original authority.

<sup>3</sup> As, for instance, we may notice that the strongly Aramaic form כַּאֲדֹנָה (*hundreds*), is found only in 2 Kings xi. a few times, and even there is avoided in verse 19; and that הָרַי is found only in 1 Kings xxi. 8, 11; קִרְיָנוֹת only in 1 Kings xx. 14 sqq.; פָּחוֹת only in 1 Kings x. 15, xx. 24; 2 Kings xviii. 24, and an Aramaic infinitive only in 2 Kings v. 18. The occurrence of the relative—אֲשֶׁר, 2 Kings vi. 11 depends on a doubtful reading (see my *Lehrbuch*, p. 474).

## III. THE LATEST BOOK OF GENERAL HISTORY.

CHRONICLES, WITH THE BOOKS OF EZRA AND NEHEMIAH.<sup>1</sup>

THE trial-days of the Captivity and the commencement of the restoration of Jerusalem were succeeded by centuries which in many respects might be expected to be peculiarly favourable to the composition of history. The close connection into which the history of the Hebrews now entered with that of the Persians and many other heathen nations, might render their historical view wider, and their historical perception more delicate. Literary activity now penetrating deeper and deeper into all classes, even the non-prophetical and non-sacerdotal, was enabled to follow closer and more fully upon the events, and thus to produce a profusion of most various works respecting contemporary history itself. And in fact this good fortune was not wanting. A new phenomenon in historical literature is presented by the memoirs of contemporaries, in which laymen and others note down with fresh feeling, and from accurate personal recollection, what seems to them worthy of record for the instruction of posterity, or perhaps even more for their own satisfaction. Biographical memoirs of this kind, written by men who have influenced their age through force of character, or even been its chief supporters and leaders, can scarcely arise earlier than the final margin of a long series of historical literature. Though often presenting rather the warm feelings of an individual than a calm consideration and short survey of more weighty matters, these memoirs, as a glass truly reflecting the special history of the time, occupy a very different rank from all ordinary historical works. We find the most distinct example of this in the somewhat comprehensive fragments of a book by Nehemiah himself, incorporated in the existing Book of Nehemiah. Other examples, which are scattered about in the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah, and more difficult to discover, will be better treated afterwards. As Nehemiah was a layman in high office, who clearly did not aspire to the name and fame of a scholar or writer (for thus he

<sup>1</sup> See *Gött. Gel. Anz.*, 1864, pp. 1265-80.

exhibits himself in his memoir), we must infer from his example that this kind of occasional authorship was very frequent in those days.

But in other respects these ages took a form less and less favourable to the writing of history, as is sufficiently proved by such strictly historical works as have come down to us from them. When the general national life was sinking deeper and deeper into confusion and weakness, away from the bold elevation which in the beginning of the restoration of Jerusalem it seemed about to attain, how then should the historic art alone have progressed and flourished, or even saved itself from the insidious decay which the nation generally could not escape? The chronicler of a people submitting unwillingly to foreign or to tyrannical rule, as was then the fate of Israel, is not in a position to look straight at things; nor has he scope to look freely around him either, when his nation, driven into the utmost straits, falls more and more under the influence of vague and faithless fears. This decline in the character of the historical works, being an inherent necessity, could not fail to appear in that age of Hebrew history; indeed its primary origin has already been observed in the last works of the preceding period. The fresh wants and tastes of this late age demanded fresh histories; and there are many indications that if possible even more was now written in this department than in earlier days. The spirit of the old religion, which animated the earlier histories, could not at once be wholly lost or changed in the new works; although after a considerable lapse of time such a change is undoubtedly very observable, manifesting itself first only in certain peculiar books. But in general, the image presented to us in the historical works of those times, even where they describe antiquity and the better days of old, is yet only that of a community, subjected to many forms of internal repression, but all the more proud of its ancient blessings, and increasingly anxious to retain them, and priding itself only in the cause of the ancient religion and its glorification.

In the Books of Chronicles, and those of Ezra and Nehemiah, which (as I shall hereafter prove) originally belonged to them,<sup>1</sup> we possess the most comprehensive and marked work of this

<sup>1</sup> The unity of these books has also been recognised by Zunz (*Gottesdienstliche Vorträge der Juden*, Berlin, 1832, p. 21). In ignorance of the views there advocated, I had been brought by independent investigation to the same result. I also saw later that Richard Simon also attributes Ezra i-vi. to the author of Chro-

nicles. A general conclusion of this kind is not difficult to reach; but the important and fruitful question for us is, how the hypothesis of the unity of Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah is to be followed up and maintained in connection with a correct appreciation of the writer and his work.

age. For the more perfect understanding of this work in its entire bearing, it is desirable first to ascertain its age with all possible certainty and accuracy. One way to this is already opened in the statement just made respecting the connection existing between the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah and the Chronicles; for the essential question then is, what was the earliest period at which these books, which carry down the history to the furthest point, could have been written? Without attempting to exhaust this question here, we may at once assume as evident, that the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah cannot have received their present form prior to the fourth century before Christ, because in some passages they speak of Ezra and Nehemiah as men who in a past age acted together for the benefit of the community,<sup>1</sup> and even look back with scarcely concealed regret to the days of Zerubbabel and Nehemiah, as to a better age in which excellent arrangements with regard to the offerings due to the priesthood were established and observed.<sup>2</sup>

But besides all this, more definite signs are found in some genealogies which the author introduces. Among the numerous catalogues of families and companies which the work presents in every part, we find two families which the author evidently regards as preeminent in nobility and dignity, and whose lineage he therefore describes in greater detail, and carries forward to a lower point than that of any other. The first of these is the royal family of David, as it had descended from the latest kings of Judah; which though not possessed of actual authority was certainly still looked upon by many with a certain preference and reverence, so that it was never forgotten which member of the family would have been ruler if external circumstances had been favourable.<sup>3</sup> The second is the High-priest's family,<sup>4</sup> which did then actually exercise a sort of authority, and whose living representative must have been well known to all contemporaries. The author needs no justification for sedulously distinguishing these two families, and these alone, by tracing their genealogy with greater detail and carrying it down to a lower point. But it is equally clear that he carried it

<sup>1</sup> Neh. viii. 2, 9, xii. 26.

<sup>2</sup> This is quite the tone of Neh. xii. 47; while there is no doubt that it was written by the same writer.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Chr. iii. 17-24, where the chronological series, which is somewhat difficult to make out, is as follows: 1, Zerubbabel; 2, Hananiah; 3, Shechaniah; 4, Shemaiah; 5, Neariah; 6, Elioenai; 7, Hodaiah. The various readings of the LXX., which here

and in vii. 13 add several additional generations to the series, are probably based only on a misunderstanding of the writer's mode of exhibiting the line.

<sup>4</sup> Neh. xii. 10, 11, compare verse 22; the series of High-priests down to Jeshua the first priest of the New Temple was already given in 1 Chr. v. 29-41 [vi. 3-15]; compare Ezra iii. 2.



down exactly as far as events permitted, so that the last name in each genealogy was that of the then living head of the family; the contrary supposition is untenable, because there is no reason apparent why these genealogies, so exceptionally carried down many generations beyond the Babylonian Captivity, should close earlier than with the last known member. When we have thus determined the lowest point reached by this history, the problem then is to calculate correctly this series of generations, and to discover the same names, in case they are found to occur in the history which is known to us from other sources. The first point that here strikes us as important is that the royal line from Zerubbabel, that is from the time after the Captivity, is brought down through six members, and that of the High-priests from Jeshua, the contemporary of Zerubbabel, through five. This slight variation may be regarded as tending to prove that both series were actually brought down to the author's time. If therefore we reckon thirty years to a generation, these five or six generations after Zerubbabel and Jeshua bring us 150 or 200 years further down, so that we find ourselves in the latest years of the Persian, or at the utmost in the earliest years of the Greek dominion, and hence we may safely conclude that this work could not have been written before, but also certainly not after this point of time. To this may be added as decisive, the testimony furnished elsewhere, that Jaddua the last High-priest here mentioned, lived until the commencement of the Greek rule.<sup>1</sup>

In the absence however of any distinct date, the question is still open, whether the work was written in the last period of the Persian rule, or at the commencement or even at a somewhat later period of the Greek. But on a close examination, we do not merely fail to discover in it any token however slight which might point to a lengthened duration of the Greek rule, but it may be shown that every probability is in favour of the contrary supposition. For the two genealogies just named, which are brought down to the writer's age, stand in this respect quite alone; the real history closes with the days of Ezra and Nehemiah, beyond which we only find these two genealogies, extending to a later period; that of the royal house being given at the beginning of the work, and the later portion of that of the High-priest being interwoven with the history of Ezra and Nehemiah. This peculiarity of the work is easily accounted

<sup>1</sup> Josephus, *Antiquities*, xi. cap. vii. 2, cap. viii., according to which he was High-priest already under the Persian rule. Other difficulties which this passage pre-

sents cannot be discussed here. But the tone of Neh. xii. 22 shows that he had long been High-priest when the book was written.

for. It is always difficult, and often unpleasant, for a writer to bring the general history of his country down to his own times, and therefore many writers intentionally avoid doing so. Most historians, whose subject is not limited to remote antiquity or to some definite period, would content themselves with carrying down the thread of the narrative only to the most recent prosperous or momentous events, and mention the affairs of their own day only incidentally and for special reasons. Now it admits of easy explanation why a writer, living during the latest period of the Persian or the earliest of the Greek rule, should have broken off the thread of the history with the last glorious days of Jerusalem under Ezra and Nehemiah: the following decads of years brought with them nothing grand or cheering to reward the trouble of describing them; and this work generally seems to take pleasure in describing only the prosperous side of the history of Jerusalem. If, on the other hand, the Greek rulers had then already made friendly advances towards the people, and Greek freedom had already produced favourable results even to Jerusalem, it would be inconceivable that a general history, such as this work aspires to be, could leave wholly unnoticed this last revolution of events, and the advantages hence accruing to the Holy City. A comparison with the example of the Book of Kings (p. 159 sq.) will make the truth of this observation apparent. Now the way in which Cyrus and his successors are constantly mentioned as Persian kings,<sup>1</sup> proves that the Greek rule had already commenced; but it certainly had not lasted long, and we may regard the work as having been written somewhere about the time of the death of Alexander.

1. If this be the age of the work, we can thence infer its immediate object. It is intended to be a universal history, arranged moreover on the same system as is adopted by the Arabs in their ordinary works of this kind, in which the narrative sets out from the creation of mankind and a multitude of nations, but from this extensive field soon contracts itself to the narrow limits of the one nation for which it was written. But the people for which the chronicle under consideration was written, was so inferior, in extent of territory and in greatness and power, to the ancient nation, that it could not be properly regarded as the same. In Samaria, the centre of the old Hebrew territory, a people was now established of whose affinity with themselves the lords in Jerusalem would know nothing,

<sup>1</sup> Ezra i. 1 (2 Chr. xxxvi. 22), iv. 5, 24, hand Haggai and Zech. i-viii., Ezra iv. 7, vii. 1, Neh. xii. 22; compare on the other vi. 1, Neh. i. 11, ii. 1 sqq.

and from which they felt themselves for ever separated by the bitterest of all enmities, religious repugnance. And as little remained of the ancient possessions of the people but its religion, and that conceived in the form of the then rising hierarchy, the hierarchy itself had in Jerusalem alone its narrow circle and fixed abode. Hence this general history, from its object and plan, was enabled to draw its circle much narrower than similar works written at an earlier time, and necessarily became very different from them in its spirit and tone.

As to the country and the nation of which this work treats, we find it to be preeminently a history of Jerusalem only. To this single city the narrative hastens on as soon as possible, from the vast compass embraced by it at its commencement, and then remains fixed there up to its close. The shortest and at the same time most accurate name for the work would be 'Chronicle of Jerusalem,' especially if this name were understood in the rather wider sense in which the name of the kingdom of Jerusalem was employed during the middle ages. Everything relating to this city and the surrounding country is treated with the greatest interest; even the nature of the city population, composed of very various fragments of tribes, appeared to the author important enough to deserve a careful description, both as it was before the destruction, 1 Chron. ix. 1-34, and also as it was reestablished after the restoration of the city, Neh. xi-xii.; but in this catalogue little notice is taken of the inhabitants of the surrounding country. And the author not only entirely passes over the history of the rival city of Samaria, when describing the new Jerusalem, but in the earlier period, before the destruction of the city, omits the history of the Northern Kingdom almost totally, although his constant citation of 'the History of the Kings of Judah and Israel' proves him to have had before him a work similar in character to our present Books of Kings. And indeed the origin of Jerusalem reached so remote an antiquity in the memory of these later times, and the city, having long recovered from its overthrow, seemed to have been so specially destined from the first to become an imperishable sanctuary, that it is easy to understand how it could be made the pivot upon which to hang a universal history.<sup>1</sup>

Thus restricted almost to a history of Jerusalem, the work further becomes a history especially of the religion of that city,

<sup>1</sup> The determination of the writer to leave unnoticed the period of the Judges, because then Jerusalem had not yet become the holy city, is especially observable in an alteration which he makes in 2 Chr. xxxv. 18 compared with 2 Kings xxiii. 22.

as the single mighty power which still subsisted there in its pristine force. Not that the author looked back without admiration and regret upon the times when Jerusalem enjoyed also the secular sway of the kingdom of David; the very carrying down of David's race from Zerubbabel to the author's own age, of which notice has been already taken, p. 172 sq., is a speaking testimony to the contrary. But the fact remained, that in the new Jerusalem, as it had existed for the last two hundred years, the ancient religion only had proved itself imperishable, and thereby obtained individual sway over many hearts, so that it was even then putting forth a new life in many of its branches. It is this interest in religion as it then existed and was understood, which induced the author throughout the course of this long history to dwell so much upon Priests of every kind, upon the Temple and its institutions, and upon all other religious usages, as well as to set forth with obvious sympathy and in full detail the merits of those kings and great men who had gained a name in the history of religion. This is the precise point upon which this work differs most from the present Books of Kings, even in those passages in which it would otherwise have fully coincided with them, for it enlarges upon much that in them was either entirely passed over or very shortly touched upon. And as (according to p. 160 sqq.) the Books of Kings treat the history so entirely in agreement with prophetic truths that they might be named a History of the Prophets, so this work bears a strong indication of the altered age in which it was written, in the circumstance that it might almost be viewed as a History of the Priesthood. If, besides, the composition of this work took place at the commencement of the Greek rule, the glorious acts of the ancient kings for Jerusalem and its religion, and even the favours shown by the Persian kings to the Temple and its servants, can scarcely have been described without a desire to receive similar favour from the new rulers.

Now here a way is opened to us to discover more nearly the position and occupation of the author of this work. That he was a Levite of some sort is clear from the whole tenor of his work, and from the extremely accurate notice he takes of the different sections of Levites. But if on further examination we find that throughout the work one branch of the Levites is described with greater care than all the rest, and its functions brought into the foreground on every possible occasion, then we cannot but imagine that he was a member of it. And an attentive reader of the entire work cannot fail to notice that no

section of the Levites is made so prominent as the musicians, with their subdivisions, their manifold employments, and their public appearances.<sup>1</sup> With this is closely connected the special interest with which the author everywhere describes sacred festivals and solemn processions; since on such occasions musicians could not fail to be present, and indeed are not unfrequently expressly mentioned.<sup>2</sup> Neither the sacrificial Priests, however high their position might be, nor those Levites who were ordained instructors and judges of the people, and consequently dispersed over the country, are mentioned with equal interest. Indeed the notice of the latter is remarkably brief and hasty;<sup>3</sup> and the narrator in preference takes cognisance of all kinds of what we may call the Lower Clergy, among which the musicians were reckoned. Under these circumstances it does not admit of doubt that the author belonged to the corporate body of musicians resident at the sanctuary at Jerusalem; nor need we be surprised to find that some of these included authorship in their devotion to the arts, and were men of learning more frequently than the priests themselves.

But finally, it is not the history of Jerusalem alone, nor even the special history of its religious system alone, that moved the author to compose his work. As in that age the nation as a whole lived upon the memory of the earlier glory and power of its religion, so the individual historian dwells with marked exultation and scarcely concealed regret on the glories of the earlier ages only of the Holy City, on those kings and heroes whose acts on behalf of the Temple and its ordinances, as well as on behalf of the ordination and elevation of the Levites, had been conspicuously meritorious, and on such historical events as appeared to teach the power and inviolability of the sanctuary at Jerusalem. Wherever anything of this kind enters into the narrative, the historian's heart expands with joy, and he retains unabridged

<sup>1</sup> To adduce only a few passages: 1 Chr. vi. 16-33 [31-48], xv. 16-24, 28, xvi. 4-42, xxiii. 5 (where the narrative is interrupted by a fragmentary quotation from an ancient poet, who, speaking in the name of Jahveh, characterises the musicians as 'those whom I have formed to sing my praise,' the LXX. however alter this unusual collocation of words); xxv.; 2 Chr. v. 12, 13, vii. 6, viii. 14, xx. 19-21, xxiii. 13, xxix. 25-30, xxxi. 2, xxxiv. 12, xxxv. 15; Ezra iii. 10, 11; Neh. xii. 8, 24, 45, 47. A description of a son of Asaph in Neh. xi. 17 is here also to the point.

ראש הַתְּהִלָּה  
הַיְּהוּדָה לְתִפְלָה

'leader of song, weaver of glowing prayer.' The rhyme must here not be passed over unnoticed, as at this late age it may not be entirely due to chance. We have changed תְּהִלָּה (here quite inappropriate) into תְּהִלָּה. The words יְהוּדָה לְתִפְלָה must signify 'the singer of praises at the prayer,' i.e. while the whole congregation prays. For the construction of the sentence see my *Lehrbuch*, § 351, b, p. 839.

<sup>2</sup> Besides the numerous passages in Chronicles, compare Ezra iii. 1-7, vi. 19-22; Neh. vii. 73 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> Compare 1 Chr. xxiii. 5 with 4, and xxv. with xxvi. 29-32.

the fullest details given by his authorities; and where even these appear to him not to do justice to the subject, he has no scruple in introducing a more vivid colouring to testify to his warmer sympathy with the narrative, in variously expanding the descriptions, and interpolating songs, speeches, and similar additions. Especially the times of David, Asa, and Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah and Josiah, and finally Ezra and Nehemiah, are thus made luminous spots in the history of Jerusalem, and there, under the cover of narrative, he permits his own sentiments to emerge most distinctly. But then, as one portion of the history cannot readily receive such marked prominence and distinction without a corresponding depression in another, we see that the author in his account entirely passed over much that he found in his authorities, which was unconnected with his special subject, and could present little comfort and encouragement to his contemporaries, or at all events obtain little sympathy from them, or which seemed actually to contradict that image of the heroes of antiquity which was endeared to the popular mind of the age. Thus when the author passes over the entire history of David's youth, and the building of Solomon's palaces, 1 Kings vii. 1-12—facts described in the authorities which we know to have lain before him—and repeats only the account of the building of Solomon's Temple, he omits only what seemed to him of little importance; whereas Solomon's idolatry and other national calamities recorded in 1 Kings xi, and the incidents reported in 2 Sam. xi-xx, of Bathsheba and of David's children, are evidently omitted for another reason—because David and Solomon were in his day so generally regarded as ideal heroes of antiquity, that stories of the dark side of their lives could not meet with much acceptance.

Bringing together then these three special objects which the author undoubtedly had in view, we have every reason to believe that in his day there existed no work upon history in general prepared in accordance with them, and that this book was compiled to meet an actual exigency of the time. As we have already pointed out, the earlier histories preserved in the Old Testament were written with widely different aims, and it is at all events very unlikely that during the interval which separates this book from the Book of Kings any work appeared having a similar design and extent. But to understand fully the ground occupied by this work, we must take a further step in advance. It is everywhere most conspicuous that the author regarded the Pentateuch with the Book of Joshua as a sacred book, i.e. as one universally recognised as a Book of Religion. The titles

by which he frequently quotes it (see p. 131), the account of Ezra reading 'the Book of the Law of God' at the festival to the assembled people, Neh. viii. 1-8, 18, and other similar grounds, fully demonstrate this; and the fact that the author took nothing from it beyond the most indispensable genealogies shows with equal certainty that from its sacred character he could assume a knowledge of it to be possessed by his readers.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, all the indications we possess contradict the notion that the Books of Judges and of Kings, described p. 159, were by the author or his contemporaries already looked upon as equally sacred. He does indeed use these books (as will be further explained afterwards), but treats them quite as an ordinary authority; and the great variations from them which he introduces into his work seem rather to show that he desired to present the history in many respects quite differently from the picture there given. This Book of Chronicles, then, was intended to be a universal history, which, acknowledging the sacred character of the Book of the Law, adopted its historical data without question, and could omit the full exposition of whatever was already adequately told there.

2. Accordingly this work fell naturally into three parts of unequal extent:

1) *The Primeval History as far as David the founder of the power of Jerusalem*, 1 Chron. i-x.—This part is treated most briefly, both because the narrator is hastening onward to David and his kingdom, and because he assumes his reader's acquaintance with the Pentateuch and Book of Joshua; so that his own additions appear chiefly in the light of a supplement to that history. Since however the work from its universal character ought to embrace the entire sphere of history, he here (1) places together in ch. i. the generations from Adam down to the twelve tribes of Jacob, as found in Genesis; and (2) then gives a careful survey of the genealogy of the twelve tribes, interspersed with brief remarks respecting some of them, ii-vii; and then (3) immediately retreats from this great circle of all the tribes to the two (namely Benjamin and Judah), who were united into

<sup>1</sup> Whether exactly our present Pentateuch is here meant might seem doubtful from the passage Neh. viii. 14, 15, as the words there quoted do not agree exactly with Lev. xxiii. 40-43. But the ancients seldom quote prose passages with verbal accuracy, and the essential meaning of the two passages is the same. This suffices to remove the doubt. It is also obvious from the free introduction of Jerusalem in

verse 15, that the quotation does not profess to be verbally exact, but takes its colouring from the Chronicles; moreover, it is differently read by the LXX. Ezra ix. 11, 12, and Neh. i. 8, 9, present similar cases: here, among other changes of minor importance, we find the Prophets generally named instead of Moses—a very remarkable circumstance; see p. 130.

one kingdom through their metropolis Jerusalem; and these he describes reversely, according to their cities (the genealogy passing into topography), although these descriptions are far from exhaustive, viii. 1-ix. 34. Finally, by attaching to this the description of a single house—that of Saul of Gibeon (or Gibeah) in Benjamin ix. 35-44,<sup>1</sup> he makes a transition to the death of Saul, and consequently to the elevation of David, who soon removed the seat of government to Jerusalem, and thus is enabled to commence the last portion at once with David's kingdom, and Jerusalem as its metropolis, chap. x. (taken from 1 Sam. xxxi.)

The two last of these three divisions contain a number of statements which although very short are of extreme value, since most of them are found nowhere else in the Old Testament; which, moreover, being derived from early authorities, often happily supplement for us traditions known from other sources. The historian, who in every case links his narrative to the events of primeval times, here descends far beyond the age of David; the genealogies according to the twelve tribes are described in ii-vii. as they existed up to the commencement of the Assyrian and the Babylonian captivity; that of David only being in iii. 10-24 (exceptionally, according to p. 171 sq.) carried down to the author's own time. But this anticipation of time was here necessary, because the narrator in the second part, when he passes to the history of Jerusalem after David, has no longer room to mention the histories of the other tribes; so that what he desired to say respecting them could only be introduced here, before he passed from the wide circle to the narrower one.<sup>2</sup> The descriptions of places, viii, ix, also carry us to the age immediately preceding the Captivity,<sup>3</sup> since, standing in contrast to the local conditions of the new Jerusalem described in the

<sup>1</sup> It is remarkable that this very passage occurs again, just before, in viii. 29-40, and with two additional verses. We might fancy (although the LXX. have the same text) that it had been foisted into one of these two passages by a later copyist. But it is indispensable, both in ch. viii., where the Benjaminites of Gibeon are in verses 28 and 29 contrasted with others, especially those of Jerusalem, and the full list of places inhabited by Benjaminites is not complete without the general summary in v. 40, and in ch. ix., where it forms the transition to the history of Saul and David. The truth then seems to be that the writer himself adopted it in the first passage from his authority, and afterwards repeated it in the second, omitting, however, the

concluding words as inappropriate there. A similar instance of repetition is found in 2 Chr. i. 14-17, ix. 25-28. It is one of the signs of the decline of literature.

<sup>2</sup> Just as in Gen. xxxvi. much is inserted concerning Edom, which, taken chronologically, ought to be reserved to a much later period.

<sup>3</sup> The particulars of this are seen with tolerable certainty by a comparison of ix. 11 with v. 40, 41 [vi. 14, 15], which makes it clear that at all events the genealogical and family notices of the southern kingdom were taken down about thirty years before its overthrow; those of the northern kingdom are carried down by the account in v. 22-26 to the Assyrian captivity.



third part, they describe the old city as it was during the government of the Davidical kings. But as they obviously could not be conveniently introduced into the continuous history of this kingdom, as given in the second part, they find their right place here, in continuation of the genealogies.

The numerous genealogical notices contained in this book are expressed very tersely, indeed with artificial brevity, by the habitual use of technical expressions and liberties of speech, by which the greatest number of names can be crowded into the narrowest space.<sup>1</sup> These abbreviations, though frequently leading to fresh mistakes and omissions, rendering the text unreliable, often putting serious difficulties in the way of understanding it rightly at the present day, and requiring a special study in order to penetrate into their meaning, must nevertheless in the writer's age have been in frequent use, and not therefore either wholly new or strange. What a wide difference we here behold between the ancient method adopted by the Book of Origins, the fulness and clearness of which brings a certain charm even into such parts of the history as of themselves might seem empty and tedious, and the many technical abbreviations of this work! and how certainly may we infer from this very difference that the interval between that early and this late book was filled by the development of a rich and varied genealogical literature!<sup>2</sup> But it has so happened that we now possess in the Old Testament scarcely any other genealogies but those of these two books. Further, it is unmistakable that the author passes somewhat hastily over the genealogical series of the earlier period, and that his authorities here afforded him far richer materials than he found good to employ; this appears even in his arrangement and mode of describing the generations according to the twelve tribes. He gives in considerable detail the genealogies of those three tribes only which the general plan of his work proves to have been the nearest to him: first, *Judah* (ii-iv. 23), where he particularly distinguishes the posterity of David (iii.); to *Judah* the mention of Simeon is naturally

<sup>1</sup> Omitting the words *father* and *son*, or in less familiar instances very briefly designating the family relations, &c.

<sup>2</sup> The Arabs, as already stated, p. 23, also possess a similar literature. The zeal with which this study of genealogies, taxing-rolls, and similar documents was incessantly pursued, as well as the remarkable stages through which it passed, may be estimated by the new technical terms gradually brought into use. It is not until the Chronicles, but then constantly,

that we find התקח used in the sense of *enrolling oneself according to house, lineage, &c.*, and קָהַל as a βιβλίον συνόδας, as the LXX. have it, i.e. book of genealogies, Neh. vii. 5. The original meaning of this word is obscure (see my *Antiquities*, p. 274). The earlier name for the latter is תולדות ס' (see page 80), and for the former its derivative התקל (Numb. i. 18). See p. 185.

attached (iv. 24–43), and then follow (not to drop entirely the old arrangement according to primogeniture) Reuben and the other tribes beyond the Jordan (v. 1–26; secondly, *Levi* (v. 27–vi. 66), to which are then attached much shorter notices of all the remaining tribes (vii.); except that, thirdly, according to page 179, special prominence is given to *Benjamin* (viii. sq.) But, evident as it is that much is here compressed into a narrower space than it occupied in the authorities consulted by our author, it is very strange to find that the tribes of Zebulon and Dan are wholly passed over, and that of Naphtali (vii. 13) disproportionately little is said: and since no kind of reason can be found for this omission, we must consider it a mutilation of the work by a later copyist (although the ancient translations agree with the Massoretic text), unless we are inclined either to accuse the author himself of this obvious departure from his own plan, or else to conjecture that he left his work incomplete.<sup>1</sup>

2) *The continuous History of Jerusalem under David and his successors until the Babylonian Captivity*, 1 Chron. xi.–2 Chron. xxxvi.—Here the three last Books of Kings run parallel with this work, but if it is occasionally shorter than these, it has on the other hand a considerable number of additions of greater or less extent. The author's arrangement of the events of David's life (1 Chron. xi–xxix.) is plain, from pp. 164, 165; in the life of Solomon his plan inclines to yet greater brevity.

3) *The History of the New Jerusalem in the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah*.—This third part joins on closely to the second, as far as the story is concerned; but like the first part contains a great many genealogical tables, and lists of the inhabitants of the new Jerusalem, serving as a supplement to the first. The somewhat singular mode of composition and arrangement adopted in this last part can however be understood only from a correct knowledge of the authorities used in it.

3. Now the question of the authorities used by this author throughout his work, and the manner in which he employed them, is indeed thorny and difficult, like all such enquiries into authorities, and is still further perplexed by the author following the custom of many late writers in reviving the literary use of ancient words, as for instance some from the Book of

<sup>1</sup> As Dan would unquestionably be placed next to Naphtali, and at the end of verse 13 of ch. vii. the words כְּנִי בְלָקָה which are now meaningless, must refer to Dan, as in Gen. xlv. 24, 25. This is too palpably a thoughtless omission to be lightly put to the account of the writer

himself. Dan is indeed carelessly passed over also in vi. 46, 54 [61, 69] compared with Josh. xxi. 5, 23, 24, but that his name was not designedly avoided here is shown by ii. 1, 2. See, on this and other points relating to Chronicles, the *Jahrb. der Bibl. Wiss.*, vi. pp. 99, 100.

Origins.<sup>1</sup> But partly in the author's express citations and references, partly in the above-described method of the work, and in other indications, we find various means of proof through which we are not left quite in the dark.

1) In considering the authorities named or at all events indicated by the author, we have to discriminate two distinct kinds. We may in the first place justly assume, that the authorities for the numerous genealogical and topographical notices—a prominent and valuable feature of the work—form a distinct class; indeed this is made evident from the mode in which they are mentioned. For besides that it is probable in itself that these accurate accounts were derived from taxing-rolls, the idea is supported by the not unfrequent notices of the time and method in which actual taxations occurred;<sup>2</sup> and we thus become certain that at all events after the establishment of the monarchy such taxations frequently took place, and muster-rolls relating to them were preserved. The actual documents, indeed, can hardly have been in the possession of our author; and we find clear indications,<sup>3</sup> and even express testimony,<sup>4</sup> to the effect that the accounts received by him had already passed into various historical works and were only taken by him from these. But their ultimate source cannot be doubtful; we have every reason to ascribe them in their earliest form to public records, the most reliable source possible.<sup>5</sup>

The author may, however, very possibly, except in the passage Neh. xii. 23, have found the more important references to these authorities in the older books from which he makes his extracts. The case is quite different with the second class of authorities, which consists of books referred to at the close of the biography of each king of Jerusalem from the time of David, in which more could be found respecting him. Here therefore he refers to documents which, as we must conclude from the simple meaning

<sup>1</sup> As נָשִׂיא, עֲבֹדָה, מַחְזָק, 1 Chr. v. 6, vii. 40; see p. 93, note.

<sup>2</sup> The exactest report is that in 1 Chr. xxiv. 6, where the officers appointed to conduct the census and taxation are mentioned by name. These taxations are accurately dated by the reigns of the various kings, 1 Chr. v. 17, vii. 2, xxiii. 3, 27, xxvi. 31, xxvii. 23, 24; Neh. xii. 23; see also 2 Sam. xxiv.; Ezra ii. 62; Neh. vii. 5, 64; in accordance with which such slight notices as 1 Chr. ix. 1 are to be interpreted. See above p. 137; and my *Antiquities*, p. 303 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> According to Neh. vii. 5, and Ezra ii., the writer found the list which is here

given twice, already inserted in each of the two earlier works which he here employs and often quotes verbally.

<sup>4</sup> 1 Chr. xxiii. 27; see xxvi. 31, xxvii. 24, and Neh. xii. 23, according to which these taxing-rolls were inserted in the 'Events of the time,' i.e. the Chronicles, or State-annals. In the last-named passage it is impossible to suppose our present Books of Chronicles, so called, to be referred to, because the author could not speak in this way of his own work.

<sup>5</sup> For instance, the phraseology of 1 Chr. iv. 38, v. 18, vii. 11 (see above, pp. 81, 137 sq.) leads us back to the Book of Origins.

of his words, were actually before him, but which he did not wish to repeat with the same fulness. Now the external differences in the mode of citation of these books prove them to consist of two widely divergent kinds:

On the one hand the author quotes certain titles of historical works, viz. (to present in the first instance all these forms of name) most frequently the 'Book of the Kings of Judah and Israel,' 2 Chr. xvi. 11, xxv. 26, xxviii. 26; compare xxxii. 32, or else in the reverse order, 'of Israel and Judah,' 2 Chr. xxvii. 7, xxxv. 27, xxxviii. 6; less frequently the 'Acts of the Kings of Israel,' 2 Chr. xxxiii. 18, or what is obviously the same, the 'Book of the Kings of Israel,' xx. 34 (*Israel* being used in the larger sense, including Judah; since Manasseh is the King for whom this book is quoted in the former passage); and once with the title shortened at the close, but at the beginning expressed with greater fulness and distinctness, the 'Story of the Book of the Kings,' 2 Chr. xxiv. 27.<sup>1</sup> The probability is, however, that the same work is meant throughout, especially as the second and third names may be mere varieties of the first formed by abbreviation at the end. For in no instance are two such names quoted together as those of different works; and since at the close of the history of each king, the author only names one such work as his authority, no reason appears why in one case it should be one work, and in another a different one: the work quoted being always a 'Book of Kings' which might contain the lives of all the kings. And when we ask what was this 'Book of the Kings of Israel and Judah,' it is in the first place certain, that we must grant the author's acquaintance with the canonical Books of Kings in their present form as described on pp. 159 sqq., because many traces of the peculiar style of the latest author of that book in narrative and description recur here, as may easily be seen by a comparison of the two works from 1 Kings iii. and 2 Chr. i.;<sup>2</sup> indeed the author obviously

<sup>1</sup> The compound term מְדָרֶשׁ סֵפֶר in this passage might be supposed to be not very different in meaning from the simple סֵפֶר, somewhat in the same way as about this period we find מְדָרֶשׁ in the titles to some of the Psalms (see my *Psalms*, I. p. 39 sq.); the later name מְדָרֶשׁ signifying 'Study, i.e. learned work, treatise, commentary,' being merely added on to the other to render its meaning more definite. In 2 Chr. xiii. 22 (compare xxvi. 22), the only other passage where the word is found before the Rabbinical age, it clearly means only a treatise,

writing, and is in fact a new word for סֵפֶר; and the LXX. have here only *βιβλίον*, and even for the compound term in xxiv. 27 only *γραφή*. But it seems a more probable conjecture that the Chronicler has here given in full the earlier part at least of the title of the book. We shall find that this agrees with its nature and contents, so far as we are acquainted with them; for it must have been a late and very comprehensive work.

<sup>2</sup> Compare especially the close of 2 Chr. xxxvi. with the corresponding passages in the Second Book of Kings.

used that work as the foundation of his history of the monarchy, enlarging or altering it only where it seemed to him best so to do. But to conclude from this that the author in those references had only the canonical Books of Kings before him, would be a great error, because it would clearly be absurd to refer to a book which often contains less information upon the kings of Jerusalem, and from the days of Solomon seldom gives any accounts which are not recorded in the new book also—as if it were a fuller record. Equally erroneous would be the idea that the State-annals which formed the basis of the canonical Book of Kings were the book referred to. These constantly bear another name, both in the Book of Kings<sup>1</sup> and elsewhere;<sup>2</sup> and the evident discrimination of title forces us to conclude that the object of the author's reference was not the State-annals, but some other work.

On the other hand the author refers also to the words and writings of individual prophets, relating to the life of some one king. These, from their narrow range, and also apparently from their prophetic character, may be regarded as forming a contrast to the former kind of authorities. These references are as follows: in David's life, to the 'Words of Samuel the Seer, of Nathan the Prophet, and of Gad the Seer' (1 Chr. xxix. 29, 30); in Solomon's life, to the 'Words of Nathan the Prophet, and the Prophecy of Ahijah the Shilonite, and the Vision of Iddo the Seer concerning Jeroboam the son of Nebat' (2 Chr. ix. 29); and in Rehoboam's life, to the 'Words of Shemaiah the Prophet and Iddo the Seer' (xii. 15); in Abijah's life, to the 'Writing of the Prophet Iddo' (xiii. 22); in Jehoshaphat's life, to the 'Discourses of Jehu son of Hanani' (xx. 34); in the lives of Uzziah and Hezekiah, to the 'Prophecy of Isaiah' (xxvi. 22, xxxii. 32); and finally in Manasseh's life to the 'Words of Hozai' (xxxiii. 19).<sup>3</sup> But it strikes us at once as curious that, according to 2 Chr. xx. 34, the words of Jehu the son of Hanani just mentioned had been transferred to the 'Book of the Kings of Israel and Judah,'<sup>4</sup> and that similarly, according to xxxii. 32, Isaiah's prophecy was to be found in the 'Book of the Kings of Israel and Judah.'<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Namely דְּבָרֵי הַיָּמִים לְמֶלֶךְ in every passage without exception; דְּבָרֵי מֶלֶךְ in 2 Chr. xxxiii. 18 can scarcely be regarded as an abbreviation of it.

<sup>2</sup> The other passages (1 Chr. xxvii. 24; Neh. xii. 23; Esth. ii. 23, vi. 1, x. 2), in which the title הַיָּמִים דְּבָרֵי occurs, may be considered also to refer to the State-annals. The application of this name by later writers to the Books of Chronicles,

though not incorrect, was perfectly arbitrary, as the different name *Παραλειπόμενα* chosen for them by the LXX. proves.

<sup>3</sup> Exceptionally, he is not designated a prophet; the LXX. understand it *οἱ ὁρῶντες*, but that would be כְּהֹנִיִּם, v. 18.

<sup>4</sup> The LXX. read these words quite differently, *ὅς κατέγραψε βιβλίον βασιλέων*; but their error is obvious.

<sup>5</sup> Here also the LXX. misunderstand

These two, then, of the prophetical passages named were not separate books which the author had lighted upon, but parts of the same work, which he elsewhere cites by its general name. But if this is true of these two cases, the doubt naturally arises whether the other prophetical passages were not also taken from the same work. And many indications seem to favour this idea. For the passages in question are, in every instance but one, found at the end of the life of each king, the more comprehensive work on the kings being never named at the same time; whereas if they were completely separate (as for instance the Book of Jeremiah), they would certainly have only served to supplement the narrative of the principal history. Either the general title of the large work, or these special titles, are given at the close of each king's life; which looks as if these latter were intended to take the place of the more comprehensive and therefore less definite title. Moreover we are equally perplexed by the indications of the contents of these apparently separate works, if we suppose them to be prophetical books, such as those of Jeremiah, Ezekiel, or even Isaiah; for they even contained pure genealogies,<sup>1</sup> which seem very foreign to the character of such works. The conclusion, however, which we have drawn from the position of these prophetical references is by no means everywhere certain; for on one occasion (2 Chr. xxxiii. 19) the author refers to a prophetic passage as well as to the large work; and it cannot be denied that on some of the kings it might seem sufficient to quote the special work only, without mentioning the larger one: moreover Isaiah's work mentioned in xxvi. 32, on the earlier and later events of Uzziah's reign, can hardly be understood of a merely prophetical portion of the large work, as Isaiah did not appear as a prophet until the last year of that king's reign. It must therefore be admitted that besides the large history the author seems to have had smaller prophetical books before him; but these cannot have been such as our canonical Books of Jeremiah, Isaiah, &c., because from Samuel and other such very ancient prophets large works of the kind are hardly to be expected. They may have been in part prophetical records, some of early date, and of the kind described pp. 138–151; and in part perhaps recent works composed in the manner of the old prophets: a free kind of literature which had then been long in vogue; see pp. 152 sqq. To this last division perhaps belonged the words of Hozai in

the words, inserting a *and* before עַל כָּתוּב; by the general manner of the book.

which is refuted not only by the change of the prepositions וְ and עַל, but still more

<sup>1</sup> The word לְהַתִּיחֵשׁ in 2 Chron. xii. 15, which however the LXX. misunderstood.

2 Chr. xxxiii. 19, of which the Prayer of Manasseh in our Greek Apocrypha may probably be considered an extant fragment. In this case the book must have had a great resemblance to the Book of Daniel. The character of these special prophetic passages must then be determined by special investigation of the case of each king upon whom they are cited as authorities.

The next weighty question is, what was the form of that large comprehensive work to which some at least of these references point? And here, as already shown, it would be a very great error to imagine that the writer meant those State-annals which were epitomised in the canonical Books of Kings, and that he, having read them again in the original form, now used them in his peculiar way. Many of the detailed narratives given in those State-annals may have passed immediately into the large work which our author used—indeed there are many reasons<sup>1</sup> for regarding this as almost certain; but the old State-annals themselves cannot, for the reasons already given, have been used by our author. But we must suppose the work to have been a very detailed and comprehensive one. On the one hand it contained the fullest accounts of the words and deeds of the great Prophets, so that its principal divisions could be even directly named from them, and separated as special works: indeed we may unhesitatingly assume that it was published in many volumes, and that, as in the case of other lengthy works of the ancients, its sections were gradually more and more separated and regarded as distinct works. On the other hand it did not refuse admission even to a multitude of genealogical and topographical notices.<sup>2</sup> Even the peculiar phrase repeated in all the references, that ‘the other deeds, both earlier and later, of this king,’ may be found in this book, sufficiently shows with what fulness and accurate attention to dates the life of each king was treated there. In the life of David, which the author treats most in detail, he several times refers to subdivisions of the biography which he had used as his authority.<sup>3</sup> Where, on the other hand, that authority may have yielded little more than he himself gave, as in the case of the two years’ reign of Amon (2 Chr. xxxiii. 21–25), he does not refer to it at all.<sup>4</sup> When we reflect, finally, that the

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 136 sq., 182 sq.

<sup>2</sup> As we must conclude partly from the express reference in 2 Chr. xxiv. 27, partly from the many genealogical notices derived even from the houses of individual kings, unknown to the canonical Book of Kings, as 2 Chr. xi. 18–23.

<sup>3</sup> The words ‘in the later events of David’s reign’ (1 Chr. xxiii. 27), or, as if in explanation of this, ‘in the 40th year of David’s reign’ (xxvi. 31), only contain a reference to the latter portion of the authority used for the history of David.

<sup>4</sup> References are also wanting in the

real full name, 'Book of the Kings of Israel and Judah,' indicates a blending of the history of the two kingdoms, which was probably first completely carried through by the last compiler but one of the canonical Book of Kings, and further that stories of the prophets clearly occupied the chief place in the work, more especially in the age of the earlier kings (and our author refers far oftener in the case of the earlier than in that of the later kings to those seemingly separate prophetic works), we might fancy that it was the very work from which, according to pp. 164 sqq., the canonical Book of Kings was extracted. But, although the author undoubtedly made use of that work, as follows from pp. 164 sq., and although the supposition that he used it only indirectly, as quoted in a later large work, is refuted by the discovery that (according to p. 184) he sometimes quotes it by its proper title as his direct authority, the life of David shows that besides this he must also have used a far more extensive work. We must therefore conclude that the largest book which he had was a work in which, on the plan of the canonical Book of Kings (pp. 146 sqq.), the history of both kingdoms was treated from the prophetic point of view, and in which liberties were taken in reviving the prophetic traditions, similar to those commenced in the canonical Book of Kings, the origin of which we have already traced (p. 167); a work, however, differing in design from the latter in that it presented not an epitome of the history of the monarchy, but the history itself in its fullest extent, taking in all the ancient records.

Thus the author must have used three works: the canonical Book of Kings, an earlier compilation from the State-annals and other sources, and a larger but later work; borrowing from them only the history of the kings of Judah, and reproducing it in his own way, and referring for other matters which he did not care to give, not to the canonical book (which so far as the kings of Judah were concerned he had almost bodily inserted), but to the later work which was not admitted into the canon. But then we can hardly stop short of the conjecture that (according to p. 183) we possess the exact name of this great work, *Midrash sepher hamm'lachim*. The extensive genealogical notices must have been drawn chiefly from the work which he once<sup>1</sup> calls *Sefer dibre hajjamim*, i.e. Book of Daily Events, or Chronicle; a name which (according to p. 182, note 4) originally designated the official calendar, but which an author

three successive short reigns of Jehoram, Jehoiachin, and Zedekiah, for the reasons Abaziah, and Athaliah, 2 Chr. xxi-xxiii.: already given p. 166.  
elsewhere only in the reigns of Jehoahaz, <sup>1</sup> Neh. xii. 23.



might easily appropriate to his own or any other work founded upon it.

The writing of Elijah the Prophet, mentioned 2 Chr. xxi. 12, cannot belong here, being only mentioned in narrative, and evidently quoted from the authorities already described. The 'Book of Lamentations,' mentioned 2 Chr. xxxv. 25, though now lost, may be confidently affirmed not to have been a history.<sup>1</sup>

2) Thus much may be said of the authorities directly or indirectly named by the author. But the author may very possibly have also used other authorities without such reference, the employment of which may be distinctly traced by certain indications. The authorities expressly named by him were too voluminous to be taken at all completely into his work; and it may be on this account that he refers to them. But other records may have been bodily incorporated, or so completely worked into the substance of his new work as not to require any reference. And this is distinctly the case especially with some valuable authorities used in the last part of the work now known under the name of the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah.

For it cannot escape the notice of any tolerably attentive reader, that this part of the work, separated though it has been for thousands of years from the remainder, really belongs to it, and received its present form from the same author. Some grounds for this conclusion have been already given above; but the very complexion of the language affords sufficient proof of it. Although, from the author's practice of literal citation from his authorities, the language of the book is in general rather mixed and varied than uniform and sustained, and often, especially in the first and third parts, and in the life of David (for the remainder of the second part is written more uniformly, like a short abstract), contains isolated anomalous expressions which can only have been retained from the older books; yet no sooner do we fully apprehend the real nature of the work than we discover passages the substance and style of which both prove them to be distinctively the author's own; and in these a peculiar phraseology is observed, found nowhere but in this work, though pervading the last, and indeed every part of it.<sup>2</sup>

But certain as it is from all these indications that this last

<sup>1</sup> See more on this point in the new edition of my *Dichter des Alten Bundes*, vol. i.

<sup>2</sup> To present here a few examples: peculiar to this writer is the use of *התנחב* in the sense of *voluntary offerings to the temple* (1 Chr. xxix. 6 sqq.; 2 Chr. xvii.

16; Ezra i. 6, ii. 68, iii. 5, vii. 13, 15, 16 (twice); Neh. xi. 2), a word found nowhere else except twice in Judg. v. and there in a different sense; further *קישור* *singer*, and many other words connected with his profession and cherished opinions; *קבל* *to receive* (1 Chr. xii. 18, xxi. 11;

part was written by the hand of the same author, yet it also exhibits conspicuous fragments of earlier works, which he must have employed without making any express reference to them. The difficult task of correctly picking out these fragments is aggravated by the fact that the author does not use them like official documents, and cite them entire and apart, but—sometimes even after he has begun to quote them literally—intermixes words or thoughts of his own, and passages of other writers, and thus presents a nearly insoluble medley. We can, however, clearly recognise the three following different kinds of authorities:

a.) Concerning the first years of the New Jerusalem up to the completion of the Temple, the author found two written documents:—first, the full and accurate catalogue in Ezra ii. of those who returned from the Captivity (this, however, for various reasons,<sup>1</sup> must have been inserted into an earlier history, from which it is here repeated); and secondly, the official documents

2 Chr. xxix. 16, 22; Ezra viii. 30), found prior to this only in a few poetical passages, and later in Esther; the phrase יום ביום, supported by the authority of such earlier passages as Lev. xxiii. 37. יום is nowhere else so frequent as here (1 Chr. xii. 22; 2 Chr. viii. 13, xxiv. 11, xxx. 21; Ezra iii. 4, vi. 9; Neh. viii. 18, xi. 23; compare earlier 1 Kings x. 25, repeated 2 Chr. ix. 24); there are other favourite expressions, such as the verb הָכִין the phrase יָהוָה עִמָּנוּ and the plural מַלְאָכָיו (not in general use till after Ezekiel), employed in every possible connection, as in the phrase מַלְאָכָיו הָאֵלֹהִים (compare 1 Chr. xiii. 2, xiv. 17, xxii. 5, xxix. 30; Ezra iii. 3, ix. 1, 2, 7, 11; Neh. ix. 30, x. 29 [28] with Ezra x. 11; Neh. x. 31, 32 [30, 31], where the singular interchanges with it. The construction exhibits, on the one hand, a laboured condensation never before used in prose, e.g. in the use of the infinitive with ל (as 1 Chr. xv. 2 and elsewhere), and especially in the relative clause (as 1 Chr. xv. 12, compare v. 3); and, on the other, great laxity, as in the very loose employment of the article before the *status constructus*. The writer also affects a certain elegance of speech and fastidious choice of words, which leads him, for instance, to avoid the repetition of the same epithet by saying 'Samuel the seer, Nathan the prophet, and Gad the viewer;' for these words are not intended to convey different ideas, as is clear from

2 Chr. xii. 15, xiii. 22. He also affects an antique style by the use of obsolete expressions, as, for instance, in sedulously avoiding (with very few exceptions, as 1 Ch. v. 20, xxvii. 27, Ezra viii. 20) אָשׁ the abbreviated form of אֶשֶׁר, though undoubtedly the prevalent form in his age. In other points, however, as for instance the continual use of אֱלֹהִים for יְהוָה, he cannot disown the character of his age. Occasionally he manifestly imitates Ezra's style.

<sup>1</sup> In Ezra ii. 63–iii. 1 and Neh. vii. 65–73 an historical narrative was appended to this list before it was used by Nehemiah and our author. Both of these found the same narrative so appended; but our author abridged it more, and put in more of his own (הַתִּנְכָּד Ezra ii. 68): a striking example of the way in which such documents were treated in that age. The LXX. present the same variations as the Massoretic text. The original independence of this document is moreover proved by the word מְרִינָה Ezra ii. 1; Neh. vii. 6, which is as foreign to our author as it is current with other later writers, since in Neh. i. 3, xi. 3, it belongs to Nehemiah's own work; and by the word דְּרָבְמוֹן (only found here), which in this fuller form corresponds exactly with δρεαχμ, and for which

1 Chr. xxix. 7, and Ezra viii. 27, have the shorter form אֲדָרְכוֹן. (See *Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1856, p. 1392, sqq., 1856, p. 798.)

on the interruption and resumption of the building of the Temple, in Ezra iv. 8–vi. That these, together with the royal decrees here given, had come down to the author, admits of no doubt;<sup>1</sup> but it is equally evident that he found them in an earlier historical work;<sup>2</sup> which consequently may be regarded as the ultimate foundation of the remaining accounts of that period, and may have been the same in which the catalogue in Ezra ii. was preserved from destruction. It is very difficult<sup>3</sup> to identify this earlier work in detail, partly from the freedom with which the author adds from his own stores,<sup>4</sup> and partly from the great curtailments to which the histories have here evidently been subjected.<sup>5</sup> That it was written in Aramaic from the first, may be inferred from the way in which that language is introduced by the latest author in Ezra iv. 8. It is indeed true that the latest author wrote as easily, nay more so, in Aramaic than in the ancient Hebrew, which was then dying out; for even after the decrees of the Persian kings and the representations made to them are ended, he continues to use this language in mere narrative, Ezra vi. 13, and reverts to Hebrew in Ezra vi. 20, only when compelled to it by the consideration that the work had been commenced in Hebrew; and we discover moreover here and there in this Aramaic passage unmistakable traces of his peculiar thoughts and expressions.<sup>6</sup> But the way in which the Aramaic enters at first in Ezra iv. 8 proves

<sup>1</sup> The exactness of the names given by the last compiler in Ezra iv. 7 shows that the document used by him must have told everything more fully and thoroughly than we are now able to do even conjecturally by the help of the detached notices which he has left us.

<sup>2</sup> One proof of this is found in the fact that the Aramaic letter which the last compiler announces in Ezra iv. 7 does not immediately follow in verse 8, but not till עביריך in ver. 11, and the intermediate verses must have formed an introduction to the letter in the history from which he quotes, ver. 8 being only a title to the following (perhaps written with larger or different characters in the original), and the narrative commencing with ver. 9. The want of any clear transition between ver. 7 and ver. 8 proves this; and there is a similar case in v. 6, 7; see also vii. 12. Moreover our author himself never prefixes any such titles.

<sup>3</sup> In Ezra v. 4 the writer uses *we* as if he had witnessed it all. The use of the first person plural in Neh. x. 1, 31–40 [ix. 38, x. 30–39] does not disprove this; for that passage also is based upon a contemporary document which the last com-

piler quotes with greater freedom only towards the close. Not only in the Latin Chronicles of the middle ages, but also in the Oriental histories, a similar *we* or *I* is found retained very curiously from the book quoted; see Land on the Syrian Chronicle of John of Ephesus, p. 38. We must not here appeal to the *we* in 2 Macc. i. 20, 3 Macc. v. 43. The reading אֶתְּנָהּ, however, cannot originally have stood in this connection, but must have been transposed here from vv. 9, 10; and we must with the LXX. read אֶתְּנָהּ in its place. (See *Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1851, p. 874, 875.)

<sup>4</sup> Observe התנבך, Ezra ii. 68 (which reappears in his Aramaic, Ezra vii. 13, 15, 16), the יום ביום in Aramaic vi. 6; the entire description of the sacrificial offerings, vi. 9, 17, 18, which in any passage of this whole history would direct us to this author; again מלך פרס, iv. 7, 24, as compared with verses 8, 11.

<sup>5</sup> E.g. the extreme brevity of Ezra iv. 6 and 7.

<sup>6</sup> See the last note but one.

for certain that it was the language of his authority, and not merely introduced by the last author in the description of these transactions with the Persian court and accompanying events.<sup>1</sup>

b.) From Ezra vii. the narrative, passing over a considerable space of time, probably from a deficiency of materials, reaches Ezra's exertions for the New Jerusalem, relating his journey from Persia to the Holy City, ch. vii, and from ch. ix. what he there accomplished. But here it strikes one as very strange that the account of his activity in Jerusalem apparently closed with ch. x. (the end of the present Book of Ezra), where we are far from anticipating any such termination; since after the preparations described x. 16 sqq. our curiosity is roused to know how Ezra will end the war against mixed marriages, in which he had only just begun to attain any success, but is doomed to disappointment. Yet in fact the thread of this narrative runs on at Neh. viii-x., and finds a natural end there. We must therefore suppose that the long passage treating of Nehemiah (Neh. i-vii.), which will soon be shown to be derived from a memoir of Nehemiah's on his own life, was inserted here by the latest author.<sup>2</sup> And it is not difficult to discover the reason of this insertion. For since the narrative of the termination of Ezra's undertaking could not fail to mention Nehemiah's co-operation (Neh. viii. 9, x. 2 [1]), the latest author might deem it suitable to give a preliminary view from another source, of Nehemiah's journey to Jerusalem and mode of action there.

Now let us bring together again the disunited passages, Ezra vii-x. and Neh. viii-x., and examine into their origin. The most characteristic thoughts and expressions of the latest author are here crowded together as if he spoke entirely from himself. Even the decree of the Persian king addressed to Ezra (Ezra vii. 12-26), in the Aramaic dialect, exhibits occasional points of phraseology so perfectly characteristic of the latest author<sup>3</sup> as to drive us to the assumption that it was he who put it into its present form, with a license of historical description not exceeding that which the Arabian historians often employ.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Because the last compiler does not, as Ezra vii. 12, commence using the Aramaic with the document quoted.

<sup>2</sup> It might be fancied that the author of the apocryphal Third Book of Ezra, who at ix. 37 skips at once from Ezra x. 44 to Neh. vii. 73, had before him a book without this interpolation; but in that case he must have passed at once to Neh. viii. 1, and not to Neh. vii. 73, a verse quite unsuitable to the context.

<sup>3</sup> Not to mention again הַתְּנִיחַ, v. 13, 15, 16, note the perfect similarity between

the description of the temple-offerings in verse 17, and other descriptions of them given by our author himself; and that in verse 24 the office-bearers of the temple are divided into classes which no one but our author consistently distinguishes thus.

<sup>4</sup> This will be allowed by every one acquainted with the Arabic historians; even in works professing to give true history any commands which it is known from other sources that a prince must have issued, are often dressed up by the writer in the form of a regular edict.

On closer examination, however, we discover grounds for assuming the employment of a memoir written by Ezra himself on his acts. For Ezra, throughout the passage Ezra viii. 27–ix, is mentioned in the first person, and the use of the first person plural in Neh. x. is connected with this phenomenon. Now we have every reason to see in this the trace of an actual memoir of Ezra's on his own life. For boldness like that of the Book of Daniel, which allows any ancient hero to enter speaking of himself in the first person, is foreign to a work like this of purely historical purpose, and is in fact found nowhere else in it—not even where there was a strong temptation to it, as in the case of David; but rather, as the numerous passages which speak of Nehemiah in the first person are undoubtedly drawn from his memoir, so by parity of reasoning these passages must be derived from a similar memoir of Ezra's. Moreover, the passages Ezra vii–x. and Neh. viii–x. contain such a number of minute circumstances and careful enumeration that we are here forced to assume as the foundation of the present narrative the work of a contemporary who took an active part in the establishment of the religion, from a consideration of the number of names of unknown individuals brought together here as if quoted from official documents, Ezra viii. 1–14, x. 18–44; Neh. x. Finally, variations in style are not wanting here;<sup>1</sup> and in them too we recognise traces of an original document not wholly effaced by the revision of the last author. And as Nehemiah, after the pieces to be presently exhibited, inserted in his memoir some earlier records also, so may we infer from many traces that Ezra did the same, and thus laid the foundation of chapters i–vi. of the book now called by his name.

c.) Nehemiah's memoir, being less altered by the latest author, is more readily recognisable. In style, subject-matter, and plan it is quite peculiar, a personal memoir in the true sense of the word, exhibiting with matchless truth the innermost nature of the man. The exposition of this point, however, must be reserved for the history of the time.<sup>2</sup> Here we have chiefly to

<sup>1</sup> The phrase *בְּיָמֵי הַזֶּה*, Ezra vi. 19, 20, viii. 35, x. 16 (compare iv. 1), and the employment of the article instead of *אֵלֶּם* before the verb (*Lehrbuch*, § 331, b, p. 802), Ezra viii. 25, x. 14, 17 (compared with v. 18, where *אֵלֶּם* takes its place), are nowhere else so common. The pious phrase *בְּיָד יְהוָה* used in various connections (Ezra vii. 6, 9, 28, viii. 18, 22, 31) is characteristic; it occurs again in Nehemiah ii.

8, 18, showing a coincidence between these contemporaries in the use of a phrase elsewhere uncommon.

<sup>2</sup> His peculiarities of style are therefore easily discriminated; they are also seen in the abrupt pause before a merely explanatory clause, as vi. 19, where *לְאִמֹר*, or xiii. 5, where *אֵלֶּם* before *שֶׁ* is designedly left out. The most tangible peculiarity is his use of the name Jew, as if he did not count himself one of them.

explain the manner in which the latest author used it, and must primarily notice that, as the memoir of the 'Priest' Ezra, according to extant traces, regarded exclusively the state of religion and of the Temple of Jerusalem, so that of the Layman and Governor Nehemiah, on the other hand, is chiefly occupied with the condition of the city and the social welfare of its inhabitants; though Nehemiah, following the tendency of his age, often, and with a certain partiality, does notice religious matters also. Therefore (1) he describes with pleased prolixity, Neh. i-vii. 4, how he travelled to the Holy City, restored order there, and built up her walls. (2) He very properly pauses here in order to present the statistics of the city and her territory, i.e. the list of the inhabitants—both the names of those who dwelt there on the first return from the Captivity, and their distribution under his new arrangements. This is the passage, Neh. vii. 5-69, xi. 3-xii. 26. But the latest author, while evidently taking the previous part almost without change, makes in this several important alterations, adding for instance much respecting the Priesthood in xii, especially after v. 10, and giving to the passage a new conclusion in his own manner. He had, moreover, to resume the fallen thread of the history, and of Ezra's journal on the most fitting occasion without necessarily waiting till the close of Nehemiah's memoir. Consequently, after repeating in ch. vii. 6-69 from Nehemiah the old list of the first-returned captives, which Nehemiah himself states (vii. 5) he had found, and with which he must also have appropriated the narrative in vv. 70-73 (although the list in question had already been given in Ezra ii. from the same source whence Nehemiah took it), he inserts the remainder of Ezra's history (Neh. viii-x.), to which the transition might seem prescribed by the subject itself, as the one history (xii. 73) breaks off at a *seventh* month, and the other (viii. 2) continues the narrative of the earlier events in Ezra ii. 68-iii. 1, also from the beginning of a seventh month.<sup>1</sup> (3) After this pause, Nehemiah's memoir turned to describe the dedication-festival for the new walls of Jerusalem, Neh. xii. 27-xiii. 3; and here again the latest author adds something of his own, especially towards the end of the twelfth chapter. The memoir finally closed (xiii. 4-31) with short and disconnected enumerations of other services rendered by the author to Jerusalem; leaving the impression that in the end Nehemiah did not care to describe all that remained in his memory as fully

<sup>1</sup> The reiteration in the same work arising hence really differs only in extent from that described p. 179 sq.; but undoubtedly an historian of a better age would have managed to avoid such palpable repetitions.

as he could have done. It would be impossible to characterise more accurately than in these words the nature of a personal memoir such as we suppose Nehemiah's work to be. The latest author has made no alteration either here or in the simple superscription, Neh. i. 1, which may be due to Nehemiah's own hand. Nehemiah's memoir, then, unquestionably ended here; and we have every reason to believe that the latest author also designedly chose the same point for the conclusion of his great work, inasmuch as whatever was to be said about still later times had been already mentioned on suitable occasions.

3) After this exposition of the sources of this work, we need no further proof of the richness of its stores of information both from ancient and from recent times; and we also discover that the judgments of some modern German writers respecting it are either based upon misconception, or else very unjust. Undoubtedly the writer assumes great historical licence in his endeavour to revivify many periods, especially of the history of ancient Jerusalem; yet even there he restrains himself within certain bounds. So, for instance, when he introduces songs at the time of David, he only employs the present collection of Psalms, which even then was regarded as chiefly by David. The manner in which he deals with his sources may, however, easily lead to misunderstanding; and, of course, a work so far removed from the early history, and describing it only through the medium of derived authorities, must be employed for historical purposes with very great caution. Still, by accurately observing what is the author's own in thought, word, and description, and what he must have derived at all events in its ultimate basis from his authorities, and thus distinguishing the fundamental elements of the work, we shall be enabled to use it confidently and with much advantage even for the earlier history, and glean from it many important and genuine accounts, which we should elsewhere seek in vain; indeed we may discover surprising relics of the earliest historical works, preserved in it through the medium of later books, which are here quoted literally. This has been already incidentally shown in some instances, and for the rest it will be better shown hereafter in the cases in point. We now require only a few words more on two important facts connected with the same subject.

For David's life the author made use of the present canonical Book of Kings as his chief authority, but in a form differing in many important points (as we saw on p. 187) from the present one, and possessing the advantage of greater authenticity. But along with this he also presents much other matter

—long lists of names and families, most of which I have grouped together above (p. 136 sq.), as well as long speeches and exhortations. Now whence are these additions derived? In the speeches and exhortations, indeed, a slight acquaintance with the peculiarities of the writer will allow us to see nothing more than the historical licence with which he endeavours wherever possible to reanimate David's age. But whence can those long dry lists be derived? Certainly not from the work of the prophetic historian of the Kings—the basis of the canonical Book of Kings; for that independent work, cast in a single mould, aims at a rich, flowing, and elegant manner of description, and intentionally avoids everything dry and fragmentary, such as these lists; and the two passages which are appended to the extracts taken from it, 2 Sam. xxi. 15 sqq., xxiii. 8 sqq., are certainly (for the reasons adduced on p. 148) placed there quite out of their connection, having been inserted by later hands. The assumption forced upon us by this reasoning, that such passages were derived from some other source, is also corroborated by other considerations. We read in 1 Chr. xxii. an account, wanting in 2 Sam., of no small preparations made by David for building the Temple. This narrative is the natural continuation of chap. xxi., and certainly not essentially unhistorical, so far as its ultimate basis is concerned; especially as it does not accord with the prophetic description in 2 Sam. vii.; comp. xxiv. Since, therefore, an independent work such as the prophetic History of the Kings could not have comprised these contradictions within itself, these divergent accounts must be derived from other, and in the present case even from earlier, sources. And thus we should deprive ourselves of one of the richest and oldest sources of the Davidical history, if we failed to do justice to the very remarkable remains of the State-annals fortunately preserved to us in the Book of Chronicles.

On another period, which is treated with extreme brevity in the canonical Book of Kings—that of David's successors in Judah down to Hezekiah—this work, when rightly understood and applied, not only yields very valuable supplements to the history of the monarchy, the foundation of which undoubtedly rested on the original State-annals,<sup>1</sup> but also tells us of many Prophets, of whose very names we should have otherwise been wholly ignorant.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, it is clear from p. 184 sq. that the

<sup>1</sup> E.g. such passages as 2 Chron. ii. 17. xxiii. 1, xxiv. 3 (compare ver. 27), &c.  
[18] (compare ver. 1 [2]), iv. 7–10, xi. <sup>2</sup> Observe such instances as 'the vision  
6–12, 18–23, xiii. 4–7, 19–21, xxi. 2, 3, of Iddo the seer against Jeroboam' in 2



uncanonical great work which it used as its authority contained very detailed notices of such prophets, and may consequently be supposed to have drawn its information from actual prophetic books of history (pp. 138 sq.) And thus the historian who can carefully sift the author's various accounts, and extract from them the precious grains of truth, will even here reap a harvest as the reward of his labours.

4. Of this great work, only the third part, already described p. 182, was probably at first admitted into the Canon, under the name of the Book of Ezra (subsequently also called the two Books of Ezra, or Ezra and Nehemiah); because we find this part separated off as an independent work, not only in the Massoretic text, but also in the LXX.<sup>1</sup> The history of the new Jerusalem, which would naturally appear especially important in after-times, might easily be at first admitted alone into the Canon, especially as the Books of Samuel and Kings, if already admitted, would appear sufficient for the chief part of the history of the old Jerusalem. Fortunately, however, for the fuller historical knowledge of antiquity, the two earlier divisions of the work also were subsequently received into the Canon. But apparently because the history of the new Jerusalem already existed in another canonical book, only the earlier portion of this history was copied in its original context on occasion of this admission into the Canon; and in token that the rest was to be found elsewhere, the narrative was broken off in the middle of a sentence, 2 Chr. xxxvi. 22 sq. (comp. Ezra i. 1, 2); a remarkable phenomenon, which, however, appears also in the LXX., and seems to admit of no other explanation.

#### *The Book of Esther.*

The Book of Esther, which was admitted among the canonical books of the Old Testament solely for its account of the feast of Purim, was certainly written somewhat later than the book we have just been considering. In its mode of treating an historical subject, also, it closes the cycle of old Hebrew history, and is already subject to the influence of an utterly different mode of regarding and treating history. We have indeed already seen how historical writing gradually burst its old bounds and took an artist's licence to reanimate its subject-matter by means of a new thought. But the animating thought

Chr. ix. 29, of which unfortunately only the title and not the contents are given; the prophet Iddo in xii. 15, xiii. 22; and Hanani the prophet under king Asa in xvi. 7-10.

<sup>1</sup> But perhaps not so early as the author of the Apocryphal 3 Ezra, who at ii. 1 passes at once from 2 Chr. xxxvi. 21 to the Book of Ezra.

which then converted old fading traditions into pleasing new stories, sprang at all events from the living well of the old religion, and might therefore in favourable cases conjure up figures both beautiful and truly Hebrew. But the Book of Esther shows, for the first time, that even this well is beginning to dry up and be lost to the historian. Its story, though rendered attractive through art, highly cultivated of its kind, knows nothing of high and pure truths, but allows low calculations of expediency, the force of blind faith, and the caprice of passion, to reign supreme. We fall here as if from heaven to earth; and looking among the new forms surrounding us, we seem to behold the Jews, or indeed the small men of the present day in general, acting just as they now do. Moreover, through the entire narrative the author, as if by design, avoids the name of God; either because the story was addressed to minds unwilling to be reminded of higher names and things, or rather that he himself remains to the end true to the same low view of things in which the general plan and spirit of this festal story took its rise; a model narrator, at least for uniformity and consistency. But this, perfect and attractive as it may be of its kind, and in this case actually is, must nevertheless be regarded as the true termination of the Hebrew historical literature, or perhaps in some respects even as diametrically opposed to the true Hebrew conception of history. The fact that this book, which gave the best exposition of the meaning of the Purim feast, so highly esteemed in recent times, was therefore deemed worthy of a place beside the older books of the Canon, must not blind us to its real nature and wide diversity from all other historical books of the Old Testament, nor to the fact that it was written at a time already far removed from the spirit of the old religion.

The history of the proper historical literature of the Hebrews being now concluded, this and all later books will be more suitably considered as historical authorities, when we are engaged upon the latest epoch of the nation.

*Conclusion.—Views of later times regarding Antiquity.*

Looking back now at the close over the ground traversed, we can form some idea from this one example of historical development in the nation, how great that development must have been in other directions also. We have found all the chief species of historic writing, excepting only critical investigation: the youthful making the first trial of its powers, the

mature and cultivated, and the artistic in many gradations; that of the State-annals with their lapidary style, and that which teems with graceful description; the legal, the priestly, and the popular; that which simply narrated, that which is lifted by prophetic thoughts to a poetical elevation, and that which reanimates its characters by freely putting speeches into their mouths; the almost purposeless, and that which has the most definite aims; the heavenly, and finally the utterly earthly. Historical composition attained its highest bloom under the first Kings, and retained this position for several centuries; but its beginnings go back even to the age of Moses, and comprise certain extraneous pieces which appear to be of still earlier date. It passed through vicissitudes equal to those to which Arabic historic writing down to the time of Abulmahâsin, Makrîsî and Ibn-Chaldûn was exposed, and showed itself more varied and plastic in its course, more rich and comprehensive in its acquired materials, than that. Here, therefore, standing at the very threshold of the history of the people, we have every reason to suppose that the nation also must have passed through many similar vicissitudes and stages of high cultivation; for this it is which in every age is reflected in the working of the intellect in historical literature.

But at any rate, up to the time of the formation of the Old Testament Canon, historic writing did not reach a stage which in any strict sense deserves the name of a philosophic treatment of history. No complete discrimination between historic fact and mere tradition, which would lead to an undivided search after the former, had been effected, because the necessity of such distinction had never been deeply felt. And this defect, having subsisted during the most flourishing period of the People of Israel, was still less likely to be removed in the age of their final and utter decay, as will be further shown in the course of the history itself.

But wherever historic insight is not constantly gaining in systematic strictness, clearness, and variety, and preserved pure, it must lose more and more of its transparency, certainty, and fulness, in direct proportion to the distance to which the period in question is removed from the present either in time or in vital interest. Hence the ideas held in later times on the ancient history of Israel, especially on the very earliest epoch, became increasingly vague and defective, and equally so among people of the most diverse faiths—among Jews, Samaritans, and Christians alike. It is true that the great events and deep experiences of any later age may throw back an unexpected

light over wide spaces of ancient history. And no sooner had Christianity appeared than many phases of the then consecrated antiquity shone with a warm glow never seen before. But still these are only occasional, if powerful streams of light, which pour over the surface, but cannot reach and brighten every part.

But yet the ancient history was of necessity brought into more constant and general use later, with the increasing attachment to the religion which it taught, and the wider extension given to the latter through its own completion in Christianity. Consequently, as the study of the history increased, the caprice with which it was used increased also: for it is only in the use of certain and clearly defined knowledge that consistency and freedom from caprice can always be maintained. And again, all parties and schools, however in other respects they differed among themselves, could not but agree in this free and capricious use of history; since the first Christians did not understand the proper application of the few but decided declarations of Christ himself which condemned this arbitrary method.

The application of the ancient sacred history was demanded by the feelings and wants of that age, far more than its correct description. It was applied in all imaginable ways,—in oral instruction at every step; in proof of all possible truths; in writings of the most various kinds, for warning, for reproof, for consolation; in books clothed in a prophetic dress, or in purely poetic ones; in forms moulded in imitation of the old Hebrew literature, or in such as were animated by the freer breath of the new age and especially by Greek art. Such writings issued mainly from the most active and impetuous tendencies of the time,—among the Jews from the Hellenists and other separatists, among the Christians from the Gnostics and other sects; but here and there they are also found among the established communities. An instance of this is furnished by the large work, the ‘Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs,’<sup>1</sup> written by a genuine Pauline Christian, towards the beginning of the second century; filled with a powerful and noble spirit, it imitates Jacob’s Blessing, mentioned on pp. 69 sq., in taking as its text the sacred memories of the lives and characters of each of the twelve sons of Jacob.

<sup>1</sup> The reprint of this work in the *Codex Pseudepigr. V. T.* of J. A. Fabricius, i. pp. 496-759, scarcely does more than reproduce the earlier edition of Grabe, without rendering it superfluous. One cause which led the author to introduce Jacob’s twelve

sons as speakers, was doubtless the circumstance that St. Paul was of the tribe of Benjamin; the introduction of Benjamin thus permitting a natural allusion to the high historical importance of his great descendant.

But along with the flood of such writings, others also arose, which, with whatever motive undertaken, were intended to describe the ancient history simply as it was, and to make it known to contemporaries. The only comprehensive work of this kind preserved entire from the Grecian age, the *Antiquities* of Flavius Josephus, though admirable in language and style, is destitute of all high and just views of history, and, wherever it speaks with greater freedom than usual, addicted to the introduction of tasteless fancies, far-fetched and infelicitous conjectures, which betray only too clearly the Pharisee of that age.<sup>1</sup> On the earlier ages of the history it is difficult to discover in this work a single genuine grain of ancient tradition which was not already present in the canonical books of the Old Testament; and it is therefore most fortunate that the numerous attacks to which the work was exposed subsequently induced the author to write the defence known as the *Two Books against Apion*, in which he gives valuable extracts on the ancient history from books otherwise lost; for in the larger work he had given but few such. It is for the later period only that the works of Josephus are important. On the earlier times his extracts from older works are almost the only useful element in them. One book, the *Séder Olam* (*Rabba*) has been preserved, which for the first time treated the chronology of the whole Old Testament history as a subject worth knowing for its own sake; it dates at the earliest from the middle or close of the second century after Christ.<sup>2</sup> This work, which in language and spirit may be compared with the best passages of the *Mishna*, was written in an age when Judaism, already totally dis severed from Christianity, was also separating itself from all Greek culture, in order to fall back rigidly upon the letter of the Old Testament. Though it does not exactly treat the historical contents of the Old Testament more arbitrarily than the Christians of the first two centuries did, and even carefully brings together all passages of those Scriptures which appear to possess any importance to the establishment of a single continuous chronology, yet through the utter caprice of its arrangement it clearly proves that no certainty can be attained by this method alone. And even its frequent ingenuity and its attempts to reduce all the facts of history to round and definite numbers, as well as to exhibit surprising analogies, must have often distorted the

<sup>1</sup> For instance, *Ant.* vi. 12, 8, where he expresses himself strongly against monarchy.

<sup>2</sup> Printed at Amsterdam 1699, together with the *Séder Olam Zutta* of much later

date, and a very ample but unsatisfactory commentary by Johann Meyer. On the age of the work, see Zunz, *Gottesdienstliche Vorträge der Juden*, pp. 85, 138.

truth. A similar judgment must be passed upon that part of the *Mishna* which relates to this subject. Let it not be thought that the Talmud contains none but true recollections of early times: for even in the *Mishna* we meet with a mode of refining upon difficult points of antiquity quite analogous to the so-called Rationalism of modern times.<sup>1</sup>

But there were other works also which united the two purposes of historical description and moral exhortation. Such a work is the *Book of Jubilees*, written by a Jewish hand, about the first century before Christ,<sup>2</sup> and much read by Christians afterwards. In modern times it was supposed to be irrecoverably lost, until the recent discovery of an Ethiopic translation.<sup>3</sup> The evident design of its strict exhortations is to recommend the accurate observance of the Sabbath, together with all the ceremony of the Old Testament; but it also explains from history the meaning of all the sacred divisions of time, especially the Jubilees; to this end breaking up the entire history of the world down to the giving of the law at Sinai into small periods,<sup>4</sup> everywhere half fancy and half truth.

Thus during the few centuries before and after Christ there arose, even within the bounds of the ancient community, an extremely extensive and varied literature on the subject of the ancient history.<sup>5</sup> Very few of these works, however, have come down to us complete; many are as yet only very imperfectly known; and the very existence of many once popular works can only be inferred from indications, which do not even enable us to give their names or trace them with any certainty. This truth must be steadily borne in mind in reading the works which have come down to us: or else we shall miss the true

<sup>1</sup> See for instance the trifling explanation of the lifting of Moses' hands in Ex. xvii., and of the serpent in Numb. xxi., which is given by the *רש"י חזקוני* ch. iii. end. Even the Arabian Rabbis, as Saadia, Tanchûm, are often only triflers in Biblical exegesis: Ewald, *Ueber die Arabisch geschriebenen Werke Jüdischer Sprachgelehrten*, Stuttgart, 1844, p. 7; and in the Tübingen *Theologische Jahrbücher*, 1845, p. 574 sq.

<sup>2</sup> The first certain allusion to this book occurs as early as 4 Ezra xiv. 4-6.

<sup>3</sup> Translated by Dillmann, with a dissertation on its age, in the *Jahrbücher der Biblischen Wissenschaft*, ii. p. 230 sqq. and iii. It was published in Ethiopic, also edited by Dillmann, at Kiel, 1859. On a recently discovered ancient Latin version, see *Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1862, p. 2 sq.

<sup>4</sup> Hence seems to have arisen its other name, signifying in effect τὰ λεπτά (subtilia, minuta) τῆς Γένεως (comp. κατὰ τὸ λεπτὸν διηγέσθαι and λεπτολογεῖν in Epiph. *Hæc*. li. 10. 12 sq. 30), and still further abbreviated Ἡ λεπτὴ Γένεσις, *Parva Genesis*; which name, however, is ill-suited to a work of such extent. See *Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1860, p. 404 sq., and D'Abbadie's *Catal. Codd. Aethiop.* p. 133. The Ethiopians generally name the book *Kûsûlæ*. See also *Jahrb. d. Bib. Wiss.* iv. 79.

<sup>5</sup> Philo, at the commencement of his *Life of Moses*, refers to many highly-esteemed historical works, on Moses for instance, written by Jews, but not included among the sacred writings; but his own works show how little of any importance respecting the ancient history could be gleaned from them.

meaning and importance of much which even they contain.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, it is very possible, indeed often obvious, that many, and especially the earlier of these authors, made use of written records not admitted among the canonical books. We must not overlook even such authorities; though the most careful search will be rewarded with but few grains of gold in this increasingly desolate expanse. For it is most melancholy to perceive, that with the advance of time the correct understanding of the distinctive features and even of the sublimity of antiquity retrogrades. Of this many instances will come before us as we advance.

Before the expedition of Alexander, no Greek observer had specially noticed the peculiar manners and history of this recluse people; they were at that time confounded with the Syrians, Phenicians, and Palestinians (or properly Philistines): even Herodotus neither visited their country nor learned anything definite about the people or their name, except that they were circumcised.<sup>2</sup> But as the Jews, and subsequently the Christians, became better known to the Greeks and Romans, some few writers among the latter gradually began to take some interest in the ancient history and peculiar customs of the Israelites. Few of these, however, were so free from prepossession against them as Aristotle<sup>3</sup> or Hecatæus of Abdera;<sup>4</sup> the greater number were hindered by the strong wall of existing prejudices against the nation from gaining any profound or comprehensive view of their history, as will be further shown in its proper place. A fresh impetus, both stronger and purer, to the study of this history, was felt by early Christianity. No sooner had the Christian Church gained a firm and peaceful footing in the world, than such men as Origen, Eusebius, and Jerome turned their fresh energies to this sphere. Here we see the first serious preparation and prelude to a philosophic treatment

<sup>1</sup> Very little has as yet been correctly observed on the question how many and what uncanonical books are referred to in the New Testament; but it ought at length to be seen that much that is alluded to in the historical books and in the Epistles, especially that to the Hebrews, must necessarily come from writings which have not become canonical. It is usual to assume an oral tradition as the basis of such stories, without considering the utter impossibility of this assumption in the greater number of cases; for even if any view not found in the canonical books had been first formed in a school (which Philo assumes, ii. p. 81), yet it must have

been early reduced to writing. In the same way no one (as far as I know) has yet pointed out that in the Mishna we occasionally find passages of a much earlier date: as for instance in *Pirke Aboth*, ii. 1, 2, some sayings which from their tone and style must be very ancient, possibly even derived from some early prophetic work.

<sup>2</sup> See my *Antiquities*, p. 90.

<sup>3</sup> According to Clearchus, in Josephus, *Against Apion*, i. 22. This entire disquisition in Josephus is of importance.

<sup>4</sup> In Josephus, *Against Apion*, i. 22; Eusebius, *Præp. Evangelica*, ix. 4; and Diod. Sic. i. 40, according to Photius.

of the Old Testament history, But it is notorious that all such efforts were then left incomplete, and that a long night of increasing darkness soon supervened. Through Islâm this darkness became even denser; since, with all its eagerness to catch up and remodel any traditions of Biblical antiquity which came in its way, it took them only from the mouth of the then living Jews and Christians, and not even from the best extant sources.<sup>1</sup> Owing its own birth to a neglect of history, Islâm has never given birth to any true history.

We have now in the broad light of day to complete (what the best Fathers of the Church began) a philosophic history, the certainty and truth of which shall ultimately attract all alike—Jews and Mohammedans as well as Christians, scholars as well as soldiers and kings.

<sup>1</sup> These traditions are found collected in the great Islâmite Chronicles, beginning with that of Tabari, or as an introduction to the history of Mohammed; see Weil,

*Biblische Legenden der Muselmänner*, 1845, and my own remarks in the *Tübingen Theologische Jahrbücher*, 1845, p. 571 sqq.



## SECTION III.

## CHRONOLOGY OF THE ANCIENT HISTORY.

THE chronology of the history of an ancient nation, whether in its larger divisions, or in its entire extent, can never be secure and readily available as exact science, unless it is proved that during its national existence it employed a continuous and fixed computation of years (or Era) in specifying the order of events. Yet how long it is before a nation reaches this point at all! and how few of the nations of antiquity, despite their high culture in many other respects, ever understood the necessity of this art, simple and all-sufficient as it is! The great historical phenomena and events themselves may so entirely absorb the thoughts of a nation or other community, that for a long time they hardly find it necessary to look any further and enquire to what definite period of time they belonged. In Israel this deep interest in the internal life, and childlike disregard of the outside of history, was of long duration, induced and cherished as it was by historical position. Even in the New Testament age, the narratives of the Gospel-history long remained at this first stage of self-sufficing and homelike seclusion, until at length Luke began to find its place for it in the chronology of the great world. And ancient Israel rejoiced for centuries in its deliverance from Egypt and the bondage of Pharaoh, without even seriously asking the name of the Pharaoh under whom Moses rose up, or caring much in what year or even century he reigned. Where in the ordinary transactions of life a date could not be dispensed with, as in deeds concerning transfers of property, the ancient Israelites probably found it sufficient to count time by the years of their ruler. No such Israelitish document has indeed as yet been discovered; but this system was in use among the Egyptians, even as late as the age of the Ptolemies.<sup>1</sup> Before the Monarchy, one sort of supreme power in Israel possessed the requisite permanency to serve as a reference in counting the course of years—the High-

<sup>1</sup> Many Egyptian records of the kind interpreted, at least as far as the numbers have already been discovered and reliably are concerned.

priest's office; and this it could do even when greatly reduced in power.<sup>1</sup> But when in much later times documents such as these were appealed to, it would be necessary in the first instance to obtain from some master of the science a determination of the time when any given ruler lived; and thus a system seemingly simple proved itself in the end particularly technical and complicated. Extraordinary events also, whether joyous or grievous, not unfrequently served as chronological landmarks, as we clearly see in some examples taken from common life.<sup>2</sup> But no one such date remained long enough in the national memory to become permanent. Thus during the whole period in which Israel flourished as a nation, no one era ever came into continuous and general use.

1. But it would be a mistake to infer from this that the ancient Israelites possessed no means of counting the course of years. They were assuredly not so barbarous as this; and in every civilised state the necessity of a continuous survey of the years is constantly felt. Computations of years, reaching back very far, were especially required for the settlement of the annual festivals and the entire calendar.<sup>3</sup> In the ancient world generally, and in Egypt especially, this work was the duty of the Priesthood;<sup>4</sup> and so it must have been in Israel. Moreover, the Sabbatical and Jubilee years of the Israelites, which were undoubtedly faithfully observed in the earliest ages, introduced the further necessity of computing long series of years (Cycles). As the Priests thus had to compute very various and sometimes extensive periods, we can see no reason why they should not have possessed a permanent chronology.<sup>5</sup>

The mode in which the Book of Origins marks time furnishes

<sup>1</sup> The great excitement occasioned in early times by the death of a High-priest and the consequent inauguration of a successor, and the marked epoch formed by these events, may be imagined from the indications explained in my *Antiquities*, pp. 172, 380. See lists of priests with their years, e.g. in *Corp. Inscr. Gr.* ii. p. 449.

<sup>2</sup> Amos i. 1; comp. Zech. xiv. 5; the case briefly mentioned above (p. 52) may have been a similar one in primeval times; a third instance is that of Ezekiel's reckoning from the captivity of King Jehoiachin, i. 2, &c.

<sup>3</sup> Especially as distinct traces are perceptible of two beginnings to a year; one of which at least (that maintained by the Priests) required a scientific calculation. See my *Antiquities*, p. 356 sq.

<sup>4</sup> Of the Egyptian priests we have the

important description in Clemens Alexandrinus, *Strom.* vi. 4.

<sup>5</sup> The calculation of centuries would be much easier if the fiftieth year were always the year of Jubilee; see my *Antiquities*, p. 372 sqq. The later Jewish scholars generally fixed the fiftieth, and not the forty-ninth, as the Jubilee year; as we see plainly by the *Seder Olam Rabba*, c. xi.; Philo's *Questiones in Genesim* xvii. 1 seq. apud Aucher, ii. p. 209; *Constitutiones Apostolicæ*, vii. 36, and other authorities; see my *Antiquities*, p. 375. The Book of Jubilees, however, reckons by jubilees of precisely seven weeks, i.e. of forty-nine years; but this is only a learned fancy of treating and reckoning the whole ancient history as sacred, as if some special sanctity lay in the constantly-recurring number seven.

a clear proof of the possibility of a continuous chronology among the Israelites, and of its applicability to the description of their own history. For it gives to the events following the Exodus from Egypt a distinct chronology dating from that very exodus, and reckoning the beginning of each year by the first day of the Paschal month. This system runs through all the extant fragments of that great work, and it would be absurd to suppose it simply invented by that writer himself. In fact, in the whole history of Israel, no event was fitter than this to serve as the commencement of a chronologic era. The Romans counted their years from the expulsion of the Tarquins, long before the building of the city was adopted as the commencement of their era. With even greater justice might the Israelites adopt their great deliverance from Egypt, the origin of all the higher elements of their life, as the first year of their era. When at least the laws of the Sabbatical and Jubilee years were actually carried out (and this certainly occurred immediately upon the conquest of the country), a fixed chronology must have been established; and at that time the year of the Exodus may very probably have been taken as the commencement of an era. Now (as already mentioned, p. 82), the Book of Origins, in 1 Kings vi. 1, names 480 years as the time which elapsed between the Exodus and the building of the Temple in the fourth year of Solomon's reign. We cannot now feel any doubt as to the basis on which this calculation rests, especially when we remember that (according to p. 78) the author was a Levite; since as such he would naturally have access to the most accurate chronology then attainable. But the same author (according to p. 82), also in Ex. xii. 40, determines the length of the sojourn in Egypt in years; and though the Israelites had not then the inducement of the Sabbatical and Jubilee years to carry on a continuous chronology, yet it must be remembered that they were then living in so close contact with the Egyptians, old masters of the science, that they could easily obtain the best instruction. It must also be added, that the Book of Origins (according to the fragment explained p. 52) gave notices of the times of the building of ancient cities both in Egypt and Canaan. Taking all these facts into consideration, we can no longer doubt that throughout the best ages of the nation, the Priests paid great attention to chronology, and possessed a continuous chronologic reckoning dating from the great Israelite event, the first year of the Exodus.

But yet this method of computation obtained little favour

for the ordinary purposes of common life. It was not employed in civil documents; at least we do not find the slightest trace of such a use. In ordinary books of narrative too, written on a less grand scale, and by authors less acquainted with all ages of history than the priestly author of the Book of Origins, it was not used; since in these some simpler and more obvious system of reckoning, e.g. by the year of the reigning prince, was thought sufficient. Hence many points connected with the Old Testament chronology are really more or less uncertain, and an air of uncertainty is thus easily thrown over the whole. For the whole early history, in many respects the most important of all, the numbers given in the Book of Origins—the 480 years after, and 430 years before the Exodus—form the axis upon which everything turns, and upon the reliability of which everything hangs. And precisely because these two high numbers now stand alone in the Old Testament, and at first sight appear incompatible with other recorded facts, it is easy to raise doubts respecting their credibility; and in fact objections on various grounds have been urged against it. We must reserve proofs of the groundlessness of all such objections to the parts which treat of the settlement in and the Exodus from Egypt.

2. When the chronology of a history presents itself in the state just described, the most obvious means either to establish or to correct it, is to compare it, at all points of contact, with the contemporary portion of the history of some other nation. But Israel, during the whole period of its independent national life, was too proud to arrange and carry on its chronology on the system of any other nation, whether Phœnician, Egyptian, or Babylonian; and its scientific culture was too rudimentary to induce even a collateral mention of the corresponding chronology of foreign nations. Even after the division of the kingdom which ensued after Solomon's death, the chronology of each kingdom, so far as we can see, was dated solely by the years of the king reigning there, without any reference to the other. In the superscriptions of some prophetic books,<sup>1</sup> indeed, we now read the names of the contemporary kings of both kingdoms, given for the sake of greater definiteness; and in the existing Books of Kings, the histories of the two kingdoms are skilfully interwoven on the principle of associating together the contemporary kings of both; by which means the separate computations are more readily made to correspond with and verify

<sup>1</sup> Amos i. 1, Hosea i. 1, added by the hand of the last collector; see my *Prophets*, i. p. 94.

each other. But in both these cases of parallelisms we trace a later hand; and those so-called synchronisms appear from all available indications to have been only imported by the learned into the history after the total destruction of the Northern Kingdom. The earliest Hebrew writer known to have employed a foreign (i.e. non-Israelite) chronology is Ezekiel, living in the middle of the Babylonian captivity; yet even he scarcely ventures to put the foreign beside the native chronology at the very front of his work.<sup>1</sup>

It is therefore only where a foreign history or chronology comes into some contact with the history of Israel that any comparison can be instituted. Every combination of the kind that can be safely made, cannot but be extremely welcome and useful here. For the later half of the history we have at command many points of comparison with the history of the Phenicians, the Assyrians, the Chaldeans, and the Greeks, which help to clear up many obscurities. But for the first half of this history, i.e. the period before David and Solomon, these sources, so far as we yet know them, fail us almost totally.<sup>2</sup> At present therefore the Egyptian chronology alone possesses for both divisions of the history considerable, and for the earlier unrivalled, importance. Manetho's numbers as yet stand alone to vouch for the whole early history of Egypt and the countries of Western Asia; and from the close connection existing at many important points between the histories of Israel and of Egypt, they will be found of the greatest use to us. Lately too, the secrets of the ancient Egyptian inscriptions and papyri have been disclosed in increasing numbers and accuracy; and it is generally names and dates upon these which can be deciphered with the greatest certainty. Nevertheless we must beware of incautious or excessive reliance upon this authority, so far as it is yet accessible and appears uncorrupt. For though the Egyptians from the earliest times displayed the greatest capacity for numbers and calculations, and loved the abstruse arts of that department, yet even they employed as yet no permanent chronological era in common life. For ordinary purposes they reckoned time by the years of the reigning king; and the larger numbers preserved from their schools contain only the frequently ingenious computations of the learned.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See my *Prophets*, iv. p. 18, and this *History*, iv. 296 (Engl.)

<sup>2</sup> The whole fourth volume of Bunsen's *Ägyptens Stelle in der Weltgeschichte* refers to this subject.

<sup>3</sup> See Lepsius's great work *Die Chrono-*

*logie der Ägypter*, vol. i., Berlin, 1849; to this still incomplete work, his *Königsbuch der alten Ägypter*, Berlin, 1858, also on a very large scale, serves as a supplement. Böckh, in *Manetho und die Hundsternperiode* (Berlin, 1846), attempted to extend

3. But beyond the mere numbers of years there have come down to us, amid the mass of historical materials, various other supports for the chronology which are deserving of attention.

Such a support would have been furnished by the mention of the observance of the Sabbatical, and yet more of the Jubilee years, if such mention were frequent, or indeed occurred at all. These Sabbatical and Jubilee years were unquestionably actually observed by the nation, during at least the first few centuries of their possession of Canaan.<sup>1</sup> If therefore one or more of these years were noticed in the history, and the date of the commencement of the series were also known, we should possess some fixed supports for the chronology. And in fact something of this kind was assumed by the learned Jews of later times who examined the ancient chronology as a whole. The author of the *Séder Olam Rabba* (p. 200) teaches that the residence of Israel in Canaan prior to the first expulsion amounted to exactly seventeen Jubilees, or 850 years; and in accordance with this general assumption all special details were computed. It was taught, for instance, that the building of Solomon's Temple occurred exactly in the middle of a Jubilee-period, the finding and publication of the law of Moses under Josiah at the very commencement of the last, and the deportation of king Jehoiachin exactly in the middle of this last Jubilee-period.<sup>2</sup> But it justly excites our surprise to find these late writers speaking so exactly of things never mentioned with these details in the old historical works, nor even by Josephus. We need not indeed be much surprised to find no notice taken by the historical reporters of these great epochs in the earliest ages when they were undoubtedly observed, inasmuch as the accounts preserved of those early times are throughout extremely brief. But if during the more fully described periods of history (viz. the times of the Kings) all these years of rest were really observed with the accuracy which these later writers pretend, it cannot but appear strange that no single observance of them, either during the building of the Temple or on any other occasion, is recorded. In the time of the new

this theory of artificially devised numbers, so far as to show the entire history of Egypt up to Menes to be arranged according to the Sothiac cycle: this is very properly disputed by Lepsius. See also the critiques on the works of Lepsius and others on this subject, in the *Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1850, pt. 83; 1851, p. 425 sqq.; 1852, p. 1153 sqq.; 1853, p. 1441 sqq.

<sup>1</sup> See my *Antiquities*, p. 369 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> See *Séder Olam R. c. xi. 15, 23, 24, 25*. The time of the siege of Jerusalem by Sennacherib is placed by this work (ch. xxiii.) in the 11th year of a Jubilee-cycle, therefore not immediately before a Sabbath-year, with an explanation of the words of Isaiah xxxvii. 30 which intentionally avoids referring these to a Sabbath or Jubilee-year.

Jerusalem on the contrary, when at least the Sabbatical year was actually observed, Josephus mentions it quite naturally wherever it had any influence on the course of history;<sup>1</sup> for the seventh year's fallow, strictly observed as it seems to have been from about the time of Ezra and the Maccabees, had a strong influence upon many social arrangements, occasioning especially the demand to omit the land-tax for that year. Now it may possibly be of some use to note one of the years of this period which was kept as a sabbath, as by reckoning from thence backward and again backward, we may be enabled to draw some sort of conclusion respecting earlier times also. If however, in the later age, the seventh year only was observed, and no notice was taken of the Jubilee and the fifty years' cycle, the calculation thence deduced would not without modification admit of application to the early times. Moreover we are ignorant of many preliminary points essential for carrying through such a calculation with any great degree of certainty. As to the Rabbinical assumptions mentioned above, we can only suppose that they sprang from the well-known mode of dealing with the Old Testament adopted by the Rabbis; who hunted up supports, actual or apparent, furnished by isolated sentences of Holy Writ, in order to establish their preconceived opinion, and were thus, through assumptions more witty than truthful, betrayed further and further into error.<sup>2</sup> To gain firm ground here, independent of Rabbinical subtleties, we should require at the outset very different authorities and auxiliaries from those now at our command.

The numerous genealogical tables, of greater or less extent, scattered throughout the Old Testament, and in part elsewhere,<sup>3</sup> furnish another support to the chronology. For by taking twenty-

<sup>1</sup> Josephus, *Jewish War*, i. 2. 4; *Antiquities*, xiii. 8. 1, xiv. 10. 6, 16. 2, xv. 1. 2. See *Tac. Hist.* v. 4.

<sup>2</sup> It is clear from the above-cited passages of the *Seder Olam R.*, that the two passages in Ezekiel i. 1, 2 and xl. 1 served as starting points: the expression ראש השנה (xl. 1) was explained as the commencement of a Jubilee-cycle (but it can signify only the beginning of a single year, though certainly in a somewhat extended sense, and not to be restricted to the first day or first hour only); then the thirtieth year mentioned in i. 1, was interpreted of the thirtieth year of the preceding cycle (which is nowhere even remotely indicated), and so the conclusion was arrived at, that the year of the Restoration of the Law by Josiah was the first year of the last Jubilee-cycle before the Captivity. The

Duke of Manchester (in his work *The Times of Daniel*, London, 1845) has recently attempted to support a similar assumption by the passages Jer. xxviii. 1, 3, xxxiv. 8-11, as if these numbers and words applied necessarily to Sabbatical years, but without at all proving that they really have the signification which he attaches to them. We know besides from other sources, that in the learned schools of the early Rabbis a great desire prevailed to reduce the entire ancient chronology to Jubilee-cycles. The *Book of Jubilees*, mentioned p. 201, only endeavours to carry out for the entire Premosaic period what others had attempted for the Postmosaic.

<sup>3</sup> See how in a later age the *Protev. Jacobi*, c. 1, and Eusebius's *Ecl. History*, i. 7, speak on this subject.

five to thirty years as the average length of a generation in ordinary historical times, we can fill up many gaps in the chronology. And there is no doubt that such genealogies were very constantly kept, at least in periods of settled government. We are not, indeed, distinctly informed, whether all new-born children were at once registered by the Priests; but we know that lists were kept of the houses of the priests and of others of about equal rank through both parents;<sup>1</sup> and that of all the members of the community without exception accurate census and muster rolls were taken.<sup>2</sup> But great havoc may very likely have been made in these registers from time to time, through political commotions and the dispersion of the people;<sup>3</sup> and the tables in the Books of Chronicles, with all their richness, are transmitted to us with abbreviations so serious as often to occasion obscurity (see pp. 180 sqq.) Here then great caution is requisite throughout. Moreover the genealogies for long periods are very likely (according to pp. 24 sq.) reduced to round numbers, which demand still greater caution. Abbreviations of this kind are found down even to quite late times.<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless a complete and accurate comparison of all such tables may very possibly yield some results even to the chronology.

4. All these circumstances unite to prove the great difficulty of establishing a chronology which shall embrace the whole history of the nation, a difficulty which is especially felt in the earlier period. To these considerations must be added the especial liability of numbers to be mistaken and changed by the transcriber.<sup>5</sup> The antiquity of the Hebrew nation passed away without leaving any satisfactory answer to the historian's questions on these points; and although the Book of Origins presents a general view of the chronology very admirable for the early age of which it treats, yet in the following centuries the decay of the historic spirit manifested itself in a want of accurate attention to the chronology also. In the age of the

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Josephus, *On his Own Life*, ch. 1, end; *Against Apion*, ii. 7. The small סֵפֶר יְחִיָּזִים, or Book of Generations (this common Rabbinical title answers to the יִזְרְיֵל mentioned above, p. 180 note, and is found as early as the M. Jebamôth, iv. 13), given by Josephus of himself, contains something singular.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. my *Antiquities*, p. 304.

<sup>3</sup> Comp. Ezra ii. 62; Neh. vii. 64; even if what Africanus says (apud Eusebium, *Hist. Eccl.* i. 7) of a burning of the genealogies by Herod is not to be taken literally.

<sup>4</sup> As in 4 Ezra i. 1-3 only just twenty generations are reckoned from Aaron to Ezra; and as Ibn-Chaldûn mentions from his own experience a reduction from about twenty generations to ten; *Journ. Asiat.* 1847, i. p. 444; ii. p. 403.

<sup>5</sup> It is a theory incapable of proof, that in ancient MSS. the numbers were expressed only by letters of the alphabet, and therefore so frequently interchanged; but no other words are in themselves so liable to interchange in writing as the names of numbers.



Greek and Oriental supremacy, indeed, there early arose in the learned schools of Alexandria an energetic desire to regard with a more strictly philosophical eye the whole history, and with it the chronology also, of the Eastern nations; and as this zeal spread to the Hellenists also, a certain Demetrius, probably either a Jew or a Samaritan living in Egypt as early as the reign of Ptolemy Philopator, about B.C. 210, attempted to form a more accurate chronology of the ancient history of Israel.<sup>1</sup> But such attempts were too isolated to lead to any permanent results. This is very distinctly seen in Fl. Josephus, who, while displaying less aptitude for chronology than for any other branch of historical investigation, lays as much stress upon it as the Greek historians, and yet is nowhere guided by any firmly-grounded view on the subject, and consequently sways to and fro in utter indecision.<sup>2</sup> Still less certainty, however, is exhibited by the Rabbis of a still later time (see pp. 200 sq.). Christian scholars of the second, third, and fourth centuries were the first to take up these studies anew. The subject of chronology was first briefly touched upon by Tatian, a disciple of Justin Martyr, in his Oration to the Greeks, and then more definitely by Theophilus of Antioch, in the second, and yet more in the third book addressed to Autolyceus; in which, however, he does not adopt any really philosophic method, to bring the various dates into harmony, but rather aims merely to show the great antiquity of the Old Testament books and history. But Africanus and Eusebius of Cæsarea, who followed next, strove with philosophic earnestness to bring the Biblical chronology into accordance with that of other nations, and Africanus especially brought to this task remarkable diligence and acuteness. But this, like all other philosophic enquiries respecting the Bible, remained at that time incomplete. The writers of the Middle Ages paid still less attention to chronology; Syrian and some other writers, however, have preserved many isolated dates, transmitted from ancient authorities.<sup>3</sup> At last in modern times the investigation of the entire subject was again resumed, and pursued anew from the very beginning.

The later scholars of antiquity were least successful in their

<sup>1</sup> See the extracts from his work preserved by Alexander Polyhistor in Eusebii *Præp. Evang.* ix. 21, 29, and in Clementis *Strom.* i. 21.

<sup>2</sup> We ought certainly, in the writings of Josephus, to make allowance for many alterations of the text made, often inten-

tionally, by later readers, and not make him personally responsible for all contradictions; though even then a sufficient number remain unexcused.

<sup>3</sup> As in Lagarde's *Anal. Syr.* (1858), p. 120, 18 sqq.

attempts to establish a general chronology embracing all ancient history, frequently as such attempts were made, for various reasons. Fl. Josephus was of opinion that more than 5,000 years had elapsed from the Creation to his own day: others reckoned exactly 5,500 years between Adam and Christ;<sup>1</sup> but none of these views originate in any accurate philosophic investigation of the subject. In the Bible itself, the remains of the Book of Origins certainly present a continuous chronology down to the building of Solomon's Temple, according to p. 82. But even respecting some portions of that period there are other Biblical accounts at variance with its computations; and for the entire period following the building of the Temple the canonical books contain no computation of a chronological total at all. The Bible itself therefore, with its many various parts lying before us, rather incites to such a calculation than accomplishes it for us. We must be satisfied, if only from the actual commencement of the history of Israel as a nation, we can lay down a chronology correct in its general features.

<sup>1</sup> Thus, according to an ancient Apocryphon and with a discrimination of the separate periods, in *Evang. Nicodemi*, ch. xxviii. end. Those who reckoned by Jubilees determined the chronology quite differently by their peculiar art.

## SECTION IV.

## TERRITORY OF THIS HISTORY.

## I. PHYSICAL ASPECT.

MANY writers have tried to persuade themselves and others that the soil makes the people: that the Bavarians or the Saxons were destined by their soil to become what they now are; that Protestant Christianity does not suit the warm south, nor Roman Catholicism the northern latitudes, and much more to this effect. Such scholars as interpret history only by their own scanty knowledge, or even by their narrow minds and bleared sight, would try to convince us, too, that the nation of this history must have possessed some attribute or other, rightly or wrongly assumed to belong to it, because it inhabited Palestine, and not India or Greece. But if such reasoners would consider that in antiquity this very soil maintained nations, religions, and civilisations of the greatest imaginable diversity in the narrowest compass, and that between every one of its ancient and its present populations the difference is infinite, although the soil has remained the same, they would see how little it is the ground alone that creates a nation and a distinctive state of civilisation. In every land, except perhaps a Greenland or a Terra del Fuego, powers springing from a different source elevate a people to that stage in which the nobler forces of its mind have free play; and when these have once begun to act, then, if not afterwards utterly stifled, they free the nations more and more from the bonds of the soil, and work out everywhere results similar in the main. The differences which remain after all, and must be ascribed to the special influence of each country, only resemble the different colours in the honey gathered by the bees from the different flowers of various lands. But these powers, even when precluded from free development, act upon the nation in their very perversion and obscuratation far more forcibly than the position and properties of its clod of earth ever can, as is proved in the history of both ancient and modern nations. Only at the very beginning possibly, and in the lower spheres of his existence, is man fully exposed to the influences of the soil.

But of course a favouring soil can do much to raise a nation speedily and easily by internal energies above the first difficulties of its existence to a stage in which its higher powers have free play. In later times, when the intellectual forces, having once been excited and openly exerted, pass from land to land and can never more be utterly annihilated or repudiated, the soil is so inoperative upon the status of a nation that these forces often attain their highest perfection even in countries least befriended by nature. But before such powers were matured and diffused, the case must have been very different. It may be truly said that in the earliest ages of human history certain lands seem predestined by their advantageous position to elevate their inhabitants speedily, without foreign impulse or aid, to the higher stage of intellectual life, and to prefigure in miniature, in bold attempts and the play of youthful power, the career to be afterwards more slowly and deliberately run on a larger scale by the human race in general. And among those few lands upon which the morning star of creation shone brightest, Palestine must certainly be included, and indeed admitted to possess some peculiar advantages over all the rest.

1. This is not the place to describe the earth and sky of this strip of land, or their joint influence upon the products of the soil, the animal creation, or the mere physical conditions of human life connected with the bodily constitution, the habitation and clothing of man. These things are in many respects the easiest to understand, and some of them have been already treated of. To turn, then, to their influence upon the intellectual life of man : the warm climate of the country, the exuberant fertility of its soil, which did not even, like that of Egypt, require the expenditure of much laborious art,<sup>1</sup> and its proximity to lands the wealth and various treasures of which could readily supply any deficiencies of its own, must here, earlier than in many other parts, have raised man above the first hard struggle for the necessities of life, set his mind free from bondage to the earth, and given him leisure for higher efforts. But this fruitful land is really only a broad strip of sea-coast,<sup>2</sup> bounded on every side by the wide and terrible deserts of Arabia, with which its inhabitants were therefore always well acquainted either by personal experience or description. Here, as in the analogous case of Egypt, this position, keeping always before

<sup>1</sup> This is noticed in Deuteronomy xi. 10-12, as an advantage possessed by the Holy Land even over Egypt, productive as that had been rendered by human skill.

<sup>2</sup> Therefore Palestine in the narrower

sense, i.e. to the Jordan, is often in elevated writing called *הַיָּם* the coast, Isaiah xx. 6; like *الساحل* for instance, in the histories of the Crusades.

their eyes the contrast of want and superfluity, of death and life, must early have roused men's minds to reflect upon the hidden powers of life, and to feel deeper gratitude to the gods.<sup>1</sup> Thus even the most opposite forces here cooperated to elevate men early to a beginning of free thought and life. How powerfully men's minds were filled and moulded, especially in this early age, by their experience of the Deity, as alternately giving and withholding, and yet in the end wonderfully delivering, is still clearly seen in the story of that Patriarch who typifies the goodness of ordinary people. Isaac having even as a child with difficulty escaped a violent death,<sup>2</sup> settles as a man on the borders of the desert, and has to maintain a long strife for the possession of some hardly-gotten wells,<sup>3</sup> but is rewarded in the end by the distinguished favour of heaven, exhibited in the hundredfold increase of his corn.<sup>4</sup> Of similar import are the touching stories of Hagar and Ishmael in the desert: they seem hopelessly crushed by the inexorable hand of famine, but yet at the last moment are reached by the good providence of that God whose bounty fails not even in the barren desert.<sup>5</sup>

At the very dawn of history Palestine and Egypt always stand up clear out of the mists of earliest memories as civilised lands. When Abraham first entered the Holy Land,<sup>6</sup> so says tradition, the Canaanites already dwelt there. Now these very Canaanites appear at once, even in this earliest twilight of history, as fully civilised tribes, dwelling in cities and villages; a sign that the Hebrew tradition itself could not remember a time when Palestine was not a civilised country, though the Israelite Patriarchs were invariably pictured as not having yet attained the blessing of any fixed abode there. Homer also unmistakably regards the Sidonians and Egyptians as nations of a very peculiar and advanced culture, which the Greeks could then rather admire at a distance than emulate.<sup>7</sup>

2. But in close proximity with this rapid elevation to a finer culture, we early perceive also a dangerous over-culture and

<sup>1</sup> It is sufficient here to recall the significance which was attached to *Manna* in the earliest Mosaic religion, as will be explained farther on; and to note that many of the oldest and finest Suras of the Koran are full of profound utterances on this subject, and that nothing in the Koran is described with so much truth as the gratitude owed by necessitous man to the Deity.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xxii.

<sup>3</sup> The Biblical story here is most closely

approached by an Arabian one from the first century of the Hegira; Ham. p. 15-17, comp. with the songs of similar meaning in the same work, p. 122, 4 sqq. from below, 292 v. 2 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> Gen. xxvi. 12-33.

<sup>5</sup> Gen. xxi. 14-19, xvi. 7-14.

<sup>6</sup> Gen. xii. 6, xiii. 7.

<sup>7</sup> Iliad, vi. 290-2, xxiii. 742-5; Odyssey, xiii. 285, xv. 414 sqq.; Iliad, ix. 381 sqq.; Od. iv. 125 sqq. 351 sqq.

over-refinement, a rapid degeneracy and deep moral corruption. If it is a universal law that the fall into corruption is deep in proportion as the stage previously reached in civilisation and art was high, because the arts of refinement themselves become ministers of vice, then we may infer from the early traces of great moral perversion cleaving to this land as an hereditary disease, the high stage of culture which it must have attained in the earliest times. It is true the stories in Genesis of the sins of Sodom, and the impudence of Canaan the son of Ham, and the hateful origin of Moab and Ammon,<sup>1</sup> form a series of intimately connected ideas of primeval history, familiar only to the Fourth and Fifth Narrators: and the strong pictures given by the Prophets of the sins of Sodom certainly belong to no earlier age.<sup>2</sup> But the strictest history must, for reasons afterwards explained, allow that long before the time of Moses the Canaanites were very corrupt. The indigenous Canaanitish human sacrifice, which was transplanted by the Phenicians to Carthage, and there kept up to the latest times, is a sign, not of the barbarity common to uncultivated warlike tribes, but of the artificial cruelty often arising from excessive polish and over-indulgence.

Amid all the changes of time the moral corruption generated by the seductive charms of such a culture is with difficulty lost in the land of its birth. As in the Middle Ages complaints were early rife of the perilous degeneracy of the Crusaders in the land they had subjugated, so we here see that the Hebrews, the earliest known conquerors of the same land, were not unaffected by its influences. An effeminacy and depravity of life, not unlike that of the Canaanites, and doubtless promoted in part by the remnant of the early inhabitants, spread to a people which, through their entire nature and laws, ought to have been most proof against it,—at first indeed only partially and occasionally,<sup>3</sup> but subsequently more generally and irresistibly. The Prophets of the Post-davidical age bewail this much; but nowhere is a more striking picture given of this spreading depravity and its causes than in the song in Deut. xxxii.

3. But if in other equally favoured lands, as for instance Egypt, such inversions of civilisation may possibly for ages scatter their poison undisturbed, eating into the very vitals of the nation, Palestine has always from the first had numerous

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xviii. ix.; 20-27; xix. 30-38.

<sup>2</sup> The first prophet who thus speaks of it is Isaiah; for (Amos iv. 11) and Hosea (xi. 8) had mostly in view only the destruction of the cities in the Jordan circle; and by Hosea, Gibeah was regarded as the

great example of sin in ancient days; ix. 9, x. 9; comp. 103 sq.

<sup>3</sup> That this is the only proper way of viewing the infamous crime at Gibeah (Judges xix.) will be made clear afterwards.

and still more powerful antidotes in the desolations by physical agencies, to which this land is exposed with a frequency and severity perhaps unknown to any similar country. Among these are to be named, primarily, destructive earthquakes, to which it has at all times been liable,<sup>1</sup> from its position on the track of this mysterious power from the Caspian Sea to Sicily; frequent and most ruinous inundations;<sup>2</sup> the unchecked rage of desolating storms and dreadful hot winds from the Arabian desert;<sup>3</sup> a temperature not nearly so calm and equable as that of Egypt, but liable to violent shocks and dangerous changes, producing incalculable mischief and unfruitfulness of the soil;<sup>4</sup> the plague of locusts, and ravages occasioned by the dreadful increase of scorpions and similar creatures;<sup>5</sup> numerous diseases, some destroying life quickly, like the plague,<sup>6</sup> and others appalling through their slow but sure development, like the various species of leprosy;<sup>7</sup> and lastly, the extreme instability of property and life, in consequence, as we shall explain hereafter, of the incessant incursions of enemies. These and other hardships of this land acted as inexorable disturbers of the growing effeminacy. In them the inhabitants might not unreasonably see pressing divine warnings and exhortations to turn from all the errors of their ways. This influence was naturally strongest in the earliest ages, before men had gradually learned to overcome, whether by art or by religion, the terrors of nature.<sup>8</sup>

This, however, gives no more than the mere possibility of

<sup>1</sup> This is of course often alluded to in the Bible; but while within the circle of tradition it is mentioned only in connection with Sodom, and perhaps with similar intention on occasion of the sin of Korah in Numbers xvi. 32-34, and historically only in Amos i. 1, where Amos speaks of a great earthquake under King Uzziah (the same of which a later prophet seems to know from reading, Zech. xiv. 5), we know from the experience both of the Middle Ages and of modern times, that the Biblical descriptions certainly flowed from actual experience.

<sup>2</sup> See Amos viii. 8, ix. 5, and the descriptions of modern travellers; it is no mere chance that among the plagues of Egypt neither earthquake nor inundation is named.

<sup>3</sup> Job i. 18; Zech. ix. 14; Ps. xi. 6; Ezek. xvii. 10, xix. 12.

<sup>4</sup> Consider only the vivid descriptions in Amos iv. 6-11; Jer. xiv., and the traditions of Patriarchal times in Gen. xii. 10, xxvi. 1, xl. sqq.

<sup>5</sup> On this point it is sufficient to under-

stand rightly the Book of Joel. Spots almost uninhabitable on account of scorpions are still found in those parts; see Ainsworth's *Travels in Asia Minor*, ii. p. 354.

<sup>6</sup> For although a 'plague like the plagues of Egypt,' is a proverb in Palestine (Amos iv. 10), yet we know from both ancient and modern history, how much reason Palestine has to dread these very plagues.

<sup>7</sup> On this see the history itself, and for the laws respecting leprosy, see my *Antiquities*, p. 157 sqq.

<sup>8</sup> The earliest prophets, Joel and Amos, speak on this point as if wholly carried away by natural terror, and always just as immediate experience prompted; even Isaiah speaks only what time and place necessarily suggested; long and terrific descriptions of all possible plagues, wrought in one grand picture, as if one or few were insufficient, are first found in Levit. xxvi. 14-45 (see p. 116 sq.) and in Deut. xxviii. 15-58.

receiving a warning from the voice of the Invisible and Divine Being who permits no mockery of himself; and these voices, like all others, may be unheeded when there exists no firm basis of truth, nor aspiration towards it. The Canaanites did not long allow these voices to terrify them out of their moral supineness and low views of life; and even Israel at the later period of its culture received no benefit from them. But when a nation, such as Israel was during the first period of its settlement in Canaan—already planted on an indestructible basis of spiritual truth, and as yet essentially uncorrupted and susceptible of all pure impressions, had before its eyes such incessant terrific warnings, we can well understand how powerfully these might tend to preserve the people from the entrance of the dissolving and corroding influences, and to give to its character that firmness in meeting danger, that readiness of apprehension and teachableness of spirit, the combination of which is the condition of all healthy progress.

## II. RELATIONS TOWARDS OTHER COUNTRIES.

When we look round from the land itself to the position its population occupies relative to other lands more or less closely surrounding it, we must not fall into the error of imagining that its position in ancient times was the same as in these modern times, when the land, apparently for ever desolate and depopulated, attracts no eye beyond that of the distant pilgrim, or the booty-loving Bedouin, who soon hastens back to his desert, or of the Egyptian neighbour, scarcely less greedy for mere booty and for a good boundary; when, moreover, it has become a mere cypher in the system of large empires, and has long ceased to be a prize vigorously fought for and obstinately defended for its own sake. The land for which Israel journeyed and fought during forty years, and which the Decalogue, the earliest document of that time of wandering, exalts as the land of every hope, as the most beautiful into which Jahveh will lead his people;<sup>1</sup> that too in which, after Moses, it was the constant desire of the people and the blessing promised from above that they might settle and dwell in peace;<sup>2</sup> that land must then have been not only far more cultivated and fruitful, but also more difficult to conquer and to hold, than it now is. The question then is, what causes combined to render this land so

<sup>1</sup> Ex. xx. 12; Deut. v. 16.

i. 19; Jer. xxv. 5, xxxv. 15; Ps. xxxvii.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xvii. 8, &c.; Prov. x. 30; Isaiah 3 sq.



desirable and so admired; for it may be assumed that Israel was not the only one of its numerous populations which felt so towards it.

1. The first reason is doubtless that the whole broad southern slope of Lebanon is a district blessed with a fertility extraordinary of its kind. Between Egypt and the northern declivity of Lebanon, between the wide deserts to the south and east, and the 'unfruitful salt wave' (in the language of Homer) on the west, there is no spot which could so excite the lust of conquest as these mountains and valleys of inexhaustible fertility and spontaneous productiveness: while these very mountains, together with the local position of the country, made its defence easy in those early days. But the rush of nations eager for the possession of such cynosures of the earth, circumscribed in size but inestimable in value, must have been greatest during the earliest ages. As the German nations of old no sooner heard distinct reports of the charms of the South than they steadily turned their eyes and desires thither, so in much earlier times the Semitic nations far and wide learned to look to this land as a garden planted on earth by heaven. The early Arabian history is full of stories of fierce and bloody contests urged for the possession of the smallest oasis, of a stream, or even of a well: but here was an extensive garden of earth, opened to the contest of mighty nations. Possibly also seafarers from the opposite European islands might assail the alluring land from the coast, and partially occupy it.

For besides the mere fruitfulness of its soil, this land affords other especial advantages to those who once obtain possession of the whole, or even of some portion of it. But these will be so often alluded to in various portions of the history, especially that of the conquest of Canaan, that a short notice of them will suffice here. The mountains, defiles, ravines, and caves in which the country abounds, afford the inhabitants excellent and various means of defence, so that a nation well prepared to employ such advantages may feel firm and secure in possession. While Egypt and other fruitful plains besides great rivers readily became the prey of every conqueror, the gracious deities who endowed this land with rich abundance, also appeared like fierce mountain gods guarding their heights with utmost jealousy, and beating back with fury the invading foe.<sup>1</sup> The inhabitants probably seldom grew so effeminate throughout the land as not to hold themselves constantly in an attitude of military defence at many points especially favourable to warlike operations, or

<sup>1</sup> 1 Kings xx. 23-28.

at least easily to resume warlike habits. Whereas Egypt was of old and is now a land of slaves, Lebanon, together with its southern slope, seems, after all the changes of time, still to produce the same indomitable lovers of freedom as it did thousands of years ago. Moreover a nation which kept strictly to the western side of the Jordan could secure its frontiers with tolerable efficiency, by defending the northern approaches and guarding the few fords of the river, since in the south the desert afforded protection against an enemy.

2. But although separated from Egypt by an extensive desert, yet from the general position of surrounding nations, Canaan stands towards that country in a relation which has from the earliest times drawn upon it the weightiest consequences. For Egypt, an extraordinarily cultivated and highly fertile land, exercised upon the northern tribes a power of attraction greater, if possible, than that of Canaan, and, though the most distant, was the most alluring link in the chain of southern lands that attracted this migration. In prehistoric times a stream of nations poured down from the north upon Egypt, like those of Assyrians, Chaldeans, Persians, Greeks, and Turks, who in later times approached it by the same route, and either tried to subjugate it, or actually did subjugate it. This is proved in the prehistoric history of all these nations and languages,<sup>1</sup> and will presently be illustrated by an important instance occurring in the Premosaic age. Palestine here lies in the way; and it is possible that many a tribe, intending to go to Egypt, may have remained in Palestine (as is said of Abraham, Gen. xx.), or may have been afterwards driven back upon Palestine (as happened to the Hyksos, and subsequently to Israel under Moses). As Palestine thus became the key of Egypt, it very early became necessary to the latter to keep her eyes on the former, and carefully watch her condition. A strong and united power in Palestine formed the best barrier between Egypt and the northern nations, and its friendship upon equal terms would be courted by Egypt, as actually took place during the reigns of David and Solomon. But when Palestine was weakened by internal discord, Egypt might for her own security begin to think of conquering either the whole of Palestine as far as Lebanon, or at least the fortresses and seaports on the south-west. This last case would especially occur when the ruling power in Egypt had its seat in the north of that country and practised navigation, as under Psammeti-

<sup>1</sup> See the second of my *Sprachwissenschaftliche Abhandlungen* (Göttingen, 1862), p. 74 sq.

chus and his successors, under the Tulunites, the Fatemites, Ajjubites, and the Mamelukes. Thus Palestine is always in some degree fettered to the fortunes of Egypt, and although Israel cherished against Egypt at times a deadly hatred, comparable only to the rancour of brother against brother, yet the inevitable tendencies of nations have always brought them back into a very intimate mutual relation. But when great empires were formed, too large to have their centre of gravity on this strip of coast, and obliged to fix it either in Africa or further towards the interior of Asia, Palestine was never able to maintain herself as a strong independent kingdom, and became a constant apple of discord between Asia and Africa.

3. It appears from all this, how by a combination of most various causes this strip of coast became from the earliest times a meeting-place for the most diverse nationalities, and how one nation here pressed incessantly upon another, and not one, however small its territory might be, could long enjoy its power in peace. Let it not be supposed that this constant jostling of nations in and around Canaan ceased with the Israelite conquest, or even with the establishment of David's government. No doubt it was greater in the earlier times; but it continued after David, whenever the power of the dominant people was at all relaxed, and is traced down even into the Mohammedan times. The land also, notwithstanding its small extent, possesses such great diversities of aspect and site, and offers such numerous and manifold means of defence, that no one nation could ever easily root out all the others, as might happen in the valley of the Nile, or even reduce them to permanent subjection. Indeed the truth of this can be actually verified from observation of the perplexed relations of the different nationalities and faiths living there side by side at the present day. Any nation, therefore, which, amid this confusion within and danger without, tried to maintain its position with vigour, and compete with other civilised nations, would require the constant straining of all its resources both physical and mental, and even after its first victorious entrance into the land would still have to pass through many various stages of development and elevation. Nowhere perhaps is the exhortation to constant watchfulness and improvement so powerfully prompted as here by the inexorable pressure of absolute want in the midst of abundance; and indeed the Prophets never hold out warnings of physical ills only, but of war and conquest too.<sup>1</sup>

In this respect Palestine might indeed be compared with the

<sup>1</sup> For the case of David also, 2 Sam. xxiv. 13.

Caucasus (also a continental region), where the narrow space is not less crowded with a medley of nations; and as in the earliest times the Caucasus must have been the meeting-place especially of the various Aryan nations, so Palestine was the great crossing-point for those of the Semitic stock. But in reference to civilisation Palestine was incomparably more favourably placed than the Caucasus, inasmuch as it lay on the coast of that sea on whose innumerable promontories and islands all the higher and freer forms of the life of the western nations had from early times manifested themselves, as those of the east upon the Ganges. It is an absurd idea that the Hebrews from living in Palestine were cut off from all easy intercourse with distant nations. Any inclination to keep aloof from such intercourse, which might be observed in them in early times, sprang rather from the nature of their religion than from deliberate intention, and it was only because the Phenicians had anticipated them that they long kept aloof from the coasting trade of the Mediterranean. Either with or against their own wish, they must inevitably have been drawn into the busy whirl of life surging around the Mediterranean Sea, especially in its eastern division. We can measure the extent of the knowledge of the position of other nations, early gained in this centre of three continents, by the short sketch of them given in Gen. x. And during the later ages of antiquity, when nations from the most distant parts of the earth, from Persia and India, from Greece and Egypt, exchanged their respective arts and culture, Palestine still formed the central point of transition and communication.

To sum up: we now understand the possibility of the formation of nations forced by close contact with others, whether near or distant, constantly to carry on their own further development, and either soon to disappear, or else to conquer and perpetuate themselves. Such nations were not on this account necessarily remarkable for numbers. Even in our times multitude does not do so much as some fancy; but the earliest period of antiquity was an age when nations were not crowded together in such large loose masses, but lived one beside the other, like so many families, each retaining its own sharply defined character and distinct culture; and when even the smallest tribe shut itself up in its own individuality, and relied solely on its own resources to attain whatever appeared to be its highest good. In this respect the petty nations of ancient Palestine exactly resemble the ancient states of Greece and Italy, and the modern ones of Switzerland and the Netherlands;

and just as Athens and Rome, with the smallest possible territory, could gain a place in the history of the world, so also could a nation of Palestine. Now two nations of Palestine, we know, above all others that met there, bore away this palm,—two nations so different that it is hard to imagine a stronger contrast, and even acting upon each other in virtue of this very contrast to intensify their divergence, yet both of them so constituted that the results of their endeavours became permanent, and among the most conspicuous fruits of the world's history.

### III. MIXED NATIONALITY OF OLDEST INHABITANTS.

We must therefore now view the land in reference to its earliest medley of inhabitants living there before, and continuing there during the period immediately following the immigration of Israel. The inherent difficulty of surveying such remote events is, indeed, here increased by the fact that we are restricted to very few and scattered notices of them in the Old Testament and elsewhere, and possess scarcely any writings of the Premosaic age, with the exception of the passage Gen. xiv., the original form of which has been shown to have probably belonged to that age (see p. 52). But at all events these notices are from very different, and in part extremely early, ages; and besides, as the very essence of such great national relations is to change only by slow degrees, we may be justified in drawing from the conditions continuing at a later period certain conclusions respecting remote times.<sup>1</sup>

1. In cases like this, the first enquiry naturally refers to the **ABORIGINES**, tribes of whose immigration the later inhabitants retained neither proof nor even the faintest recollection. Before their subjugation or expulsion by other victorious invaders, these Aborigines may have passed through many stages of fortune, forgotten as layer after layer of population flowed over this lowest and broadest stratum. Total expulsion, however, can rarely have befallen the original inhabitants: upon a strip of coast like Palestine,—the exit from whence was not easy to

<sup>1</sup> The difficulties of this entire question are not removed by the method adopted by Movers (*Das Phönikische Alterthum*, i. p. 1–82, 1849), as will be hereafter pointed out in some important instances; see also *Jahrb. der Bibl. Wiss.* ii. p. 37 sqq. For a more accurate enquiry into the state of the Canaanites and other early races of the same region, we must await the com-

pletion of the excavations now begun, since investigations on every spot promise greater thoroughness and certainty. See my *Erklärung der grossen Phönikischen Inschrift von Sidon*, Göttingen, 1856; and the results of E. Renan's *Phénicien Journey of Discovery*, which are gradually being made public.

a settled population, whether on account of the great attractions of its soil, or because its boundaries were formed by deserts, seas, the easily defended fords of the Jordan, and the mountain-glens of the north. We are therefore justified in assuming that many relics of the primitive inhabitants must have been spared, consisting not merely in enslaved persons, but also in manners and traditions. For us, indeed, all such traces are almost erased, because the Israelitish invasion (as will soon be shown) belonged to a later time, when the earlier strata of population were so intermixed that it was no longer easy always to discriminate the earlier and the later inhabitants.

That in the very earliest age, long before the ancient migrations into Egypt (i.e. long before the time of the Hyksôs), a more homogeneous group of nations established themselves in this land, is not only probable from the general relations among nations, but to be inferred also from more definite indications. A change in the name of a country, such as Seir, Edom, or Esau, itself points to the successive rule of three distinct nations, whose chronological sequence we can in this case distinguish with certainty, as will soon be shown. What these names prove to have happened to the land on the south-eastern border of the Holy Land, and is most easy of demonstration in that instance, is evidently true of other cases occurring within the land itself. Further all the nations which were settled in the land in historical times, some of which are known even from Biblical testimony to have come in from foreign parts, though differing widely in other respects, possessed a Semitic language, of which amid considerable dialectic varieties the fundamental elements were closely related. Now this is not conceivable, unless one original nation, possessing a distinctly marked character, had lived there, perhaps for thousands of years before the immigration of others, to whose language after-comers had more or less to conform. This original nation, moreover, doubtless already had its peculiar ideas, religious ceremonies, and customs, which more or less powerfully influenced subsequent immigrants; as the worship of the horned Astarte is known to have existed here from the earliest ages, and quite independently of the later Phenicians.<sup>1</sup> All these points will however be more fully discussed as we proceed.

At the time of the Israelite occupation these Aborigines had for many centuries been so completely subjugated, dispersed, and ground down, that but few remains of them were still

<sup>1</sup> *Asheroth Karnaim*, Gen. xiv. 5.

visible. But then the immigrants were so various, so divided, and in some points even so weak, that it must have been very difficult to comprise such numerous and disconnected nations under any one fitting appellation. The Israelites called them Canaanites, Amorites, or otherwise, according as one or the other of them seemed the more important at the time, or they preferred to name several together. When a nation had been long resident in the land, no one thought of investigating the antiquity of its settlement there. So much the more remarkable is it that some few tribes are nevertheless described in the Old Testament as 'ancient inhabitants of the land.'<sup>1</sup> This declaration is the more impartial and weighty because quite incidental. The nations thus described are very small and scattered tribes, but on this account the more likely to be the remains of the aboriginal inhabitants. We are hereby entitled to prosecute further this question of the Aborigines.

1) In the northern and more fruitful portions of the land on this side Jordan the ABORIGINES must have been very early completely subjugated by the Canaanites and blended with them, as not even a distant allusion to them is anywhere to be found. The case is different with the country beyond the Jordan, especially towards the south. Here we come upon the traces of a people, strangers alike to the Hebrews with their cognate tribes, and to the Canaanites, who maintained some degree of independence until after the Mosaic age: the Horites (LXX. *Xoppaioi*), i.e. dwellers in caves, Troglodytes, in the cavernous land of Edom or Seir. The writer of the Book of Origins himself calls them 'the dwellers in the land,' as distinguished from the later immigrants, Israel, Esau, and Edom.<sup>2</sup> In that writer's time this people, though subjugated for centuries by Edom, must still have formed separate communities; since he thinks it worth while to enumerate their seven principal and subordinate tribes with their seven heads.<sup>3</sup> In the earliest narrative, Gen. xiv. 6, they appear in Abraham's time as still

<sup>1</sup> Namely, Amalek, 1 Sam. xxvii. 8, Num. xxiv. 20; and in its neighbourhood, the inhabitants of Gath, 1 Chron. vii. 21; as also Geshur, 1 Sam. xxvii. 8. For the last passage the LXX. have a somewhat different reading, and translate very unintelligibly, as they generally do such passages as refer to the ancient Canaanite history; but the true reading has undoubtedly been preserved in the Hebrew. See above, p. 58.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xxxvi. 20. Among the ruins of the ancient *Bait-Gibrin* or *Eleutheropolis*, in

the south-west of the tribe of Judah, some singular subterranean works have been recently discovered; see Rey's *Étude historique et topographique de la tribu de Juda*, Paris, 1863. As these cannot well be referred either to Hebrews or to Canaanites, they must be supposed to exhibit traces of the aboriginal inhabitants, or Horites; and the wonder is that the Horites should have settled so far to the south-west.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. xxxvi. 20-30.

independent; and from this passage, as well as from the Book of Origins, we see that the name Seir, for the mountain-range occupied by them, was peculiar to them. The Deuteronomist evidently follows an ancient authority in saying that they were expelled by Esau (or Edom).<sup>1</sup> It further appears from the careful distinction made in the Book of Origins between them and the Canaanitish tribes, that they were not of Canaanitish blood, although the Amorites, also dwelling far to the south, were. It happens very fortunately, in fine, that we gain some knowledge of the subsequent fate of these Aborigines from a wholly different source, the Book of Job,<sup>2</sup> which pictures vividly the pitiable condition to which they were reduced in the writer's age (the eighth or seventh century). Then, houseless and outlawed, they were thrust forth by their conquerors into dreary and barren wildernesses, in which they dragged out in misery a feeble existence, despised and abhorred by all, but ready on occasion of any disaster happening to their old oppressors to burst suddenly forth from their miserable hiding places,<sup>3</sup> full of pent-up bitterness and destructiveness, and thus even in their ruin to remind their conquerors that they had once been masters of the land. This reads like a scene in the history of the Coolies or other aboriginal tribes of India, or (to take an instance nearer home), of the Irish peasantry not more than thirty years ago; but we must remember that the Hebrews do not seem anywhere to have treated their subject tribes for centuries with such severity as the Edomites treated theirs.

2) So melancholy an end is inevitable when victorious invaders permanently withhold equal rights from the subjugated people, and keep them apart and in bondage. Very different, however, was the position these Aborigines, whom we have just seen sunk so low, once held: as appears from the following important fact. At the time of the Israelitish conquest, as we learn from some perfectly reliable accounts, there still existed many remains of the Aborigines scattered through the land. They were then ordinarily designated by a name which suggests very different ideas—**REPHAIM**, or Giants.<sup>4</sup> Indeed primitive

<sup>1</sup> Deut. ii. 12, 22; comp. above, p. 126 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Job xvii. 6, xxiv. 5-8, xxx. 1-10. The zeal and fulness with which in 1836 I gave a public interpretation of these passages in Job, prove that I then believed I had found in them a new fragment of historical truth, as it is not my habit to give voluminous explanations of things already disposed of. Even now, though I see that Isaac Vossius and J. D. Michaelis

were not wholly in error on the meaning of some passages in ch. xxx, I still think that I have understood all these passages and the history therewith connected more accurately than they.

<sup>3</sup> Alluded to also in Deuteronomy, whose author is well acquainted with all these circumstances; vii. 20.

<sup>4</sup> In this general sense the name is used not unfrequently: 2 Sam. xxi. 16-22; from the State-annals, Deut. ii. 11, 20, iii.



tribes remaining near to a state of nature, appear to possess gigantic stature more frequently than other more severely tested and versatile nations. The latter appear to have gained in mind what they lost in body; and so the Hebrews at the time of Moses<sup>1</sup> must have possessed very much the same short slender stature which is now characteristic of the hardy and adroit Arab. It might indeed be argued from certain indications that only the ruling families of the Aborigines are here described.<sup>2</sup> If, as appears in various descriptions, especially of the early times, the ruling families were gorged with the fat of the land,<sup>3</sup> it is conceivable that the savage and warlike lords of a nation itself of high stature would appear absolutely gigantic in the eyes of the Canaanites and Hebrews. We should then have to suppose that a rough robber-clan of immense stature, belonging to the Aborigines, still maintained its power here and there, and that the Aborigines were compelled by necessity to become subject to them, in order to obtain their protection against invaders; much as in Europe the aid of the last robber-knights was sought. The last king of this race was Og of Bashan, and his enormous iron sarcophagus served as a memento to after-times,<sup>4</sup> like the heavy coats of mail of the Middle Ages to ourselves. But this view, true as it is of the ages between Moses and David, is quite erroneous of much earlier times; for in perfectly

11; and the name may be thus explained from its root, since  $\text{אָג} = \text{אָהַג}$ , *stretched*, may very well be equivalent to *long, tall*, like the German *recke*. The Hebrews applied the same name to the shadows of Hades, literally the *stretched out*, i.e. the nerveless, prostrate, dead. It is evident that the language of a nation which applied this name to the giants, though also Semitic, must have been originally very different.

<sup>1</sup> Num. xiii. 27-33.

<sup>2</sup> Because in the passages quoted they appear as quite exceptional instances, just as the three at Hebron, Num. xiii. 22; and as Og of Bashan is called the last of his race, Deut. iii. 11; see i. 4.

<sup>3</sup> As Judges iii. 29, and in David's song, 2 Sam. i. 22.

<sup>4</sup> Deut. iii. 11; without doubt a piece of genuine history, for the spot where the memorial was to be seen is accurately described. It seems surprising that even in the Middle Ages such strange stories should be still related of this old giant-king, who stands so isolated in the Old Testament: for instance, a Persian Mohammedan relates that a single bone of the gigantic body of the  $\text{عوج بن عوق}$

had long served as a bridge over a river (*Journal Asiatique*, June 1841, p. 679-81); other Mohammedan writers relate that he took a fish just fresh from the sea, and burnt it to ashes in the sun's rays; Tabari has in his preliminary history a long passage respecting him (see *Chronique de Tabari traduit du Persan par Dubeux*, i. p. 48 sq.; also, *Qazvini*,  $\text{عجایب}$ , p. 449, 7 sqq. ed. Wüstenfeld; Petermann's *Reisen*, ii. p. 106 sqq.). But all these traditions are probably based on such Rabbinical legends as those in the *Liber de morte Moysi*, p. 84 *Gaulmin*; in Ben-Uziel on Num. xxi. 33 sqq.; and in the Midrash Jalqut, fol. 14; and these again probably on an Apocryphon upon Og, which appears in Decret Gelasii vi. 13 under a barely recognisable name. Here the few notices of him in the Old Testament were interwoven with divers giant-stories and the strangest fancies; as that he saved himself through the Deluge by holding on to Noah's ark; that he lived with Abraham, and so forth. He was thus brought into connection with Gen. vi. 4; and it was thought satisfactory thus to recover the name of one of the primeval giants there mentioned.

reliable reports, such as Gen. xiv. 5, Deut. iii. 13, the whole of Bashan is called the 'land of the Rephaim,' and they appear as an unmixed race. It may indeed be said that on such points the Deuteronomist only speaks rhetorically and with a purpose, to magnify the conquest effected by Israel under a leader like Moses, over such powerful and terrific giant races. But even the Deuteronomist cannot be supposed to speak without some historical basis; and quite independently of him, we see from a very ancient passage, Gen. xiv. 5, that the name 'Rephaim' was originally borne only by a small people in Bashan beyond Jordan, having a capital Ashteroth Karnaim (a name which proves that thus early the horned Astarte was worshipped). And we may assume that at the time of Abraham nations of the same race ruled over extensive territories eastward of the Jordan;<sup>1</sup> in Moab they were specially designated Emim,<sup>2</sup> and in Ammon Zamzummim.<sup>3</sup> On the west of the Jordan, in the central districts, they lived at the time of Moses in more scattered settlements,—in parts of the later tribe of Joseph (as we learn from a very ancient record<sup>4</sup>), and near Jerusalem, where a valley was named after them as late as the eighth century;<sup>5</sup> but in the southern parts near Hebron (which must have been their old capital), and from thence towards the sea, they were more concentrated and powerful; and here in the south they bore the name of Sons of Anak,<sup>6</sup> with the mythological epithet of *Giants' sons*, given to them by their terrified enemies.<sup>7</sup> That Hebron was the ancient

<sup>1</sup> We learn this most distinctly from the invaluable accounts in Gen. xiv., where places and names are given which are otherwise wholly unknown.

<sup>2</sup> Deut. ii. 11, and Gen. xiv. 5; compare *Hemam* [Eng. version wrongly *Heman*], of similar sound among the Horites, Gen. xxxvi. 22.

<sup>3</sup> Since the ancient accounts used by the Deuteronomist in the former case agree with Gen. xiv., we may conclude that קִנְיָ, Gen. xiv. 5, is the same as עִמִּי, i.e. עִמְּוִן, and זִמְּוִי the same as זִמְּוִיִּם, Deut. ii. 19 sq. Beyond this we have no means of explaining the names Emim and Zamzummim, since they do not, like the name Rephaim, occur in any more general sense, nor are made intelligible by any clear context, and we therefore are wholly ignorant what associations were connected with the words; the merely rhetorical use of the appellation *Sons of Anak* in Deuteronomy does not warrant any such assumption respecting even these. The name Rephaim alone came gradually to be used in a wider sense.

<sup>4</sup> Josh. xvii. 15; comp. above, p. 66 sq.

<sup>5</sup> Josh. xv. 8, xviii. 16; 2 Sam. v. 18, 22, xxiii. 13; Isaiah xvii. 5.

<sup>6</sup> Num. xiii. 22, 23; Josh. xi. 21 sq., xiv. 12, 16; comp. Deut. ii. 10 sq.; and the merely rhetorical allusion to them, ix. 1 sq.

<sup>7</sup> That this is the meaning of the names קִנְיָ and קִנְיָ, Num. xiii. 33, appears also from Gen. vi. 4. Movers, by taking these expressions of the Book of Origins, and others of the kind, in a perfectly literal sense, as if the Anakim, Rephaim, &c., were actually mythical Giants and Titans, mistakes the real meaning of all these passages of the Bible; as much so as he would in treating the Cimbri and Teutons, nay, even the Mecklenburgers of the present day, as mythical personages. It is the Deuteronomist who, by his rhetorical descriptions, first somewhat loosened the historical ground; but it was not till much later, when actual historical names were looked for in Gen. vi. 4, that Og (mentioned p. 228) could be imagined to be a Titan, and even identified with the Greek Ogyges.

seat of their kings, appears not merely from the permanent importance of that city to the entire south, but also from knowledge that we have of a considerable portion of the history of the dynasty ruling there. This dynasty boasted of an ancient hero Arba,<sup>1</sup> as founder of their city, hence called by them City of Arba (and the time of its building was still well known, see p. 52), and also as founder of their dynasty, and therefore entitled Father of Anak.<sup>2</sup> But at the time of the Israelite conquest their power must have been divided, and thereby weakened, since three sons of Anak—Ahiman, Sheshai, and Talmai—are mentioned.<sup>3</sup>

But a part of the population which from its locality can hardly be anything else than the Rephaim, is very curiously also called by a perfectly distinct name, AMORITES. Amos speaks of the gigantic stature of the Amorites, just as other writers of the Rephaim;<sup>4</sup> and the Book of Origins itself calls both the above-mentioned king Og and a similar king Sihon Amorites.<sup>5</sup> But the diversity of name is at once explained, when we discover that Amorite only means mountaineer, and is therefore originally a topographical, not an ethnological or national designation. How these Amorites could be brought into a certain connection even with the Canaanites will be considered presently.

3) Again in the south-west of the land we find traces of similar Aborigines. On one occasion in the life of David it is stated by an ancient narrator, in order to explain how David, then a vassal of the Philistines, could be constantly engaged in expeditions against the south-west country, without attacking Israel, that the objects of their hostilities were 'the ancient inhabitants of the land,' whom, it appears, neither a Philistine nor an Israelite leader would think it necessary to spare.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Wherever this name occurs—Gen. xxiii. 2; Josh. xiv. 15, xv. 13, 64, xx. 7, xxi. 11; Judges i. 10—the LXX. pronounce the last syllable somewhat harder, 'Αρβόκ. But Movers' idea that the name answers to the Greek 'Αρβήλος, and is in fact identical with the Babylonian *Bel*, is without foundation. The article (הָאֲרָבִיעִי) is only found attached to it later, Neh. xi. 25; but in the older writers the article is found with אֲרָבִיעִי.

<sup>2</sup> Josh. xv. 13; xxi. 11; 'that is the great man among the Anakim,' in xiv. 15, is plainly only a periphrasis hazarded by some later reader or copyist. Whether the LXX., who in all these passages translate by μητρόπολις, did not

possess this reading, is indeed doubtful, because they have here 'Ανακίμ and not 'Ανάκ; but the later periphrasis is a fact, and has nothing in common with the Kabbalistic *Adam qadmôn* which Movers chooses to see here. Nor can Onka, the name of the Phœnician Athene (see Steph. Byz. s.v.) be brought into connection with *Anak*, at least until we know how it was written in Phœnician.

<sup>3</sup> Judges i. 10; Numb. xiii. 22.

<sup>4</sup> Amos ii. 9.

<sup>5</sup> Joshua ix. 10; see later Deut. iv. 47; xxxi. 4.

<sup>6</sup> For this is the true meaning of the words already referred to, 1 Sam. xxvii. 8; the words אֲרָבִיעִי-יִזְרְעֵל form a

Two such aboriginal kingdoms are mentioned here. The first is that of the Amalekites. These appear from other indications also to have been such, and indeed originally to have overspread the whole land; so that no name was found more fitting than theirs to become the common designation of all the Aborigines; as will be further explained hereafter. Besides this small kingdom, which then still existed in the far south, there was another, occupying a narrow strip extending westwards from Judah about to Joppa; this was called from its chief city Geshur, with which Gezar seems to be synonymous. This kingdom, though sorely harassed by both Philistines and Israelites, maintained its existence until the reign of Solomon. From the special tribe which occupied this district from primeval times, the land was called the land of the Avvites or Avvim;<sup>1</sup> but from what has been said above, it need not surprise us that this name is sometimes exchanged for that of Amorites. But in David's reign there was another small kingdom of the same name Geshur, at the very opposite point, on the north-east, on the other side Jordan, and distinguished by the epithet *Aramean*, as being surrounded by tribes speaking Aramaic.<sup>2</sup> As such identity of name cannot be accidental, we must regard it as a displaced member of the same original people, the main part of which was driven to the extreme south and south-west. The personal name Talmai already noticed, p. 230, recurs again here,<sup>3</sup> although it is quite foreign to ancient Israel, and only appears as an Israelitish name in the New Testament in the form Bartholomew.

It is clear from all these signs that there was here a primitive people which once extended over the whole land of the Jordan to the left, and to the Euphrates on the right, and to the Red Sea on the south; and that, as in many districts it was still disputing dominion with the Canaanites, it was completely subjugated only by the fresh incursion of the Hebrews under Moses. Whether they were of Semitic race hardly admits of doubt even on a first glance. The few names preserved<sup>4</sup> have a Semitic form and complexion; and

parenthetic clause, and those following describe merely how far David ranged southwards (even to Egypt). We might conjecture מְעוֹלָם for מְחִילָה, from 1 Sam. xv. 7; but I consider any change of the Hebrew construction as unnecessary, or rather false.

<sup>1</sup> From Josh. xiii. 3, compared with verse 2, it appears that the Geshuri and the Avvites [עֲוִיִּים; *Avim* or *Avite* is therefore incorrect] are one and the same people;

according to Deut. ii. 23 they dwelt *even unto Asrah* [Gaza]; that is (the speaker being north of Gaza), that Gaza was the most southerly region to which they ever extended.

<sup>2</sup> According to 2 Sam. xv. 8; Josh. xii. 5, xiii. 13; 1 Chron. ii. 23.

<sup>3</sup> 2 Sam. iii. 3, xiii. 37.

<sup>4</sup> These are the five names of chiefs already mentioned, and some names of tribes and places; such as the above

when we consider that the chiefs who would not become subject to the Hebrews, at last retreated to the coast-towns of the Philistines,<sup>1</sup> and that in later times the Philistines led the descendants of these terrible giants into battle,<sup>2</sup> and that from the earliest period Semites were settled on many of the neighbouring islands and coasts of the Mediterranean Sea (as will soon be shown in the case of the Philistines), we may assume it to be highly probable that this entire stratum of nations was connected with the Semitic peoples who were driven still further westward beyond the sea.<sup>3</sup>

2. The land occupied by these Aborigines was, both long before and long after the Hebrew conquest, invaded by various widely differing Semitic nations, who wholly subdued some portions and obtained partial possession of others.

1) Of these the CANAANITES must be regarded as the most important. At first sight it seems doubtful whether they were invaders or not. Fortunately, however, we possess in a passage of the Book of Origins, Gen. x. 15-20, a record by means of which we can measure with great accuracy the extent of the early dominion of this important people, and without which many perplexed points of the history of these ancient tribes would be far more difficult to unravel. Here the separate tribes of the Canaanites are enumerated as sons of Canaan, and the boundaries of the territory of each described. Their number is eleven. Sidon is mentioned as the first-born; which means that Sidon had from time immemorial been the greatest Canaanitish power. Next come three nations living towards the south, Heth, the Jebusites, and the Amorites; then two in the most northerly country conquered by Israel, the Gergashites<sup>4</sup> and the Hivvites; then four in Phenicia, and lastly the most northern of all, the well-known kingdom of Hamath on the Orontes. The description then given of the Canaanite boundaries makes it still more evident that the writer here intends to describe their territories as they were prior to the Israelitish conquest. They embrace the entire land, as far as Gaza on the south-west; so that the Aborigines still existing there (the

quoted דן Gen. xiv. 5; and יו דeut. ii. 23.

<sup>1</sup> Josh. xi. 22.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Sam. xxi. 16-22; 1 Sam. xvii.

<sup>3</sup> For the proof that the whole country here was originally inhabited by Semites, see the *Jahrb. der B. W.* vi. p. 88.

<sup>4</sup> Their locality is nowhere defined in the Old Testament, except that in Josh. xxiv. 11 they are placed on this side Jor-

dan. But since Γέφυρα, known from Matt. viii. 28, was, according to Euseb. *Onom.*, a place on a hill on the shores of the Sea of Galilee, the name probably designated the same Canaanite kingdom which is named in Josh. xi. *Hazor* (חָצוֹר, fortress, castle); corresponding in so far with the name Jebusite, of which something similar may be said from Josh. x.

Philistines were not then yet in the same force on that coast as later) must have been regarded as a protected and subject population.

But this story of the eleven sons of Canaan implies no more than a clear recollection that at some time, it might be even centuries before the Israelitish conquest, a dominant people named Canaan created and preserved some degree of unity among the various tribes. The question of the age of each separate tribe, whether they were all aboriginal or not, did not come under consideration here: we only learn that the influence of the Canaanites had been firmly established in the land long before the time of Moses. But as these Canaanites appear in so many passages as only one among many ancient nations inhabiting this land, there is no intrinsic absurdity in supposing that even if their immigration had preceded that of Moses by more than five centuries, they were distinct from the Aborigines already mentioned. In fact it is nowhere said in the Old Testament that they were Aborigines; for the Fourth Narrator of the primeval history, in saying incidentally that the Canaanites were in the land before Abraham,<sup>1</sup> only means that the land was even then already thickly peopled, and names the Canaanites simply as the best known inhabitants. And when we further reflect how very widely they must have differed both in mental and in physical culture from the Aborigines already described, and how utterly shattered and dispersed these Aborigines were even before Moses, a later immigration appears on these grounds also the more probable. Many signs conspire to prove that a powerful invasion must at a very early time have everywhere split up the first deep stratum of population, an older and very different invasion from those of the Philistines and the Hebrews, which will afterwards come under consideration; and we can imagine no other such than this of the Canaanites.

So far we are guided by the Old Testament accounts of the Canaanites. But other independent traditions of the immigration of the Phenicians reached Herodotus and other writers. Independent again of these is the genuine Phenician tradition given by Sanchoniathon<sup>2</sup> of the constant enmity between the two Tyrian brothers Hypsuranius and Usôus. The first, as his

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xii. 6, xiii. 7; and see also such passages as Num. xxii. 4. The latter descriptions by the Fathers of the Church, as collected by Moses Chorenensis (*Hist.* i. 5), appear to be derived from the *Book of Jubilees* and similar works.

<sup>2</sup> In Orelli's edition, p. 16 sq.; see also on this legend my *Abhandlung über die Phönikischen Ansichten von der Welt-schöpfung und Sanchuniathon* (Göttingen, 1851), p. 44 sq.

name indicates, is the heavenly progenitor of the Phenicians; the other a wild hunter, a savage 'hairy' man (as his name expresses), and the true type of the earliest inhabitants. Indeed, the name *Usô*, by the Phenician phonetic laws, is actually identical with the Hebrew *Esau*;¹ not that the Tyrian *Usô* derived his name from that nation which the Hebrews named *Esau*, but that the contrast expressed in the Phenician tradition between two related tribes of which the younger formed a later immigration into the land, is repeated in the history of Israel.

At the time of Moses, indeed, the immigration of the Canaanites was so completely a bygone event, and had given rise to so many new arrangements and changes, that the very name of the principal nation, the Canaanites, is only to be explained from these. For on reviewing the names of the eleven tribes and of others elsewhere named as connected with them, we find some to be derived from corresponding cities or kingdoms; namely, the Phenician nations and Hamath; the Jebusites, so called from Jebus an ancient name of Jerusalem, evidently because they preserved their independence and a considerable territory long after the Israelite invasion;² and the Gergashites, already mentioned, p. 232. These small kingdoms, seven in all, maintained their existence with firmness generally till long after Moses. But the case is very different with the four or five names remaining. None of the nations bearing these can be so called from a city or kingdom; and four of them are besides mentioned with such disproportionate frequency, and as spreading over such an extent of country, as is incompatible with the idea that they constituted compact and localised kingdoms. Many indications show that these names describe the inhabitants by certain differences of locality and occupation in the different parts of the country.³

a.) The AMORITES. These were Highlanders, as their name⁴

¹ As the Phenician *Οὐλωμος* answers to the Hebrew *עֲשָׂו*, so *Οὐσως* to a Hebr. *עֲשָׂו*; but this last might, according to my *Lehrbuch*, § 108 c. p. 287, easily pass into *עֲשָׂו*.

² That they had at first a wider territory appears not only from Josh. x. but from the added clause 'in the mountains,' Josh. xi. 3; if this is not transposed from Num. xiii. 29.

³ As now in the Soudan the population is divided into the towns-بادى, the desert-بدوى, and the hill-جبلى,

people (see *Allgemeine Zeitung*, June 22, 1839, p. 1337); as among the Northern Slavonians, the Polonians take their name from the field, the Drevianians from the wood, the Livonians from the sand (*Schafarik, Slavische Alterthümer*, i. p. 199); and as in Attica there were the *Τρεπάρκιοι*, *Πεδεῖς*, and *Πάραλοι*: and still in Uri a valley and a mountain Ammann are distinguished.

⁴ This is chiefly seen from the passage Is. xvii. 9, where there is an historical allusion to *סומית* *summit*; the Canaanite language must have employed this word not merely of the top of trees, but also of

indicates, and as the chief passage about them, Num. xiii. 29 (belonging to the Book of Origins), shows. Whenever any indication is given of their locality, they always appear as dwelling upon or ruling from high places.<sup>1</sup> It is, however, expressly stated by the earliest narrator, that they dwelt originally beyond the Scorpion-Range<sup>2</sup> ('the going up to Akabbim'), on the southern boundary of the subsequent Judah, and further still to the south-east as far as the Rock-city (Petra) of Idumea; and even as late as the Israelite conquest they must have held extensive sway throughout the southern regions on this side of the Jordan; besides this they occupied wide regions on the other side, and had made fresh conquests there just before the arrival of Moses.<sup>3</sup> Hence the earliest narrator not unnaturally applies the name Amorite to all the ancient settlers in the south, on the western, as well as to the entire population on the eastern side of the Jordan; and other writers in Judah also employ the name in this larger sense.<sup>4</sup> But we have seen already, p. 230, that these very Amorites, described as warlike and savage, were mainly relics of the aboriginal population; and their connection with the Canaanites, strictly so called, must therefore have been very loose. In fact, in careful delineations they were clearly distinguished from these, and only gradually and in later times thrown into the same category with them.<sup>5</sup> We possess also one proof that the language of the Amorites was by no means identical with that of the Canaanites.<sup>6</sup>

b.) The contrast to these Highlanders with their strong castles is furnished by the HITTITES,<sup>7</sup> as dwellers in the valley,

that of mountains with their castles. In 1840 I published this remark on Is. xvii. 9. In Syriac **ܠܫܢܐ** still signifies *hero*: Knös, *Chrest.* p. 31. 3 from below, 70. last but one, 79, 2; the last passage might suggest *Medians* as the original meaning, since these are in Armenian called **Մար**, *Mâr*; and *Amurin* occurs as a local name, *ibid* 31. 3 fr. bel.

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xiv. 7, of the district near Jericho where mountains lie to the west; Deut. i. 7, 19 sq. 44, from old authorities; Josh. x. 5 sq., where mention is made of their five kings who ruled the country on this side.

<sup>2</sup> Judges i. 36, see Josh. xiii. 4; on the Scorpion-Range, which stretched from the southern end of the Dead Sea to the south-west, see Num. xxxiv. 4, Josh. xv. 3.

<sup>3</sup> As we are told not only by the earliest narrator, but by national songs: Num. xxi. 29, comp. Gen. xiv. 5; according to which the Amorites were here not aboriginal.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 72. That the Book of

Origins, however, used the name Canaanite in a wider sense, is plain from Num. xiv. 43-45 (Judges i. 17), compared with Deut. i. So also the narrator of 2 Sam. xxi. 2, puts *Amorites* for those whom the Book of Origins (in Josh. ix.) properly calls *Hivites*.

<sup>5</sup> As in the often retouched passage, Judges i.: compare verse 10 with Josh. xv. 13 sq., xi. 21 sq.

<sup>6</sup> In the remarkable passage Deut. iii. 9.

<sup>7</sup> They are called also *Sons of Heth*, from which we learn only that their territory was formerly larger. It is an obvious conjecture that the name of the Phœnician *Kittion* in Cyprus is related to the word **קִּי**; these Kittites were indeed always written in Hebrew, and almost always in Phœnician, with **ק**, never with **כ**; yet there are found coins with the inscription of *οἱ ἐν Σιδῶνι Κιττιεῖς*, so that at least in Sidon Heth seems to be employed in the sense of Canaan; see the *Jahrbücher der Biblischen Wissenschaft*, iii. p. 209. On the



who had different employments and manners, and lived wherever possible, in distinct and independent communities. We are not therefore surprised to find them living near the mountains wherever they could find room, as for instance in the south near Hebron, and extending from thence as far as Bethel<sup>1</sup> in the centre of the land. They nowhere appear as warlike as the Amorites, but rather (according to the noteworthy description of them in the Book of Origins),<sup>2</sup> lovers of refinement at an early period, and living in well-ordered communities possessing national assemblies. Abraham's allies in war are Amorites;<sup>3</sup> but when he desires to obtain a possession peaceably he turns to the Hittites.<sup>4</sup> More in the middle of the land on the western side of the Jordan, the name Hittite seems to have been exchanged for one of similar import, namely Perizzite:<sup>5</sup> for this also designates dwellers in an open country, containing villages rather than fortresses.<sup>6</sup> Upon the supposition that this name is synonymous with, and only dialectically different from, the other, its omission from the list of tribes given in Gen. x. is easily explained.

c.) Very little difference exists between these dwellers in the valley and the people originally called CANAANITE. The latter, however, according to the earliest and most reliable accounts,<sup>7</sup> inhabited the littoral regions, which lie still lower, and possess a totally different character from the valleys just described; viz. the western bank of the sultry and teeming valley of the Jordan, probably as high up as the sea of Galilee, and likewise the coast of the Mediterranean Sea. As possessors of these choicest parts of the country, and especially as masters of the sea,

Egyptian monuments *Amar* and *Cheta* frequently appear as names of nations, the latter especially; and its relation to the Biblical name is pointed out in Bunsen's *Egypten*, i. p. 480; Rougé's *Poème de Pentaur* in the *Revue Contemp.* 1856, p. 391 sq.; Brugsch's *Geographische Inschriften altägyptischer Denkmäler*, ii. p. 20 sq., iii. p. 73. On the Egyptian Chetæ see also *Revue Archéol.* 1864, p. 333-49. Champollion considered the Chetæ to be Scythians. But, according to the Assyrian cuneiform inscriptions, the Chatti must be sought much farther to the north; see Rawlinson's *Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser* (London, 1857), p. 46 sq., 54 sq. The *Xerata κόρη* in Africa, mentioned in Ptolemy, *Geogr.* iv. 5, can have been at most only a very early settlement of this people.

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xxiii., xxvi. 34, xxvii. 46; Judges i. 26.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xxiii.

<sup>3</sup> According to Gen. xiv. 13.

<sup>4</sup> Gen. xxiii.

<sup>5</sup> This name first appears Josh. xvii. 15; together with the Canaanites, as if those districts had been then under subjection to the latter people: Judges i. 4 sq.; Gen. xxxiv. 30, xiii. 7, comp. xii. 6.

<sup>6</sup> As is clear from the similar Hebrew word in 1 Sam. vi. 18, and from the remarks in Deut. iii. 5; Ezek. xxxviii. 11; Zech. ii. 8. פָּרִיז is properly *open*.

<sup>7</sup> In the Book of Origins, Num. xiii. 29, xiv. 25; and in Josh. xi. 13, probably from the same source; on the other hand, they are already restricted to the sea-coast in Josh. v. 1. The name כְּנַעַן undoubtedly signifies *lowland*; but the true antithesis to this is not found in Aram, but rather in the other names met with in this same region. Not till after the time of Solomon does the name Canaanite assume in the Old Testament the force of *merchant, trader*, and even then not in common parlance. This can by no means have been the original meaning of the word.

successful navigators, and founders of colonies both near and distant, they early obtained such a preeminence above all the other tribes, that their name being the best known came to be used as a short designation of the whole land and population. When the various parts of the country were to be distinguished, the name was extended so as in the first instance to embrace all the northern tribes only, and then by degrees to include the southern also; although the southern inhabitants themselves generally employed the name Amorite in this general sense. When the north coast alone remained unsubdued by Israel, the name Canaan was ultimately more and more restricted to that. It was not unknown to the Greeks as synonymous with Phenician;<sup>1</sup> and the Hebrews possessed no other general name for the open land on the sea-coast, unless it be 'Sidonia.'

d.) Lastly, different from all the above were the Hivvites or Midlanders, who dwelt in the true middle of the land, having on the east and west the Lowlanders, on the south the Highlanders and valley-dwellers, and on the north the borderers of Hamath.<sup>2</sup> They, like the Canaanites, loved peaceful occupations and trading pursuits in well-ordered communities and fortified cities, and located themselves principally in districts the most suitable for peaceful civil life, which from the earliest times possessed the most flourishing inland cities. One of these was Gibeon; this important central city was the earliest to submit to Israel, to secure the peace which an inland mercantile city especially requires.<sup>3</sup>

The Hebrews became acquainted with the numerous tribes of various nationality that occupied the land, at a time when they were living quite isolated from each other, and becoming increasingly so. This explains why they often mentioned several conquered nations together as a periphrasis for the entire land. With rhetorical amplification the earliest narrator names six,<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On *Xvā* as synonymous with *Φοινίξ*, see Sanchoniathon, ed. Orelli, p. 40; and even Hecataeus of Miletus, according to *Æl. Herodian. περί μωρηνου λέξεως*, i. p. 8; comp. Choroeboscus in Bekkeri *Anecd.* p. 1181; and Stephanus Byz. on the word; comp. Buttmann's *Mythologus*, i. p. 233.

<sup>2</sup> At the time of the Judges they were driven back from Antilibanon to Hamath, that is, quite to the north-east (Judges iii. 8; Josh. xi. 3; 2 Sam. xxiv. 7); but earlier we find them settled in the centre of the land (Gen. xxxiv. 2; Josh. ix.). We must observe, however, that the ancient copyists often mistook *יִרְיָ* for the entirely

different *יִרְיָ* (Horites). In Josh. ix. 7 this mistake has crept into almost all the MSS. of the LXX.; and in Gen. xxvi. 2, even into the present Hebrew text. [The name is properly *Hivvite* not *Hivite*, Heb. *יִרְיָ*.]

<sup>3</sup> Josh. ix. 11, 19. The name *יִרְיָ* may have signified in the Canaanite language *the inner* (literally that which withdraws itself); comp. several derivatives from *חָוִי*. But *יִרְיָ* may perhaps have signified *the community*, in which case the Hivvites meant those who lived in free communities (republics).

<sup>4</sup> Ex. xxiii. 23.

and again, more briefly but without any change of meaning, only three,<sup>1</sup> and even one only (according to p. 72). The Book of Origins sometimes mentions five,<sup>2</sup> but generally Canaan only. The Fourth and Fifth Narrators choose the same six nations which the earliest narrator had selected.<sup>3</sup> The Deuteronomist, by adding the Girgashites from Gen. x., brings the number up to the favourite round number seven.<sup>4</sup> In one important passage, where the largest extent of the land was to be indicated,<sup>5</sup> the Fifth Narrator counts up as many as ten nations, by adding a few fresh ones, of which we shall speak presently. But in most cases where a shorter description suffices, either two names are given, as Canaanite and Perizzite, or still more frequently one only, and then the name Canaanite is preferred, although sometimes exchanged for Amorite (see p. 235), and far less frequently for Hittite.<sup>6</sup>

If the name Canaanite thus designates originally only one nation, dwelling apart from the others, it is possible that the Canaanites belonged to the same immigration with the Hivvites and Hittites, who most resembled them in their form of civilisation; but this does not enable us to discover the name by which they called themselves at the time of their migration. But there is no reason to doubt that all these immigrations belonged to the primeval race which the Israelites called Ham. Of this we shall have to speak further hereafter; for the present it suffices to notice that Canaan always appears as a son of Ham, and that according to the ancient Hebrew conception, the two names were interchangeable terms.<sup>7</sup>

Observing on the one hand that the Aborigines maintained their position in the south more than in the north, and on the other that Sidon, even in Premosaic times, was the principal seat of the world-renowned Canaanites, we might imagine that the latter had burst into the land from the north-east, and driven back the Aborigines eastwards over the Jordan as well as to the south, taking a similar direction to Abraham's migra-

<sup>1</sup> V. 28.

<sup>2</sup> Ex. xiii. 5; in most MSS. of the LXX. the Perizzites are added at the end of the list; but this very position at the end is opposed to the ordinary custom.

<sup>3</sup> Ex. iii. 8, 17, xxxiii. 2, xxxiv. 11; comp. Josh. xii. 8.

<sup>4</sup> Deut. vii. 1 (xx. 17 according to the LXX.), Josh. iii. 10, xxiv. 11; comp. Acts xiii. 19.

<sup>5</sup> Gen. xv. 19-21.

<sup>6</sup> This is found only in 1 Kings x. 29 and 2 Kings vii. 6, and here probably from

some special cause. But in Josh. i. 4, a rhetorical passage, very unusually, the Hittites alone are mentioned in a more general sense; and the LXX. omit the entire passage כל ארץ החתים. In Judith v. 16, following Gen. xxxiv., Shechem is reckoned among the 'anaanite nations; but this is explicable by the special object and age of the book, see vol. V. p. 477.

<sup>7</sup> As we see from the entire complexion of the narrative in Gen. ix. 18-27.

tion. But according to the earliest narrative this people were originally settled much further to the south, as far as Petra,<sup>1</sup> at least when mingled with the Amorites; and their entire history, so far as it is known to us, shows that they were driven from the south and east further and further towards the north-west and the sea, where for the first time they concentrated their strength in impregnable seaports. For the hypothesis that they had pushed forwards from the south, like Israel at the Exodus, speaks their derivation from Ham in the Book of Origins, Gen. x. 6, and the tradition preserved by Greek writers of their immigration from the Red Sea.<sup>2</sup> They are therefore to be reckoned among those Arabian nations which, according to Gen. x. 7, were also derived from Ham, some of which even in very early times were no less devoted to mercantile pursuits.

To the fact of a cognate people living far to the south we also possess another remarkable testimony, which when correctly understood perfectly agrees with the statement of the earliest narrator. There now exist somewhat to the east of Petra, ruins of an ancient city called Maân, which the Israelites would have pronounced Ma'ôn: here the Maonites must have had their seat, who in Postmosaic or rather Postdavidical times appear on the stage of history as widely spread in the south of Palestine, and endeavouring occasionally, in conjunction with Arabian and other nations, to enter the Holy Land from the south.<sup>3</sup> From the accounts preserved 1 Chron. iv. 34–41, we learn that being

<sup>1</sup> Judges i. 36; but the Book of Origins already takes another view, Gen. x. 19, and fixes the boundary at the southern extremity of the Dead Sea.

<sup>2</sup> Herodotus i. 1, vii. 89; the Red Sea is here to be understood in the wider sense which Herodotus himself assigns to it, ii. 11. According to Justin xviii. 2, on abandoning their own country they first settled down on the shore of the Assyrian (Syrian) lake, by which we must understand the Sea of Tiberias (the Dead Sea being expressly distinguished from this, xxxvi. 3). Movers explains these Greek accounts contrary to their simple and obvious sense, because he wishes to prove that the Canaanites were not immigrants, but had always dwelt on the coast of the Mediterranean. But in the first place, this hypothesis is entirely opposed to the sense of the Old Testament. The tradition respecting their derivation from the shore of the Persian Gulf sounds too indefinite in Strabo, *Geog.* xvi. 3; yet the doubts of Quatremère (*Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, xv. 2, 1845, p. 364 sqq.) are nevertheless very unfounded. We here

take no immediate notice of the accounts respecting the Canaanites in the Nabathean books: comp. Chwolson's *Ueberreste der Altbabylonischen Literatur*, p. 49 sqq. and the *Gött. Gelehrte. Anz.*, 1859, p. 1121 sq.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Chron. iv. 39–41; 2 Chron. xxvi. 7; in both passages the LXX. have *Miraiot*, a pronunciation found in the Chetib 1 Chron. iv. 41 (מעניים), to which the Massoretic punctuation מעניי (which is to be understood according to my *Lehrbuch*, § 36, b.c. p. 105) forms the transition. In both passages the eighth century is spoken of; even in the first half of the period of the Judges the people would be mentioned once under this name, Judges x. 12, if it were not better to read here with the LXX. מרין for מעין. On the other hand, in 2 Chron. xx. 1, המעניים is evidently to be read for המעניי according to the LXX. (who also interchange these words in 2 Chron. xxvi. 8); whence follows, that the nation was already in existence in the time of Jehoshaphat.

descended from Ham, they were really quiet and peaceable inhabitants of the land; but towards the close of the eighth century some Israelites of the tribe of Simeon made an incursion into the rich pasture lands of Gerar<sup>1</sup> occupied by them and slaughtered the inhabitants. The characteristics ascribed to this people point to a connection with the Canaanites. The quiet peaceable life is peculiar to the Canaanites; and the description of its occurrence here amid the restless tribes of the south sounds identical with what is said in Judges xviii. 7 of the northern Canaanites. The fact of their descent from Ham raises to a certainty the probable conjecture that they were a species of Canaanites. We must accordingly regard them as a remnant of the Amorites, which in later times under the name Maonites spread to the west of Petra; and this view is also favoured by the words of Joshua xiii. 4.

It is a peculiar trait of the early civilisation of this people that they were in a constant state of disintegration, produced by the pride which led every city of any importance to assert its independence and set up a separate king or legislature of its own; whilst federal unions among those communities were never more than transient. The eleven sons of Canaan, whose names the Book of Origins collects together, clearly designate only the principal historical groups which were still discernible as broken-up fragments of a former single mass; for during the wars with Israel, the various separate kingdoms of the Amorites

<sup>1</sup> For גֶרָר 1 Chron. iv. 39, we should, according to the LXX., read גֶרְר: and thus we should have here the pasture-land to the extreme south known from the Patriarchal history. Gerar is, however, elsewhere called Philistine, and this may be quite true before the eighth century; for it is clear that the Israelites did not possess it at that time, as it is not mentioned in the register in Josh. xv.; nor can this be disproved by 2 Chron. xiv. 12 [13]. But in the eighth century the Maonites may have taken it from the Philistines. The reading *Gedôr* would lead us to the גֶדֶר (written with י), named Josh. xv. 58; and then under the Maonites we must understand, not the inhabitants of the large and important city near Petra, but the small town (mentioned Josh. xv. 55), in the mountains of Judah, not far south of Hebron and Carmel; whose inhabitants, however, were so truly Jewish, that their ancestor was entered in the pedigree of Judah as father of the neighbouring Beth-zur, which according to this was subject to it, 1 Chron. ii. 45; comp.

Josh. xv. 58. But *Gedôr*, according to Robinson's Map, lies even north of this little Maôn; and this latter certainly did not in the eighth century constitute a separate state, nor does it answer to the description in 1 Chron. iv. 39-41. Maôn was rather a genuine Canaanite name for a city, given to many cities inhabited by that people; as for instance a גֵית קֶעוֹן or קֶעֶל קֶעוֹן is met with even on the further side of Jordan, Josh. xiii. 17.

The *Meuvaioi* or *Mivaioi*, celebrated as dealers in incense, dwelt (according to Strabo, xvi. 4 beginning and middle, comp. Agatharchid. xliv.) somewhere towards the Red Sea, but too far south to be the same as those mentioned above. The repetition of the same national name in different parts of a large country like Arabia might however be viewed in the same light as in the case of the more familiar names Saba and Dedân; on which see Tuch's *Kommentar über die Genesis*, p. 225 sq., only we should have to suppose the southern Mineans to be a colony from the northern nation mentioned in the Chronicles.

or Hittites and others by no means formed a compact body. It is also to be taken into account, that through these divisions into separate nations and kingdoms, their modes of life and government must have become increasingly dissimilar. Of this we have one very good example. Many of the Hivvite states, not unlike the German Free Cities, must early have adopted a pure republican constitution without a king. This was the case with the inventive but timid Gibeonites, who are so graphically described in the Book of Origins; their elders and burghers decide everything,<sup>1</sup> and no king of Gibeon is mentioned in the catalogue of the thirty-one conquered kings of Canaan, Josh. xii. 9–24: yet Gibeon was a powerful city, having three subject-towns in its territory,<sup>2</sup> and able to decide on peace and war. Similar to this must have been the condition of the quiet, industrious city of Laish or Leshem, which was surprised by a party of Danites.<sup>3</sup> The influence which such precursors necessarily exerted upon the Israelites when they were once firmly established in the land, will be noticed in the history of the Judges.

The high degree of civilisation attained by this race in primeval times is attested by the whole following course of history, even where fortune did not favour them.<sup>4</sup> In the interior, where they succumbed to the youthful force of the Israelites, the spirit of the conquered was avenged by the extent to which their civilisation and social habits passed over to the conquerors, as will be shown presently. What they achieved on the sea, under the name Phenicians, is known to all the world. From the often-quoted document Gen. xiv. we are justified in inferring that in the earliest times, when the Canaanites themselves were new to the land and the Aborigines hardly subdued, a purer religion was still preserved amongst them, so that even Abraham could implore a blessing from one of their Priest-kings. But at the time of Moses this energetic and skilful people had obviously reached a sort of over-ripeness in their beautiful land, which may probably have been largely due to their incessant

<sup>1</sup> 1 Josh. ix. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Chephirah, Beeroth, and Kirjath-jearim; Josh. ix. 17.

<sup>3</sup> Judges xviii. 7, 10, 27, 28; Josh. xix. 47, the customs of the city were only like those of Sidon; it therefore by no means belonged to the Sidonians. We must rather regard it as a city of the Hivvites.

<sup>4</sup> Whether the Premosaic Canaanites had already a *University-City* (celebrated somewhat in the same way as Byblos was afterwards, Ezek. xxvii. 9), might receive

much better proof than that of Bochart and some modern commentators, based on the mere name of a city in the mountain-region of Judah (which moreover admits of various interpretations): קִרְיַת קָפָר *Book City*, Judges i. 11 sq., Josh. xv. 15 sq. It is however in verse 49 exchanged for קִנְה קִרְיַת קָנָה, which has been explained by the Arabic word *sunna*, as 'City of Law.' The LXX. however write for both names πόλις γραμματέων; with which we may compare something similar among the Hebrews, in 1 Chr. ii. 55, cf. iv. 21.

divisions, through which every petty town could make its own laws, bad as they might be. The earliest accounts show a mass of moral depravity and unnatural crimes raising its head among them ;<sup>1</sup> and the grosser pictures of the same drawn by the later tradition on occasion of the destruction of Sodom,<sup>2</sup> must rest on such a basis, and in so far be not destitute of historical truth. Thus then, despite all the misery it poured upon the people, the Israelitish conquest, which was rendered possible by this moral rottenness and national disunion, proved an excellent means of purification, in that the nobler part of the nation, unable longer to maintain themselves in the interior, gathered their forces together on the northern sea-coast for a new and more vigorous life, and thus the regenerated remnant of the people gained for themselves an honourable place in the history of the world.

2) The Canaanites, if immigrants, had entered the land at so early a period that the Old Testament records tell us nothing exact on the subject. Very different is the case of the PHILISTINES. These must have entered at a much later period, since a most distinct recollection of their immigration is everywhere preserved. This broad fact is elicited with perfect certainty from many brief traditions<sup>3</sup> which have come down to us ; yet the details of the question present much that is obscure and difficult to understand.

The name of the original inhabitants of the south-west corner of the Jordan-land has come down to us.<sup>4</sup> It was the Avvim that dwelt there as far as Gaza, i.e. nearly as far as the Egyptian frontier ; living, however, not in fortified cities, but, as is expressly added, in villages, i.e. by agriculture. They were expelled by the Philistines, who came from Caphtor. Now nothing is so characteristic of the Philistines as their dwelling in fortified coast-cities. The agricultural habits of the Aborigines, therefore, show them to be perfectly different from the Philistines, and more resembling the inland tribes. Though said in the above quoted passage to have been annihilated or expelled by the Philistines, they cannot have been at once wholly exterminated. An ancient tradition<sup>5</sup> shows that for a considerable period they asserted a certain degree of independence alongside of the five ruling Philistine cities, being

<sup>1</sup> As Levit. xviii. 3-30.

<sup>2</sup> On the passages Gen. xiii. 13, xviii. and xix. we have already spoken p. 104, and elsewhere. Genesis xiv. leaves it uncertain whether they were Aborigines or Canaanites ; but the mode of expression in Gen. x. 20 distinctly implies the

latter, and we have no reason to doubt the fact.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. x. 14 (1 Chron. i. 12) ; Amos ix. 7 ; Deut. ii. 23 : comp. Rougé in the *Athén. Fr.* 1855, p. 958.

<sup>4</sup> Through the Deuteronomist, ii. 23.

<sup>5</sup> Josh. xiii. 3.

doubtless reduced to a kind of vassalage. Indeed, vague expressions such as we often find, of the annihilation and expulsion of one people through the victorious invasion of another, ought never without further evidence to be taken so literally as to exclude the idea of any remnant of the vanquished being left, especially in a state of vassalage.

This land, then, must originally have been called Avvim from these its early inhabitants; yet as early as the time of the Judges it was always called Philistia. When occurred the Philistine invasion which produced this change of name? Here we must regret the short and fragmentary form in which the ancient accounts of the migration of the Philistines have come down to us; for the passages just quoted show that the ancients knew far more of this and other migrations not too remote in antiquity than they happen to have incidentally expressed there. We must therefore give careful attention to all extant traces of the tradition, if we wish to obtain any degree of certainty upon this question.

Whether the Philistines had occupied the land before the Patriarchal age might, from the nature of the extant stories concerning that age, be regarded as more than doubtful. For the expressions there met with describe nothing characteristic of this people, as known to us from other sources and especially during the period of its highest power; and we might fancy that the narrators had transferred the name of a Philistine king and people of a later time into the very earliest age,<sup>1</sup> merely to give its usual designation to the south-west country. Indeed, many still more weighty reasons might be found even against the idea that the Philistines held any part of the land at the time of the Israelite conquest. For throughout all the descriptions of assaults upon the country and conquests of parts of it, the Philistines are never mentioned, which would appear impossible if they already possessed a part of it. According to the very remarkable statement of the Book of Covenants<sup>2</sup> (which will be further discussed in vol. II.), Israel during the earliest period of the invasion conquered the three cities Gaza, Askelon, and Ekron, of which, however, it cannot long have retained possession. But though these cities were soon lost again, yet the whole land as far as the Egyptian

<sup>1</sup> Abimelech, king of Gerar, is not called king of the Philistines either in Gen. xx. or xxi. 22-34, but only in xxvi. As this last chapter has throughout been more entirely recast than the others, it is not improbable that this change may have

been introduced by a later hand. Elsewhere the expression is found only applied to the country, xxi. 32, and to the people dwelling there, xxvi.

<sup>2</sup> Judges i. 18.



boundary was constantly claimed by the Israelites as their possession. As, according to the most trustworthy traditions, the Canaanites had formerly extended their dominion thus far,<sup>1</sup> and as down to the latest period the name Canaan still comprised the entire extent of country as far as Egypt, thus including the Philistine territory;<sup>2</sup> therefore these five chief cities of the Philistines were always to be considered as belonging to Canaan, and therefore properly speaking subject to Israel.<sup>3</sup> Nor is it at all necessary to suppose that these five cities—Gaza, Ashdod, Askelon, Gath, and Ekron (as enumerated Josh. xiii. 3)—were built by the Philistines, but rather the contrary, as in other parts of the country the name Gath is given to genuine Canaanite cities, which cannot have been founded by the Philistines.<sup>4</sup>

Hence it might seem that the Philistines must have come to this coast as conquerors and subjugated the original inhabitants only after the Israelitish conquest. In fact, they do not appear as active agents on the theatre of this history until about the latter half of the period of the Judges; but they then exhibit such youthful force, and despite all obstacles maintain unbroken for centuries such national energy, as proves them, in contradistinction to the Canaanites, to retain all their pristine vigour, and not to have reached the period of degeneracy.

Nevertheless, there are clear indications that the name Philistia was very early given to the sea-coast north-east of Egypt, and was in common use long before the latter half of the period of the Judges. According to the oldest and most reliable records it was so called at the time of the Exodus, and had even then strong fortresses and warlike inhabitants.<sup>5</sup> Some immigration of Philistines therefore must after all have occurred before the time of Moses. And, dissimilar as the Philistines of the Patriarchal age are to those of the time of the Judges, yet one unmistakable bond of union is found in the similarity of their proper names.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> As 'unto Gaza,' Gen. x. 19.

<sup>2</sup> Zeph. ii. 5. The general name of Canaan must obviously be defined by the addition of an epithet wherever without it the sense is not quite clear, as in the passage Is. xix. 18.

<sup>3</sup> This is the sense of the passage Josh. xiii. 3.

<sup>4</sup> As Gath-Hepher in the tribe of Zebulon on the north, and *Gitta* or *Gittán* in the central portion of the land. How it was that the Hellenists could also say *Geth*, *Gitta*, is shown in my *Lehrbuch*, § 33 b, p. 99.

<sup>5</sup> This follows namely from the words of the earliest narrator, Ex. xiii. 17, 18; as

well as from the ancient Paschal song, Ex. xv. 14.

<sup>6</sup> Besides the well-known *Abimelech*, the following examples occur: גִּתְיָה Gen. xxvi. 26, formed as to its termination like the familiar name Goliath (but there is also *Genúbat* of the Idumeans in 1 Kings xi. 20); פִּילִי Gen. xxi. 22, xxvi. 26; אֶכְיִשׁ 1 Sam. xxi. 11 [10], xxvii. 2, 1 Kings ii. 39; קֶעֶךְ 1 Sam. xxvii. 2; אֶתִּי 2 Sam. xv. 19, 22, xviii. 2 (though this name is also given to an Israelite in 2 Sam. xxiii. 29, 1 Chron. xi. 31); סָר

We must therefore conceive the primeval history of this people to have been as follows:—The same aboriginal people which formerly covered the whole Lebanon and Jordan valley, spread also, as many traces show, over some distant coast-lands of the Mediterranean, as for instance Crete,<sup>1</sup> where there was in the earliest times a tribe of Philistines. From thence, unquestionably as early as the Patriarchal age, they invaded the coast which has ever since borne their name. The cause and mode of their invasion we can never know, but may perhaps conjecture that in the first instance they were called in to the assistance of the Aborigines against an invasion of the Canaanites, or migration of the Hyksôs. They then (as it seems) spread out mainly towards the extreme south, where lies Gerar, a place of note in the history of Abraham and Isaac, which, so far as we know, they never held after the Mosaic age. But just before the time of Moses and Joshua they must have submitted to the rule of the Canaanites,<sup>2</sup> if only as allies (see on this point p. 243). Conquered together with their Canaanite allies, and for a while held in subjection by the Israelites, they seem next to have sought help from their old home in Crete. This second and greater immigration it was which made them a nation, and gave them those characteristics which we know through the Old Testament.

This view also accords with the mutual relation of the two or three names by which the nation is known in the Old Testament. It was the generally received opinion<sup>3</sup> that the Philistines came from *Caphtor*. This now obsolete name probably designated either the whole or a part of the island of Crete.<sup>4</sup> For we find the name Cretan alternating with Philistine in the

2 Sam. xxi. 18 (in 1 MS. of the LXX. *Σεφά*) for which occurs the possibly older form *Ἰσφ* 1 Chron. xx. 4 (the LXX. partly *Σεφά*, partly *Σαφούρ*). All these are peculiar, partly because not occurring in other Canaanite languages, partly on account of the uniform and remarkable formation of men's names in *ath*.

<sup>1</sup> It is for instance remarkable that the name of the river Jordan, *Ἰαρδάνος*, reappears in Crete, Hom. *Od.* iii. 292; also in Lydia [a king Jardanes], Herod. i. 7; and even in Greece, Hom. *Il.* vii. 135; Apollodorus, ii. 6. 3, Pherecydes in the *Scholæ* to *Il.* vii. 135. Pausanias' *Perieg.* v. 6. 5, 18. 2. A Lydian noble Jardanus is mentioned by Nicolaus of Damascus, in C. Müller's *Fragm. Hist. Græc.* iii. p. 372.

<sup>2</sup> At this time 'one of the fugitives from the Red Sea,' i.e. a Phenician, may have

founded Ashdod, according to an ancient tradition handed down, with an attempt at explaining the meaning of the name of the city under its Greek form *Ἀζωτος*, by an old antiquary in Stephanus Byz. s.v. *Ἀζωτος*.

<sup>3</sup> In Gen. x. 14 even Vater and Tuch correctly assumed a transposition of the words.

<sup>4</sup> Undoubtedly the sound of the word itself leads to the idea that Caphtor might be the island of Cyprus; but nothing else can be adduced to decide us in favour of this opinion. Copper was first named from the island, not *vice versa*; and the island itself was probably so called from the plant *קפיר* (the *Alhennâ* of the Arabs), which grows there, and was much used by the ancients.

parallelism of the poetic verse,<sup>1</sup> and even sometimes in common discourse, as for instance in the mouth of one who is neither Israelite nor Philistine;<sup>2</sup> and in speaking of the mercenary soldiers maintained by the kings after David, Philistines and Cretans are mentioned together.<sup>3</sup> Now as the Philistines are said to have come from Caphtor, we may assume that they had already borne the same name in Crete. And in fact the names of some of the Cretan cities<sup>4</sup> show that a Philistine nation may formerly have dwelt there, of which the later Greeks knew nothing, because after those primeval times, as Homer says,<sup>5</sup> very various tribes jostled each other in that island, but the Greek elements ultimately preponderated. Moreover, they can only have been one of the smaller nations in Crete, since the land Caphtor whence they came, and from which they were sometimes<sup>6</sup> called Caphtorim, must have been larger than their own special territory; and this Caphtor can scarcely be identified with any other part of Crete but that called by the Greeks Cydonia, inasmuch as the name exhibits some similarity,<sup>7</sup> and the Cydonians were neither aboriginal inhabitants of Crete ('Ετεοκρήτες), nor of the Greek race.<sup>8</sup> But the names Philistine and Caphtor are evidently extremely ancient, and appear so throughout the Old Testament, whereas the name Cretan as applied to the same people does not appear of equal antiquity or dignity. Moreover, the combination 'Cerethites and Pelethites' of itself leads us to assume several kind of inhabitants,

<sup>1</sup> Zeph. ii. 5; Ezek. xxv. 16.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Sam. xxx. 14.

<sup>3</sup> In the well-known conjunction *C'rethi and P'lethi*, retained by Luther. That here

פְּלִי is shortened from פְּלִשְׁתִּי merely for the rhyme, was as far as I know first asserted in my *Kritische Grammatik*, p. 297. But others have since observed, what was not known to me, that Lakemacher had conjectured something similar; but his view had remained completely unnoticed.

<sup>4</sup> Τὰ Φάλαρα in Strabo x. 4. beg.; ἡ Φαλασάρα *ibid.*, middle. Stephanus of Byzantium distinguishes from the latter two cities of Crete called Φάλαρα and Φαλιναία. Such traces are sufficient, so long as we are unable to explain a proper name exactly by its meaning in the native language. The LXX. translate the word first, in the Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua, by Φυλιστιelm, keeping strictly to the Hebrew pronunciation, though from Herod. i. 105, vii. 89 it is evident that in Egypt (for where else could Herodotus have got it?) the name had long been pronounced *Palaestina*. In

the later-translated books the name is very singularly rendered by Ἀλλόφυλοι, i.e. Barbarians, Foreigners; perhaps only by an easy, half-jesting play upon that same Φυλιστιelm, induced by early hatred, which survived even the Captivity. But modern writers who quote the Ethiopic word *falasa*, to migrate, as furnishing the explanation, surely attribute to these translators more wisdom than they possessed.

<sup>5</sup> Hom. *Odys.* xix. 175.

<sup>6</sup> Deut. ii. 23; Jer. xlvi. 4.

<sup>7</sup> The Greek abbreviation Κυδών from Kaftór is not much greater than that of Κόλχιοι from Kaslúch (Gen. x. 14), in a perfectly analogous case.

<sup>8</sup> Hom. *Od.* xix. 173-177; comp. Strabo x. 4. But the question how Caphtor came to be entitled a son of Egypt in Gen. x. 14 is not closely connected with that respecting the Philistines, but ought to be answered from the earliest history of Egypt. Rougé believes he finds the name in Egyptian as *Kefru* (*Revue Archéologique*, 1861, ii. p. 218).

earlier and later settlers; in David's time the Cretans and Philistines were perfectly distinguishable, and the name Cretans may have been given to those who still continued to arrive from the Greek islands. Thus all these circumstances point to a twofold immigration.

Of the causes which induced the Philistines first to migrate to the coast destined to perpetuate their name, we know nothing from actual tradition: of their second immigration, too, we learn nothing directly from the ancient authorities. But the causes of this second can be approximately conjectured from other facts of history which are clear to us. The Philistines, so far as we can follow them historically as masters of a part of Canaan, exhibit two very different phases of activity and power; and if it is ever permissible to draw inferences from the gradually developed system of the present respecting its hidden source in the past, this ought certainly to be conceded to us here. On the one hand, the Philistines were very warlike and valiant,<sup>1</sup> incomparably more expert than the Israelites in the arts of war, and the only inhabitants of Canaan who opposed any effectual resistance to them, and for many centuries contested with them the dominion of the entire land. The difference from the Canaanites which they exhibit under this aspect is apparent also in their language, which although Semitic varied much from that spoken in Canaan generally.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, they resemble the Canaanite settlers on the coast in making seaports the strongholds of their power, and not only holding the strongest of these, but carrying on from them a lucrative foreign commerce, which indeed furnishes the only satisfactory explanation of the greatness and power of their cities.<sup>3</sup> But the union of such violent antitheses of character

<sup>1</sup> The Targum 2 Sam. xx. 7 gives for the above *C'rethi* and *P'lethi*—archers and slingers; which agrees with the Greek tradition of Rhadamanthys and Minos as inventors of the bow.

<sup>2</sup> פְּלִשְׁתִּי is undoubtedly a genuine Philistine word, for it is the name given to their five princes. It is interchanged with the synonymous Hebrew פָּלֶשׁ (1 Sam. vi. 4, 16, 17, comp. with xviii. 30, xxix. 2–9), and is certainly derived from the same root, as an abbreviation from *Sarrân*; but how much shortened, and how peculiar a form! See also p. 245 note. Hitzig (*Urgeschichte und Mythologie der Philistäer*, Leipzig, 1845, and *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 1848, p. 359) endeavours to prove that the very name of

the Philistines identifies them with the Pelasgi, and that their language was not Semitic, but Aryan; but the argument seems to me not correctly conducted, even supposing it to be an open question. Equally unfounded is Quatremère's opinion that the Philistines were Berbers (comp. also the *Jahrbücher der Biblischen Wissenschaft*, v. p. 226 sq.). The light colour of their skin on the Egyptian monuments (in Brugsch, *Geographische Inschriften*, ii. p. 85 sqq.) deserves attention; this suits well their connection with Crete and Caria.

<sup>3</sup> Askelon had much intercourse with Cyprus, and possessed the oldest and richest temple of the *Θύραι Ἀφροδίτης*, Herod. i. 105; Strabo (xvi. 2) calls Gaza *Ἐνδοτός πόρε*. Medieval as well as modern

is inconceivable in one small undivided people, and in so early an age. The Avvim whom the Philistines dispossessed were tillers of the soil and unwarlike. The Israelites were both tillers and warlike, for the union of the two is perfectly conceivable. The Canaanites, who even thus early were distinguished for their handicrafts, trades, and all the higher arts, including especially marvellous architectural skill,<sup>1</sup> were by no means fond of war for war's sake, nor pertinacious in self-defence, any more than the Carthaginians at a later period and on a larger field, when abandoned by the succour or the fortune of their mercenaries. We are led by these considerations to expect in the five small Philistine kingdoms which here took root and flourished for centuries, a confluence of very various elements of nationality and culture. And the possibility of such confluence appears at once as the conclusion to which the historical consideration of the prevailing circumstances naturally tends. We may assume (according to p. 243 sq.), that at the time of the Israelitish conquest of Canaan, the Philistines of the first immigration were greatly reduced in power, and their chief cities already held by the commercial Canaanites, whilst the Avvim still maintained a certain degree of independence; and that then, delivered by the Israelitish invasion from the Canaanite yoke, but at the same time hard-pressed and partially conquered by the Israelites themselves, they probably sought assistance from the only quarter where it was to be had, namely from the Semites of the seaboard, as for instance of Crete; an application which was often repeated in later times. We find both the Cretans and their relatives the Carians<sup>2</sup> (the similarity of whose names is not accidental) very often taken into pay by the ancient Asiatic and African kings, as brave soldiers and body-guards, and their remarkable fitness and desire for such service must have been generally known;<sup>3</sup> even David formed his body-guard of the so called Cerethites and Pelethites. But if once a body of these mercenaries seeking employment had gone to these maritime cities, a stronger body may then once or more have repeated the venture, and made themselves masters of the whole coast, protecting the commerce and trades already settled there, and subjugating the agricultural Avvim. One of the forces that drove

writers speak of the magnificent ruins of these cities.

<sup>1</sup> See for instance Guérin's *Voyage Archéologique* (Paris, 1862), ii. p. 226 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Their actual connection is shown by Herodotus i. 171-173; Thucydides i. 8; Strabo xiv. 2; in the Old Testament also,

חֲבֵרִי (2 Kings xi. 4, 19) is interchanged with the פְּרִתִּי mentioned above as the name for the body-guard.

<sup>3</sup> As early as Homer the Cretans served thus; as to later times see Herodotus, ii. 152.

them to emigrate may perhaps have been a famine such as sometimes occurred in the much-divided Crete,—for example, during the internal strife of the different nationalities of the island at the time of Minos, the mythical organiser of the kingdom.<sup>1</sup> It is certain that the surviving Rephaim mingled with the Philistines and made common cause with them against Israel (p. 246 sqq.); that the Amorites during the period of the Judges fought with them against Israel;<sup>2</sup> and that the help of these warriors was sought by the Sidonians in far later times;<sup>3</sup> while the Askelonian king, who is said to have conquered the Sidonians, and induced them to found the new city of Tyre,<sup>4</sup> a year before the fall of Troy, may very probably have been a Philistine.

Though in the end permanently driven back by Israel upon a narrow strip of sea-coast, the Philistines nevertheless, through their fortified cities on the confines of Africa, always possessed such importance in the eyes of the Egyptians that the latter called the whole land of Canaan from them Palestine;<sup>5</sup> and this designation gradually superseded the older name Canaan, and became prevalent everywhere, through the spread of Hellenic culture under the successors of Alexander.

3) We have yet to notice the incursions of wandering tribes living in tents on the southern and eastern borders—the ARABIAN tribes, as they may conveniently be called. Their incursions must have been quite as frequent in the Premosaic age as in that of the Judges and subsequently, in which we can trace their recurrence in greater or less force. None of these attacks made by tent-tribes upon tribes long domiciled in the land ever had any great or enduring result. The new genius of Mohammed was required to make of them anything more than freebooting expeditions, followed by occasional settlements. Still at times they exerted so much influence over the country, and left such evidences of their occurrence scattered about, that we must here briefly review those of the Premosaic period.

<sup>1</sup> According to Stephanus of Byzantium, under Γάζα, this city was once named Μινώα, as if Minos himself, with Æacus and Rhadamanthys, had founded it. To this time may belong that migration from Crete spoken of by Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 2, mixing up the Jews with the ancient Idaeans of Crete; because it is generally assigned to the period of the downfall of Kronos and the commencement of the reign of Zeus; i.e. the beginning of the historical age associated with the name of Minos.

<sup>2</sup> This is the meaning of the passage 1 Sam. vii. 14.

<sup>3</sup> Jer. xlvii. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Justin, xviii. 3, 5.

<sup>5</sup> In Philo, *Opera*, ii. p. 20, where, according to the present reading, the name Palestine is derived from the Syrians, we must read according to one MS. *Συρία* for *Σύροι*. In our own day the conjecture has been hazarded, that the name of the city Pelusium is identical with Philistine; but this is improbable in itself (Pelusium being only the Greek name of the city), and cannot be proved from the words of Plutarch, *Παλαιστίνων ἢ Πηλοούσιον* (*de Is. et Os.* ch. xvii.)

The AMALEKITES, in primeval times, must have been one of the strongest and most warlike nations of north-western Arabia. They endeavoured repeatedly to force their way into Canaan from the south, and form a settlement there. From the fact that they are not mentioned in the list of nations in Gen x., no more can be inferred than that at the time of the composition of the Book of Origins they had already lost their ancient importance. In the earliest age known to us, according to a story of extreme antiquity,<sup>1</sup> they possessed the entire tract stretching southwards from Canaan to Egypt; and they were once settled actually in the middle of Canaan, where a 'Mountain of the Amalekites' in Ephraim long preserved their name;<sup>2</sup> indeed we have good reason (from p. 231 sq.) to suppose that it was chiefly they who constituted the aboriginal population of the entire valley of the Jordan.<sup>3</sup> They may, moreover, formerly have really been a settled people. The Kenites, their allies in Moses's time and subsequently, were indeed a nomadic race, and the Amalekites themselves, when finally expelled into the desert, would of necessity adopt more and more the nomadic tent-life. Nevertheless, their appearance in historical times is exactly that of a nation which, having been driven back into the desert successively by Canaanites, Philistines, and Israelites, could never forget that it had for centuries possessed the beautiful land of Canaan and been its first colonists, and which therefore repeatedly made the greatest exertions to regain its former possession. At the time of Moses and afterwards they still held many posts in the extreme south, remnants of their ancient power, and in conjunction with the Canaanites often defended them bravely against Israel.<sup>4</sup> Indeed the hostility which they manifested towards the Israelites at the Exodus—in harassing them on the march and cutting off the lagging, weak, or weary, in true Bedouin fashion<sup>5</sup>—was quite pertinacious and bitter enough to account for the strong national animosity which existed for centuries between Amalek and Israel. It was the hatred of two

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xiv. 7; comp. 1 Sam. xxvii. 8.

<sup>2</sup> The fuller name of the mountain is found Judges xii. 15; the shorter *Amalek* in poetic language, Judges v. 14; and it is clear from both passages that a region of great extent must have been intended; possibly the centre of the mountain strongholds of Ephraim, where first Amalek and afterwards Ephraim dwelt in large numbers, and held their national assemblies.

<sup>3</sup> Very curiously the LXX. (at least according to most MSS.) treat the king of Maacah in 2 Sam. x. 6, 8 as a king of

the Amalekites; whence it would follow that in the north-east of the land a remnant of this nation had maintained itself up to the time of David. It should be observed that this small territory of Maacah appears always closely connected with Geshur, already mentioned p. 231.

<sup>4</sup> Book of Origins; Numb. xiii. 29; xiv. 25, 43, 45.

<sup>5</sup> The clearer and earlier tradition on this point is found in Deut. xxv. 17, 18. The Fourth Narrator treats this reminiscence after his own fashion, Ex. xvii. 8-16.

rivals disputing a splendid prize which the one had previously possessed and still partially possessed, and the other was trying to get for himself by ousting him; and to this was added the antipathy constantly existing between nomadic and settled nations, to which latter class Israel even at this early period belonged. One short saying<sup>1</sup> preserved from that primeval time shows very distinctly how deeply rooted was this aversion in Israel; it ascribes to Moses these words:

*'Yea, the hand to the throne of Jah :<sup>2</sup>  
Jahveh makes war against Amalek  
From generation to generation !'*

And in fact the eternal war against Amalek and his gods, vowed by Israel in these words of glowing indignation, must have contributed much to the gradual complete dissolution and annihilation of this once-powerful people. The commencement of this decline is visible even before the Mosaic age. First, we are informed of the important fact that the Kenites, named Gen. xv. 19, many of whom accompanied the Israelites to Canaan; originally constituted a sub-tribe of Amalek,<sup>3</sup> from which however the greater part seceded at the time of Moses and joined the Israelites; but this stands in too close connection with the history of Israel under Moses to be fittingly discussed here. Secondly, the Kenizzites, who in Gen. xv. 19 are near to the Kenites, must, according to all indications, have occupied a similar position. At the time when the Israelites conquered Canaan some of these Kenizzites, doubtless consisting of a few ruling families, were dispersed over the land at the extreme south. Othniel, Caleb's younger brother, and likewise son-in-law, is called a son of Kenaz,<sup>4</sup> and Caleb himself, the son of Jephunneh, has the appellation Kenizzite.<sup>5</sup> The original meaning of Keniz-

<sup>1</sup> Ex. xvii. 16.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. 'I swear, raising my hand heavenwards,' Gen. xiv. 22. The great antiquity of this saying is seen also from its peculiar language; neither the expression about the hand, nor כַּף, which must be a dialectic variety of כַּף, being found elsewhere.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Sam. xv. 6; the account in 1 Sam. xxx. 29 is not opposed to this. The name of such a desert tribe has been preserved

down to Christian times: كِنِيزِي shortened from بنو كِنِيز Ham. p. 228. 3. 8; 263. 9 sq. &c., كِنِيز Tabari i. p. 80 last but one, comp. also كِنِيزِي in Mohammed's history: it is, however, hardly possible to ascertain

whether any or what kind of connection existed between the ancient and the modern tribe. Mere similarity of name, without further indication of relationship, must not mislead us as to the affinities of primeval tribes; for example, the locality الكنعان in Upper Egypt (*Description de l'Égypte, État Moderne*, xviii. 3, p. 49), and near the modern Debir (*Zeitsch. der Deut. Morgen. Ges.* 1857, p. 59), can scarcely have anything to do with the Canaanites.

<sup>4</sup> Judges i. 13, iii. 9; Josh. xv. 17; 1 Chron. iv. 13; the LXX. indeed interpret the three first passages as if Kenaz were Caleb's younger brother.

<sup>5</sup> In the Book of Origins, Num. xxxii. 12; Josh. xiv. 6, 14; comp. verse 13.



zite being fully established, this can evidently only mean that Caleb and his adherents had connected themselves with the Kenizzites dwelling in southern Canaan, and were acknowledged by them as possessing all the privileges of their tribe. When at a later time these Kenizzites were forced into a position of dependence upon Caleb's posterity, Kenaz might be called his grandson.<sup>1</sup> Another section dwelt in Edom, and appears there as one of Esau's grandsons through Eliphaz.<sup>2</sup> This therefore must, through a sacrifice of perfect independence, have entered into the union of the Edomite tribes, exactly as Caleb and his confederates into that of the Israelites. Now since Amalek and Kenaz are both described as grandsons of Edom through Eliphaz, but the former was a son of a concubine, which marks him as a subordinate or servile member of the kingdom,<sup>3</sup> it is evident that the Edomites, though making no difficulty (as the Israelites did) about receiving Amalekites into their confederacy, yet held the Kenizzites, who must before this time have renounced their connection with the Amalekites, in far higher esteem, as did the Israelites also.

But for many centuries after Moses this indomitable people continued its struggle for independence as opportunity offered. Their enmity towards Israel remained unchanged; and when they could do nothing greater, they could at least make plundering expeditions<sup>4</sup> in company with other tribes who made incursions from the south-east; for which they were repeatedly made to feel the vengeance of Israel.<sup>5</sup> After the severe castigations they received from Saul and David,<sup>6</sup> they disappear for a time from history, but are mentioned as late as the second half of the eighth century (p. 109 sq.), and again towards its close, when 500 Simeonites, as if to revive the old animosity, hunted up in the mountains of Edom their old prey, 'the rest of the Amalekites who were escaped,' and exterminated them and occupied their territory.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> As is found in 1 Chron. iv. 15; undoubtedly from a genuine ancient authority.

<sup>2</sup> In the Book of Origins, Gen. xxxvi. 11, 15, 42.

<sup>3</sup> In the Book of Origins, Gen. xxxvi. 12, 16; therefore he is closely connected with the Horites, i.e. the Aborigines (comp. Gen. xxxvi. 12 with 22). Curiously he is not named in vv. 40-43, but perhaps this admits of explanation; for if the meaning of vv. 40-43 has been correctly given on p. 76, it is intelligible why the Hebrews here also did not like to recognise the sovereignty of Amalek.

<sup>4</sup> As is expressly stated 1 Sam. xiv. 48.

<sup>5</sup> Judges iii. 13, vi. 3, 33, see x. 12, and above, p. 109 sq.

<sup>6</sup> 1 Sam. xiv. 48; xv., xxvii. 8: comp. xxx. 13; 2 Sam. i. 8.

<sup>7</sup> 1 Chron. iv. 42, 43. The subsequent poetic mention of this nation in Ps. lxxxiii. among many others with which Israel had to contend from a very early period, has hardly any more historical significance than that Haman is called in the Book of Esther an Agagite, i.e. (see 1 Sam. xv.), a chief of the original enemies (the Amalekites); so at least Josephus explains, but see vol. V. p. 230.

The position assigned in the Old Testament records to this once widespread and powerful people ought especially to be studied by any one who wishes to form a correct judgment upon the later accounts of them given by Arabic writers.<sup>1</sup>

As the Amalekites in historical times made inroads from the south, so did the Kadmonites, who are mentioned next to them in Gen. xv. 19, from the east. These are undoubtedly what their name expresses, Orientals, Saracens,<sup>2</sup> otherwise *B'ne Kedem*, or Sons of the East; a name restricted in practice to the east contiguous to Palestine, and comprising only the Arabian nations dwelling between Palestine and the Euphrates. Among these the Midianites alone gained historical celebrity, as a powerful conquering nation,<sup>3</sup> the others being in fact mentioned only

<sup>1</sup> Among the numerous accounts of this people, there is much which has originated in a careless intermingling of Biblical stories (see the Introduction to the ancient work of Abdalhakam upon Egypt [which I possess in manuscript, see *Zeitsch. für d. Morgenland*, iii. 3], now edited by Karle, Göttingen, 1856; Masudi's *Golden Meadows*, London, 1841, i. pp. 76, 93, 94, 97, 98; De Sacy's *Abdollarif*, p. 519; the *Kitāb Alaghāni* in the *Jour. As.* 1838, ii. p. 206 sq.; Tabari edited by Dubeux, i. p. 47-55 (but comp. pp. 113, 121), 209, 210, 261, 262; also Ibn-Chaldūn in the *Jour. As.* 1844, i. p. 306); but they cannot all have had such an origin. These accounts assert in substance: 1. that Am-lāk or Amlīk (both derived from *Amlek*) was neither allied to Ishmael nor to Kachtan (Joktan); i.e. was one of the few aboriginal Arabian tribes which dwelt first in Yemen, and then spread by way of Mecca and Medina to Syria, where it had powerful rulers (Abulfidā's *Præ-Islamite Annals*, pp. 16, 178; the proverb of *عزقوب* in De Sacy's *Hariri*, p. 139 sq.); this cannot rest merely on Num. xxiv. 20; on the contrary, Amlek is thereby placed in a list of Arabian tribes (named in Gen. x. 7) which stand in no sort of connection with Abraham. 2. That it at one time gave kings to Egypt; on which point more will be said afterwards in the history of Joseph. 3. That even as late as the kingdom of Alhira it had powerful princes, whose subjects had peculiar obligations, Hamāsa, p. 253, v. 1 and 254, el-Bekri in Wüstenfeld's *Genealogische Tabellen der Araber Heg.* p. 405; Abulfidā, p. 122. In the ancient work *معجم* (Cod. Mediol. Ambros. 100 according to Hammer), which also elsewhere mentions frequent invasions of Syria and Palestine by the ancient Arabs, there

is a notice of mighty kings of Amalek at the time of Nebuchadnezzar, and of their invasion of Syria (according to an abstract kindly communicated to me by Earl Munster and Dr. Sprenger in their journey through Tübingen, in the autumn of 1841). In many cases the name Amalekite may have signified among the later Arabs merely an aboriginal race; as in the case of the oblong Amalekite tombs similar in form to those of the ancient Egyptians, which Captain Newbold found near Jerusalem in 1846, and described in the *Trans. As. Soc. London*. But the pronunciation *עמלק* is quite Hebrew, according to my *Lehrbuch*, 37 d, p. 176.

It is clear from these and similar passages, that I nowhere overestimate the Moslim tales of the Amalekites and other nations of antiquity, or draw conclusions from them alone as reliable sources. But besides the Bedouin, Arabia had in certain parts settled races, among whom writing and literature, though gradually degenerating, flourished from the earliest times (for it is not true that these were first introduced by Mohammed). Moreover, the early Moslim, as has been shown in *Fihrist*, had at their command a mass of works since wholly lost. These considerations are not sufficiently kept in view by Th. Nöldeke in his treatise *Ueber die Amalekiter und einige andere Nachbarvölker der Israeliten*, Göttingen, 1864.

\* *الشرق* still designates among the Mohammedans chiefly the districts to the east of Palestine, on the Euphrates (as *Kemälddin*, in Freytag's *Chrestomathy*, p. 119, 17), and the name *Saraceni* was in use among the Romans long before Islām, apparently from the time of Trajan's and Hadrian's wars.

\* Num. xxv. sqq.; Judges vi.-viii.

in connection with them.<sup>1</sup> But as the Book of Origins<sup>2</sup> describes them as Abraham's descendants, they find their proper place in the primeval history of the Hebrews, as is also the case with the Edomites, Moabites, and Ammonites, who settled near, or else in the very midst of the Hebrews. Of the Hebrews, then, we now propose to give a connected account.

**3.** A strong contrast to all the migrations already noticed is furnished by that of the Hebrews, of whom the Israelites originally formed but one small branch. Here we have a people which, according to its own clear memories, had entered the land from the north-east—the quarter whence, on prehistoric, i.e. philological and physical grounds, perhaps all the nations already described may be thought to have originally come, although in every case in which we can trace their steps backward in actual history, we always find that they had already been either settled down or leading a wandering life somewhere else first. From the same quarter other nations were in later ages seen to issue—Assyrians, Scythians, Turks, and Mongols, whose advance was chiefly marked by the use of mere physical force, coming and going without leaving any intellectual creation to witness of its existence. The Ancient Hebrews, on the contrary, effected a revolution in these favoured lands, the force of which was felt for centuries by the nations previously settled there, and generated a new spiritual life, whose noblest fruit still remained, nay rather first became truly known and valued, as the nation itself perished. We here enter upon a fresh region, of which we could never have had the faintest idea from any of the nations already described. This it is which constitutes the proper subject of the present history.

The memory of this Hebrew immigration, however, as preserved in the historical books written after the establishment of the Mosaic religion, is so closely bound up with the whole history of primeval times preserved by Israel, that it will be best treated of in that connection.

An ancient nation which had already played some part and reaped some laurels on the great theatre of nations, on gazing backwards, inspired by a new desire to form a clear picture of its own remote antiquity, would discover very various but scattered and indistinct remembrances, which ultimately lost themselves in an obscurity impenetrable to memory alone. But where memory fails, hypothesis always steps in; and in the varied

<sup>1</sup> Judges vi. 3: comp. Isaiah xi. 14; assigned to קדם, v. 6, deserves especial attention.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xxv. 1-6, where the prominence

mass of traditionary matter preserved by an imaginative people, much is always to be found that springs from mere hypothesis and a busy fancy. The combination of these two essentially different elements may then continue for a further period, even after the awakening of the desire to look back into the distant past and gain a clearer conception of it.<sup>1</sup> These mixed memories of its primitive state, which each nation thus forms and preserves in a manner characteristic of its intellectual stage, we here designate its Preliminary History. A complete separation is thereby effected between the Preliminary and the properly so called National History. Indeed the mere aspect of the subject constrains us to admit that the history of the Israelites as a nation can only properly commence with the Twelve Tribes; and that whatever is told of the Patriarchs and of still earlier times, belongs to an essentially different region of history.

<sup>1</sup> As shown more fully pp. 26 sqq.

# HISTORY OF ISRAEL.

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## BOOK I.

### PRELIMINARY HISTORY OF ISRAEL.

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#### SECTION I.

##### ISRAEL BEFORE THE MIGRATION TO EGYPT.

###### A. GENERAL NOTIONS.

THIS Preliminary History embraces partly historical matter concerning the earliest times, treasured in the memory of the people at a later day, or received by them into their traditions from other nations ; but partly also their own ideas and imaginings respecting those primeval ages, their connection with the other nations of the earth, with the first members of the human race, and with God Himself. It is evident therefore that, ascending from the period which I call here the Historical, the accounts which we possess divide themselves into various stages which were clearly enough distinguished in the national consciousness. On the lowest stage, nearest to the historical period, stand the traditions of the abode of the people when but little civilised, in Canaan, of their emigration thither from the north-east, and of the grand forms of the Fathers, alike of the people of Israel and of the other kindred Hebrew tribes. The dim remembrance of this migration which the Hebrew race preserved in their later position far to the south-west, together with their tradition of an original connection with other nations dwelling in the north and east, forms the boundary-line of this stage of the preliminary history. But behind this there arises a remoter question which no cultivated people can forbear to ask : in what relation they stand not only towards a few kindred nations, but towards all the peoples of the earth : a question the answer to which goes beyond the traditions of all existing nations, and leads into a cloud-land which can be reached only by means of linguistic and physical investigations, or (where these are untried or incomplete) by imagination merely, and never embraces

more than the origin of the existing nations and men. But historical questions and imaginings logically stretch beyond these ; nor can the ascending movement, once excited, again be laid to rest before, upon the third and last stage, and apart from all existing nations and living men, it has brought into view under an historical form the original condition of humanity, and the connection of mankind and of the whole creation with the Creator ; establishing on this subject a truth from which as from a first cause every further impulse of human history—that is of man's development—may be traced at leisure.

These are the three stages of primeval history, which the Book of Origins distinguishes by the Creation, the Renovation of the human race after the Great Flood, and Abraham's entrance into Canaan, as the commencement of so many great turning-points (or epochs), describing simply and accurately the peculiar nature of each ; while the later narrators introduce from other sources many fuller or varying accounts. When to this we add, that the time after the close of the Patriarchal world is in the Book of Origins regarded as the properly historical age, continuing little changed in character, in comparison with the primeval age, to the author's own day, then we see here before us four great Ages, into which the author regarded the entire domain of the world's history as falling, and according to the succession of which he arranged his work, as has been further explained above, p. 79 sq. But the Book of Origins evidently did not originate this conception of Four Ages of the world, since it does not explain the ground on which it rests, but rather tells its whole story briefly according to that idea, as if it were already long established and well known.

Unquestionably, then, we must recognise here the same Four Ages of the world of which the old legends both of the Greeks and of the Hindus speak. Nor is it the number four alone in which a striking agreement is found among the Hebrews, Greeks, and Hindus—nations widely separated in character as in locality : they have all likewise worked out the conception of a gradual decline of the human race from the primitive perfection of the first age to the second, third, and fourth. These facts force us to recognise the traces of a primary tradition which was given before the separate existence of such nations as the Hebrews, Greeks, and Hindus, and from which they all drank in common. We may be certain also that with the tradition of the four gradually declining ages were handed down various particulars concerning them : for example, one account of the Creation of the visible world in all its parts, and another

of the Great Flood at the end of the first age : partly because the conception of the Four Ages could become clear and fixed only by means of such minute details respecting the commencement, course, and nature of each ; and partly also because the accounts of the Creation and the Flood given in the Book of Origins recur among the Greeks, Hindus, and some other nations of antiquity, with so close a resemblance in essential portions, that we must assume for them also a common original source.

Much indeed of that which the later narrators add to the pictures given in the Book of Origins of the first two Ages (see p. 38 sq.), appears on a closer examination to have been first imported from Eastern Asia through the brisker intercourse with foreign countries which especially marked the period after the tenth century ; and then to have been so penetrated and leavened with the spirit of the Mosaic religion that it could find a place amid the ancient sacred traditions and ideas. But the case is quite different with those narratives of the Book of Origins which in their essential basis are found also among foreign and remote nations. Their importation can in no way be proved or rendered probable ; yet while they manifest in every feature an extreme simplicity and absolute antiqueness, though already tinged by the spirit of the Mosaic religion, they are found again not only in Eastern Asia but also in ancient Europe. Moreover, the composition of the Book of Origins dates from a time when the great influx of fresh stories and ideas from the East had not begun, and the people of Israel retained essentially their ancient condition. Their source must therefore reach back beyond the histories of the separate nations then existing into that obscure primeval period of the existence of one unknown, but early civilised nation, which was afterwards dissolved into the nations of that day, but left many wonderful relics as traces of its former existence. One such relic of the culture of this prehistoric people is the language of the historical nations, which clearly points to a common basis ; and the Semitic group of languages is connected, at least remotely, with the Mediterranean or Aryan group.<sup>1</sup> Another relic of this primeval nation are these old traditions : for where a cultivated language is found, there must be also a groundwork of peculiar institutions, traditions, and historical ideas ; and if nations, while diverging widely from their original unity, preserve the essential elements of the primeval language, each in its own way, and according to its special development, we can see no

<sup>1</sup> This subject is treated in detail in *Sprachlehre*, and more at length in the the various editions of my *Hebräische* two *Sprachwissenschaftliche Abhandlungen*.

reason why they should not similarly have retained from the same period a common basis of traditions, laws, and customs.<sup>1</sup>

But a comparison of the different forms which this primeval tradition of the Four Ages has assumed among each of these nations according to its peculiar history and culture, brings us to the conclusion that the Hebrew story presents the most conspicuous fragments of it, and lends us the most aid in inferring its original shape. For the Greek tradition, even in its oldest extant version,<sup>2</sup> only presents conceptions beautiful as poetry, but utterly barren of historical matter and tone, and not even conveying an idea of the reason for this division of all past time into four ages: for it would be manifestly absurd to suppose the reason for a four-fold division to have been that only four metals—gold, silver, brass, and iron—were known, and so only four ages corresponding to these could be affirmed. Clearly the thought of comparing the constant degeneration of the four ages with four metals similarly sinking in value is simply the Greek addition; but the fact that this merely poetical thought was required to revive and recast the whole idea of the four ages, proves satisfactorily that the original conceptions of the details were already lost.

In the Hindu accounts the original form of the tradition is much more clearly recognisable; especially if we compare the various modifications of the story presented by different writers, and draw our picture of the original from them all combined.<sup>3</sup> Some points are then even more plainly to be recognised in these than in the Hebrew tradition, of which indeed we have only the one single version given in the Book of Origins. For

<sup>1</sup> While I have been careful to avoid combining what is really heterogeneous, or making any unwarrantable assumption, I have always in this sense maintained the possibility of a certain original similarity among all the above-mentioned nations, not merely in language, but in myths and customs also. (See *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1831, pp. 1012–13.) K. O. Müller, in the introduction to his *History of Greek Literature*, made a similar admission.

<sup>2</sup> In Hesiod's *Works and Days*, v. 103–199: Hesiod's insertion of the Heroic before the Iron Age (making really five ages) is surely an innovation of his own; and an attentive perusal makes it evident that he had received the series of four ages only, corresponding to the four metals, with a few uncertain fragmentary details, and that his own imagination added all the rest. In Mexico, the four ages of the world were graduated accord-

ing to the four elements. Even among the Arabs was preserved a tradition (according to *Sûr.* vi. 6; compare x. 14)

of a series of ages (عصران) commencing with one supremely blest.

<sup>3</sup> A number of ancient Hindu traditions are given very briefly by Manu, i. 68–86; later and more highly developed ones are found in Wilson's *Vishnu-Purâna*, p. 23–26, 259–271; compare p. 622. The *Bhâgavata Purâna*, iii. 11, 18 sqq., furnishes little that is characteristic. The Buddhist notion, given by Schiefner in the *St. Petersburg Bulletin de l'Académie*, no. 193, is peculiar but not very ancient. In the *Veda* no detailed account of the Four Ages of the world has as yet been found; but this does not prove that the whole conception was unknown among the Hindus till a late period.



example, it is certain from them that the original idea of the Four Ages was formed by looking from below upwards, or in other words by looking from the present further and further back into the distant strata of primeval time, somewhat as conjectured above, see p. 256 sq;<sup>1</sup> and further, there was a symmetrical progression in the numerical and other relations conceived to subsist among the Four Ages. For, though it might be thought probable that in the endeavour to form anything like a complete conception of these Four Ages the scanty historical reminiscences of primeval times would be aided by the assumption of some such relations of proportion running through four terms, yet this is first visibly confirmed by the Hindu traditions.<sup>2</sup> The Hebrew tradition, on the other hand, possesses this superior merit, that it accurately distinguishes and bounds the four ages according to their intrinsic nature, so that we see clearly why four—neither more nor less—are assumed, how each of them differs intrinsically from the rest, and has its meaning only in its own place and order. Their succession is not determined by a mere change in general mutual relations—each containing merely its definite space, its numbers and its greater or less degree of virtue; but each possesses, independently of its relation to the others, an external boundary and an internal life and character of its own, which make its existence in this particular form possible only this once; and together they include the whole domain of historical traditions. The non-Hebrew legends, by tearing the Great Flood away from its original position in the series of these Four Ages and setting it up as an independent event, have lost one clear distinction between the first two ages. And the Greek legend, by not assigning even to the third age any of the famous heroic names which approach the domain of strict history, fails to make any adequate distinction between the two middle ages.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The proof of this is furnished by the names: *Kali-yuga* is the fourth age, the sorrowful present: *Dvāpara-yuga*, the third, has its name derived from the number two, as if counted from below; *Treta-yuga*, the second, from the number three; but both of these, now that the names and traditions are more minutely worked out, contain at the same time an allusion to the gradual decrease of the four pips on the dice, in the game of dice. This artificial, and therefore probably modern, image being once introduced, the *Krita-* or *Satya-yuga*, the first age, signifying that of Perfection or Truth, is represented by the four pips, the best throw of the dice. Other figures were suggested by the various kinds of living

beings; thus arose the Egyptian conception (one similar to which is still prevalent in Japan), half apparent even in Hesiod, of the successive rule of *Gods*, *Demigods*, *Manes*, and *Men*.

<sup>2</sup> The progression of the Four Ages is exactly in the proportion of the numbers 1, 2, 3, 4; but after starting with the simple conception that the length of human life was in the first age 400 years, in the second 300, in the third 200, and in the fourth 100 (Manu, i. 83), they multiplied these numbers preposterously; the original numbers, however, being still discernible.

<sup>3</sup> I have gone at length into the subject of Primeval Biblical History in the *Jahrb.*

## B. THE FIRST TWO AGES.

Looking closer, after these general remarks, into each of the three ages of the primeval history, we see at once that the first two ages, as described in the Book of Origins, present a certain mutual resemblance, and consequent common contrast to the following age. It is true, indeed, that each is essentially sufficiently distinguished from the other: the first shows what man was at his creation, and how even in this primeval state the race sank gradually lower and lower, until the Flood swept them away; the second, how the new human race, starting from that terrible time of purification and new-birth, developed itself into the great and wide-spread nations now existing. But at the time when the idea of the Four Ages was established, it was not possible to recall the memory of any individuals who had actually lived in the first two ages, as it was of those who had lived in the following third or fourth age. In this respect, these two ages, as representing only the great events of the Creation, the Flood, and the development of the existing nations, but void of other interest, and lacking the history of individual men, necessarily formed a contrast to the two following, which are rich in contents, and present an ample supply of tradition respecting individual heroes of the older times.

But again even from the first there was something so repugnant to natural feeling in this emptiness of an entire age,<sup>1</sup> that tradition early sought to fill up the gaps as satisfactorily as possible. A continuous series of men and races must surely have lived even then (so it might fairly be argued), and occupied these wide spaces; and when the inclination of tradition to fill up the gaps was once aroused, material enough was soon presented to satisfy the demand. For tradition has in its boundless store no lack of names available to fill these voids. Some of these names originally expressed mere ideas, exhibiting the first man, and similar founders of new races or nationalities as conceived by the ancients, in the concrete form of individuals; as for instance among the Hindus, to whom Manu (or Man) is the first man, and the creator of all other beings. Other names

*der Bibl. Wiss.* vol. i-ix.; and therefore need not repeat here much which is said there. Compare here also Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde*, i. p. 499 sqq. Nothing is so convenient, but at the same time so perverse, as to assume a mere casual coincidence, even in cases where it is possible to pursue the scattered traces till we can reproduce the lost whole in its original

vividness; as has been done above in the case of the Four Ages.

<sup>1</sup> The Hindu tradition in the *Purāṇas* accordingly specifies the seven Rishis and other necessary personages, not only for all the past six *Manvantaras* (creations), but even for the seven that are yet to come (*Vishnu-Pur.* 259-271).

denoted gods who had been formerly venerated, but were then regarded, not as utterly gone, but only as become powerless and lifeless and withdrawn into obscurity, and who therefore must have appeared especially suited to people the empty spaces of the remotest ages. Others, finally, were the surviving names of ancient heroes which, no longer possessing any real meaning among the living nations, were readily thrown back into the remote regions of the primeval times.

But tradition, in filling up the space of an entire age out of such materials, could not accept at random an unlimited number of names, because the very conception of a long past age, although allowing a certain necessary fulness, demanded limits and moderation in respect to numbers. Accordingly we find round numbers always employed: the more because names, which, being handed down from the remotest times, might easily be lost, tend to group themselves in round numbers (see p. 26 sq.) Among these numbers, seven and ten perpetually recur: the Hindus speak of the seven Maharshis (great saints) of the primeval period,<sup>1</sup> and of seven Prajâpatis (ancestors).<sup>2</sup> But even more than the number seven, the number ten<sup>3</sup> appears so constantly in the traditions of ancient nations respecting the primeval world, that we cannot but regard this sacred number of ancestors as an element of the one common original tradition. And if in the transmitted forms of this common tradition groups of seven or ten names were always assigned to fill up the space of that age, we must in this respect also hold the special form of the Hebrew tradition as the clearest and most ancient. For while the traditions of the other nations merely place seven or ten names as those of the Forefathers at the head of all history, and confine them to the first age,<sup>4</sup> the Hebrew tradition repeats the series in both the first two ages; it makes of the individual names in each a symmetrical series,

<sup>1</sup> Thus in the *Mahâbhârata* (*Matejopâkhjânam*, v. 30), and numerous *Purânas*, compare Wilson's *Vishnu-Pur.* p. 23 sq., 270, and the observations on pp. 49, 50.

<sup>2</sup> The appellation *Prajâpati* is often interchanged with *Maharshi*; yet properly there is a difference between them.

<sup>3</sup> Among the Hindus ten is the ruling number; Manu, i. 34 sq. *Vishnu-Pur.* p. 49 sq. *Bhâgavata-Purâna*, 3, 12. 21, sqq., 20. 9 sqq., 9. 1. 12 sqq.; comp. also the statements in Kleuker's *Zendav.* i. 20, iii. 117; among the Babylonians there are ten kings, reckoned from Alôres to Xisuthros, the hero of the Deluge (Berosus, ed. Richter, Leipsic, 1825, p. 52 sqq.; Moses Choren. *Hist.* i. 3); among

the Assyrians, ten kings from Ham to Ninyas, and ten from Japhet to Aram (Moses Chor. i. 4, according to Abydenos); among the Egyptians, thirty Memphitic and ten Thinitic kings, who according to Manetho followed Menes. Even among the ancient Mongols similar round numbers are found connected with national traditions of this character: see *Journal Asiat.* 1842, i. p. 90-92; 1859, ii. p. 520.

<sup>4</sup> The Hindus, however, reckon twenty-one Prajâpatis, i.e. seven, multiplied by the three ages (*Mahâbhârata*, i. 33). The Babylonians appear also to have counted ten generations after as well as before the Deluge (Berosus, ed. Richter, p. 58).

following each other from father to son like the members of a sovereign house. In like manner the close of each of these two ages, at which the tranquil succession of time ceases, and a broader development suddenly begins, is indicated by a device which might be compared to a knot in the thread—namely, by giving to every tenth Forefather three sons instead of one, who separate and found the new world, each in his own way. Here we see a complete system of ideas, as antique in its simplicity as it is well connected in itself, of which the other nations have preserved mere fragments. There can be no question that we are approaching the origin of the tradition, when we discover the natural unfolding of a fundamental conception unabridged and unconfused in all its parts. This is especially the case here, inasmuch as it will soon appear that the materials of the filling-up reach far back before the time of Moses.

It nowhere appears, however, on closer investigation, that with these round numbers the primeval tradition transmitted definite names of persons, which might recur in recognisable varieties of the same sound in the traditions peculiar to each of these ancient nations. We find, on the contrary, that each nation which preserved that base of primeval tradition, had already arrived at a stage when its own memories of old times could furnish the names required by those round numbers. In the case of the Hebrew tradition, this leads directly to some very remarkable results. In the twenty names which come first in the narrative, we discover the relics of a cycle of traditions, which have indeed a Semitic colouring, but date from a primeval Premosaic age; and we thus gain admission to a region which except at this point is virtually entirely lost to us. Elsewhere the Mosaic religion unsparingly destroyed the older religion with all its traditions which happened not to relate to the three Patriarchs; and even here these twenty names stand bare and lifeless, scarcely anything distinctive being recorded of any of them; and it is a happy chance that the somewhat later narrator of Gen. iv. has rescued in a cycle of seven Forefathers a few more complete but deviating traditions from the same region. But when we look closer at these bare names, a large part of the original Hebrew traditional history seems to revive before us from a sleep of thousands of years. Respecting times of which it might well seem presumptuous to expect any accurate information, we thus gain a considerable portion of assured knowledge, sufficient at least to give us a tolerably reliable insight into the most ancient religion and the earliest dwelling-

places of the Hebrews. And for this reanimation of the twenty Forefathers mentioned in the Book of Origins (Gen. v. and xi. 10–26), the diverging account by the later writer of Gen. iv. concerning seven of the Forefathers before the Flood is of great service, since we are prepared, after the foregoing remarks on the Hindu Fathers, to recognise in the number seven only an ancient substitute for the ten.

I. The names of the four earliest of the ten Forefathers who lived before the Flood must be first examined. They are in part easily intelligible, and really express only the ideas of 'man' and 'child' twice following in this order. The first name, Adam, and the third, Enos, as every one will admit, can mean nothing but 'man.' The second name, Seth, the son of Adam, which properly signifies *scion* or *germ*, as well as the fourth, Cainan, which signifies *a created thing, a creature*,<sup>1</sup> yield the idea of a young man. The evidence for the later case is strengthened by the fact that Cain, a shortened form of Cainan, appears in the other version (Gen. iv.) as the son of Adam himself. Thus we have here a combination of two expressions only for the first men—as father and son—as the old and the ever-young humanity. These double forms may perhaps at first have been only dialectic varieties,<sup>2</sup> until they were brought side by side by the necessity of making up a series of ten.

We must now compare with these the four earliest of the ten Forefathers after the Flood. The names of the first two distinctly designate the special race which claimed them as its progenitors. Shem is itself the honourable designation of this race, and Arphaxad the name of one of its original seats. But the fourth name, Salah, again, plainly signifies nothing but infant, child,

<sup>1</sup> That שֵׁת *Sheth* can have the signification given above, is inferred from its own meaning, and that of the cognate שֵׁתל *Shethel*, and also indicated by the Fourth Narrator in a happy play upon the word in Gen. iv. 25. קִין might be a dialectic variety of קַנָּה, and thence mean to *create*, as the Fourth Narrator again seems to intimate by hitting upon the signification *child*, obtained by a play on words in iv. 1.

<sup>2</sup> As is known to be the case with אָדָם and אָנוּשׁ. According to my *Sprachlehre*, § 153 d, p. 396, this word is formed in intentional opposition to אֱלֹהִים, *God*, as its contrasted idea. Both words have been preserved in the most various Semitic languages (though singularly enough not in the Ethiopic). What Semitic nation originated this expression of the two

contrasted ideas—of *God* as the absolutely *powerful*, and of *man*, matched with *God*, as the absolutely *weak*? It can scarcely have been Israel, because אָנוּשׁ became almost obsolete in Hebrew, as also in Arabic. The history of these two words, therefore, takes us to a primeval people far to the north. The writer of Gen. iv. 26 retained a correct feeling of the origin of these ideas. It is to be hoped that no one will fancy a connection between the Hebrew *Sheth* and the Egyptian *Seth* for *Typhon*. (But this has since actually occurred; Bunsen and the Dutch scholar W. Playte have really attempted this combination; the result is shown in the *Gött. Gel. Anz.*, 1862, pp. 2022–28. But see also Sujuthi's مختار الحكم in Dr. Lee's *Oriental Manuscripts*, p. 16.)

youth;<sup>1</sup> and the third, Cainan,<sup>2</sup> is actually identical with the fourth of the first series. Thus this group is laid out upon essentially the same plan as the former,—the only difference being that instead of the more general names, Adam and Enos, those peculiar to the Semites are here chosen, and are both promoted into the first two places.

II. As the first four of each series, and in analogy with these the first two of the shorter series of seven, stand in close connection together, and constitute a special portion of the original Semitic tradition, so also the five following of each series form another similar group, naturally separated through their close mutual connection from the former. But the first group of five, chosen for the first age, is derived from a sphere quite different from the second, appropriated to the second age.

With the five names which the Book of Origins placed in the first series (Gen. v. 15–28) the five names adduced by the subsequent narrator (Gen. iv. 17–24) essentially agree, as even a slight comparison shows. Their arrangement is but little different; and with respect to the variation in the spelling of three of them, it should be borne in mind that the later writer obtained the names by a comparatively learned method, probably after they had passed through a long series of transcriptions;<sup>3</sup> for according to every indication the original sounds are those given in the Book of Origins. This being presupposed, the first and most evident result at which we arrive from indications scattered through both books, is that in the original tradition Enoch and Lamech must have figured as demigods or even as

<sup>1</sup> שֵׁלַח, as in Solomon's Song iv. 13 and Is. xvi. 8: from which passages we infer that the word bore this signification especially in northern Palestine. We might fancy Shelah to be identical with the ancient Arabian prophet Sâlich (see Tabari, according to Dubeux, p. 121–127; *Journal Asiatique*, 1845, ii. p. 232). But his history is so essentially Arabian, with only the faintest tinge of Biblical colouring, that no such combination can be entertained; as I have already shown in the *Tübingen Theolog. Jahrb.* 1846, p. 572 sq. Caussin de Perceval's views respecting this *سَالِح*, in his *Essai sur l'Histoire des Arabes*, i. p. 25, 26, are quite inadmissible.

<sup>2</sup> I assume that the LXX. have assigned to this name its proper place; although it is somewhat singular that Selah has just the same number of years, 130 and 330, yet the reasons for regarding it as

genuine are too numerous to be slighted. The learned Demetrius in his work on Chronology found the name in this series (according to Eusebius, *Præp. Evang.* ix. 21), as also the author of the Book of Enoch, but not Josephus.

<sup>3</sup> The reading מַחֲוֵאל for מַחֲוֵלָאֵל has exactly the appearance of originating in careless reading or writing of the text; מַחֲוֵשָׁל also, for מַחֲוֵשָׁלָה, may have arisen from a similar oversight; only עֶדְרָא may be a real change of sound for עֶדְרָא, which would then point to an older form יֶדְרָא. The pronunciation *Methusalem*, which must also have been found, though rarely, in ancient documents (compare Tabari, ed. Dubeux, i. p. 91), is referable on the other hand to the phonetic law explained in the *Lehrbuch*, § 22 a. note, p. 71.

gods. The former appears from his name to be the Inaugurator, the Beginner, and thence the good spirit, who, like the Latin Janus and the Hindu Ganêça,<sup>1</sup> was invoked on any new or difficult undertaking. Thence, probably, he became the god of the new year, which recurs every 365 days, and for this reason the existing tradition, Gen. v., assigns to him a lifetime of 365 years. If he was regarded as preeminently a *good* spirit, more so than any others, this fact serves to explain how tradition, which, being tinged with the Mosaic feeling, could recognise in him only a man, was induced to depict him as realising the ideal of goodness of life, in the beautiful words of Gen. v. 21-24. His name is also the only one of which, apart from the Old Testament, a dim remembrance seems to have been preserved to later times. In the apocryphal book which bears his name,<sup>2</sup> he appears as a Prophet; but this may be only an inference from his position as great-grandfather of Noah, and from his having been distinguished as the last pious man before the Flood (Gen. v.) That the later writers praise him as a patron of knowledge and as the inventor of writing, agrees well with his character; and Stephanus of Byzantium,<sup>3</sup> in naming Iconium on Mount Taurus as the seat of his worship, and making this consist in lamentation for his death as that of the good spirit (as is also said of the worship of the Syrian Adonis), unquestionably quotes a genuine historical tradition. By the ancient city named after Enoch (Gen. iv. 17) this very city, Iconium in Phrygia, may be meant.

To this good spirit, Lamech,<sup>4</sup> who concludes the group,

<sup>1</sup> Or *Ganapati*, which I note here to prevent a precipitate comparison between the Hindu and Hebrew names.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted in the Epistle of Jude 14, 15; compare also on this subject my large *Abhandlung über des Aethiopischen Buches Henokk Entstehung, Sinn und Zusammensetzung*, Gött. 1854, and the *Jahrb. der Bibl. Wiss.* vi. p. 1 sqq. I just remark in passing that the Persian goddess *Anâhid*, whose name the Greeks modified into *Nanæa*, is merely the feminine counterpart of this primitive *Anak*. In Zend literature the *Anâhita* has an inflexion which seems to show that in Zend its original meaning was the *Immaculate*; but there seems to be no corresponding goddess in the Veda; and her worship appears first in history as if imported later into the original Zarathustrian (Zoroastrian) religion.

<sup>3</sup> Under the head *Ἰκόνιον*, where much is also related of the person here named

*Ἀννάς*, which can hardly have had any but a Biblical origin; as that he lived above 300 years, and that the Deluge, predicted by an oracle, followed his death. It accords well with this, that *Anak* was a man's name among the Pagan Armenians; see Moses Chor. *Hist.* ii. 71.

*عنان* is still found among the Arabs as a proper name (Wetzstein's *Hauran*, pp. 23, 40, 42, 70) as likewise *אנאך* among Abraham's descendants, Gen. xxv. 4, xli. 9. However, in the Sibylline books, i. 196, Phrygia must from ver. 260 sq. be identical with Ararat.

<sup>4</sup> Possibly in the original tradition Enoch stood first, as in Gen. iv.; certainly the contrast between the two could not be more sharply marked. Having thus recovered the city, we next recognise in the land of Nod, opposite Eden, v. 16, whither Cain goes, and where his posterity must be sought for, the *Lud* mentioned Gen.

evidently forms the counterpart. His very name may denote a predatory savage;<sup>1</sup> and so, according to Gen. iv. 19–24, he was taken as the gloomy symbol of a race degenerated into savage selfishness, the accepted type of the heroes of a revengeful age. For in joy over the sword invented by one of his sons, he exclaims in the old song:

*Adah and Zillah, hear my voice !  
Ye wives of Lamech, hearken to my speech !  
For the man I slew for my own wound,  
The child I struck dead on account of my own hurt !  
Was Cain avenged seven times ?<sup>2</sup>  
Lamech will be seven and seventy times !*

In this song the names of two demigoddesses, also of this group, are accidentally preserved.<sup>3</sup>

If then these two out of the five names have certainly had the significance of typical beings, the three others also must have had the same. And Methuselah, who stands immediately before Lamech, is evidently, as his name implies, the Warrior who stands nearest to the implacable avenger Death—a sort of Mars: Mahalal-el is the god of Light—a Sun-god, like Apollo; and Jared, who stands by his side, on the other hand, is the god of the Lowland or the Water.<sup>4</sup> And when we consider that the number five is the simplest of the round and sacred numbers, we may well suppose that we have here a complete group of ancient Gods and Demigods, who were banished into this distant age, only because (like Kronos and Saturn with their fellows, in the European legends) they were supplanted by other deities.

x. 22—Lydia in the extensive sense in which it was probably understood by the Hebrews. The proverb (v. 12) may very possibly have had an influence in changing the *l* into *n*. קָדַמְתָּ here and ii. 14, as in 1 Sam. xiii. 5, can hardly have any other

meaning than *opposite*, as *من قدام* from *opposite*; the LXX. give Gen. ii. 14, correctly *κατέναντι*: *Assumptio*, as must also be read in Theophilus *ad Autol.* ii. 30.

<sup>1</sup> The root *למך*, though obsolete, must be connected with *למך, לחצר, למא*—all which express the idea of snatching or robbing. The proper name *Αδμαχος*, though it belonged to Attica (Rangabé's *Antiqu. Hell.* ii. p. 864), can scarcely be a contraction of *Αδμαχος*.

<sup>2</sup> Compare also my *Lehrbuch*, § 362 b, p. 853.

<sup>3</sup> The names not only of the five heroes but also of these two women, belong clearly to a very early Premosaic age; and it is obvious that these verses furnish the real basis of the whole narrative, Gen. iv.; for what is there related of Cain's vengeance, ver. 13–16, evidently rests upon this song, ver. 24. And as this kind of wild revenge is essentially un-Mosaic, being directed against personal enemies only, not against the enemies of Jahveh and his people, it follows from every criterion that this song must be actually Premosaic, and therefore the most ancient contained in the Old Testament.

<sup>4</sup> Compare *יָרֵד*, i.e. *river*; so he might be the Indian Varuna. Masudi, according to Sprenger i. p. 71, always says *Lûd* instead of *Jered*, probably only through a false reading *لُود* for *يُود*.



Among the corresponding five names in the second series Eber stands at the head—a sign that from this point the thread of the genealogy is to be carried on only in respect to the Hebrews, one branch of the Semites. The four following, in all probability, refer to cities situated at various points, from the sources of the Euphrates and Tigris to the southern part of Mesopotamia. Till something more certain is discovered, Peleg may be identified with Palu, or rather Palude, high up near the source of the Euphrates,<sup>1</sup> Reu (Ragho<sup>2</sup>) with Arghana, somewhat more to the south near the source of the Tigris;<sup>3</sup>—places which have long since sunk into insignificance, only sharing the fate of many other almost extinct cities of those parts whose former greatness can be more clearly proved. Sarug<sup>4</sup> is the city between Bira on the Euphrates, Harran, and Edessa, which was well known as late as the Middle Ages. Lastly, Nahor seems still to attest his ancient power in many local names in those regions, as for example, to the south, below Ana, in Haditha (i.e. New City) with the epithet Elnaura, which may be a remnant of the ancient name;<sup>5</sup> to the north in el-Na'ûra, whose name has undergone an Arabic transformation:<sup>6</sup> and in various others.<sup>7</sup> In these five names we evidently do not meet with

<sup>1</sup> The place is found for instance in Wâkidi's *Conquest of Mesopotamia*, last edited by Mordtmann after Niebuhr, Hamburg, 1847; and in the *Armenian History of Matthias of Edessa*, p. 234 in Dulaurier. A cuneiform inscription has now been discovered there; see Layard's *Nineveh*, ii. p. 172. The Φάλα of Stephanus Byz. seems to have lain too far west, Paphlagonia (as also Phryges, Bebrykes) too far north; but possibly the Paghesh (i.e. Palesh), *Journ. Asiat.* 1855, p. 234, may be what we seek.

<sup>2</sup> Thus the LXX. βαραῖ for the Massoretic בִּרְאִי. It is scarcely necessary to say that the play upon words in the explanation of the name Peleg, Gen. x. 25 (which moreover is an interpolation by the Fifth Narrator), need not prevent our regarding it as the name of a place, and seeking it accordingly.

<sup>3</sup> See Berghaus's map, and Ainsworth's *Travels in Asia Minor*, ii. p. 362; this name Arghana is doubtless connected with that of the mountain-range running to the north of it from the Argæus (now Arjish), in Cappadocia (Strabo, xii. 2. 8), to the Arghi range on the south of Ararat, and extending to the lake of Urumia: (see Ainsworth, ii. p. 292; Badger's *Nestorians*, i. p. 35 sq.)

<sup>4</sup> Although both the LXX. and the

Massora pronounce it Σερούχ, we may yet return to the true pronunciation. Some modern travellers, however, write Seruj (see Ainsworth, i. p. 306, 310, ii. p. 102–103).

<sup>5</sup> Abulfida's *Geography*, the Arabic text, Paris, 1840, p. 287. 3. The name *Nausa* in Büsching, p. 234, seems a false reading of نورة. Reiske read *nâra*, and translated it *lime*; but d'Anville interprets it as the city Nahardea. The position of the city on an island in the Euphrates accords well with the description of the Nahoreans, inasmuch as they spread themselves out on both sides of the Euphrates, Gen. xxii. 20–24. But compare also the *ከከረዋር* in Chamechean, i. 3.

<sup>6</sup> Kemâleddîn's *History of Haleb* (Aleppo), ed. Freytag, p. 8 and 13, Arab.

<sup>7</sup> As نجرين *Nachrein*, near Maredin (though farther to the east), in Wâkidi's *Conquest of Mesopotamia*, ed. Mordtmann, p. 175. We might be tempted to identify the name שלח (already otherwise explained at p. 264 sq.) with Salach in Adiabene, often incidentally mentioned by Assemani (*Silici* in Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* vi. 30). But in the first place it is too far to the east for the other places mentioned

references to gods or heroes, as in those of the first series. If here any firm ground is to be reached, it must be that of locality; and the fact that these four cities lie not far from one another gives us a presumption that they have been truly identified. If we add to this that they stretch down in the same order from the north-east towards the south-west into the fruitful lands of Mesopotamia, we may perhaps discern in them four kingdoms which the Hebrews founded in succession as they pressed forward towards the south, or four capitals from which they may have exercised dominion in the remotest times. And the fact that Nahor, who here appears first as the grandfather of Abraham, is again introduced as his brother, is another proof that these names, so far from owing their origin to chance or caprice, are probably the designations of ancient Hebrew kingdoms, of which Nahor maintained itself longer than the rest. In the existing form of the narrative they have become mere lifeless designations of ancestors or forefathers, of whom however nothing characteristic is reported except the name; but through them we are visibly brought into contact with more definite regions and epochs.

III. But the case is very different with the tenth name, with which each of the two series closes. Noah,<sup>1</sup> both in name and in nature, is the impersonation of the idea of a renovated and better world. For all the more aspiring nations of antiquity, in spite of their conception of a decline in the duration and external happiness of human life, cherished also the opposite sentiment, that a multitude of old and pernicious errors were discovered and destroyed, and that then upon the ruins of a fearful depravity a new, purer and wiser life was built. These

with it, being on the farther bank of the Tigris, and in the second, the orthography opposes it; for Assemani, though writing נֹחַ in the *Bibl. Orient.* T. ii. p. 115, subsequently, at T. iii. pt. ii. p. 709, 710, 777, evidently corrects himself and writes נֹחַ (see Ainsworth, ii. p. 241). He is also in error in supposing the name to be derived from *Seleucia*: this is سليسيا different from سليمان, Assemani, iii. i. p. 391 sqq., and Badger's *Nestorians*, i. p. 159.

<sup>1</sup> It is to be observed that only later writers write נֹחַ in imitation of the Old Testament, yet that the Old Testament itself (even in Isaiah liv. 9) has always נֹחַ, which points to a root נָח. This root is not found in ordinary He-

brew; but this only entitles us to suppose the name to belong to the primeval age of the Semites. It must have had the meaning *new, fresh*, to judge from the cognate roots נָחַ, Ex. xii. 9, and נָחַ, Num. vi. 3.

Even in the existing narrative as given in the Book of Origins, it was after the lapse of one year, and at the beginning of a new one, that Noah left the ark. The explanation of the name by the Fifth Narrator in Gen. v. 29 hits the sense correctly, at least in so far as it represents Noah as the inaugurator of a better age; following this idea, the later writers generally explain the name by *ἀναστροφis*, as Theophilus *Ad Autolye.* iii. ch. 18. The name of the city *Nokh*, south-east of Mûsh, and west of Vân (Ainsworth, ii. p. 380), perhaps indicates that Noah was once actually worshipped in those parts as a demigod.

are the two contrasted feelings which constantly penetrate and mould the better life of every nation, and of which the one generates the other; youthful and aspiring nations, as the Hebrews and others of antiquity, could feel them more vividly and pursue them farther than others. When therefore there came before such nations dim pictures and traditions of a mighty Flood, which had once covered the earth and destroyed all life,<sup>1</sup> this naturally generated the idea that its purpose must have been to wash clean the sin-stained world, to sweep away the first hopelessly degraded Titanic race, and produce upon a purified and renovated earth a new race, stimulated by that warning to become both purer and wiser. This alone is the essential and necessary element in the conception of the Flood, more or less discernible through all varieties in the story.<sup>2</sup> The comparison afterwards made in the first ages of Christianity between Noah's Flood and Baptism exactly and happily recalled the original meaning of the story. In Noah, as the new Adam, the initiator of the still existing race of men, Hebrew antiquity embodied this truth. The ascription of the first culture of the vine to Noah only expresses the honour paid to him as the introducer of a joyous age, since the growth of the vine was justly esteemed the sign of a higher civilisation, with arts and cares, but also with joys of its own.<sup>3</sup> And the

<sup>1</sup> These widely scattered traditions have not as yet been accurately examined and explained. The most remarkable fact in them is perhaps that the Egyptians, at least according to Manetho, had no tradition of a primeval Flood, although (or rather because) they were so accustomed to yearly inundations—for those spoken of so late as the 17th and 18th dynasties (Eusebius, *Chron. Arm.* ii. p. 85; Georgius Syncellus, *Chron.* p. 118, 119, 130–132, Dind.) were only inserted by the Fathers of the Church, and those mentioned by Origen in *Celsus*, i. 20 (iv. 2), are only what Egyptian philosophers spoke of. How much earlier the notion of such a deluge prevailed throughout Syria, is evident even from Lucian's book on the Goddess of Hierapolis. But, as remarked in the *Jahrb. der Bibl. Wiss.* vii. p. 2, sqq., the very language of the oldest nations points to such primeval traditions (compare also the Ethiopic አደግ Enoch lxxxix. 23 sq. with *السيرة* Sûr. 1. 13. **ἔ** is related to **ἔ**, **ἔ** and **ἔ** Enoch lxxxix. 6).

<sup>2</sup> The *Matsyopākhyānam* of the *Mahābhārata*, which however introduces much

extraneous matter, and touches too briefly on what is essential, speaks nevertheless of the 'Washing period' of the worlds; cl. 28. The Hindus moreover have many accounts of floods, both in ancient (in the Veda) and in more recent times (Wilson's Pref. to the *Vishnu-Purāna*, p. li.; *Bhāgavata-Purāna*, i. 3. 15). Burnouf indeed doubted (in the preface to vol. iii. of the *Bhāgavata-Purāna*, Paris, 1848, p. xxxiv. sqq.) the mention of the Deluge in the Veda, and consequently questioned the antiquity of this tradition among the Hindus generally; and Fel. Nève agreed with him in the *Annales de Philosophie chrétienne*, 1849, April, May; but that it is really mentioned in the Veda has now been distinctly shown by R. Roth, in the Munich *Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1849, pt. 26 sq. and 1850, pt. 72, and by Albrecht Weber, in his *Indische Studien*, No. 2. See *Jahrb. der Bibl. Wiss.* iv. p. 227.

<sup>3</sup> The fact that only the later narrator of Gen. ix. 18–29 mentions Noah as a vine-grower, does not prove the tradition itself to be of later origin, especially as it is noticed only incidentally and with reference to another object. And without wishing to compare Noah with Dionysus the son of Zeus and ignore their differences,

fact that he was regarded as an instrument chosen by God to rescue the human race for a new and better development explains why the writer of the Book of Origins should depict him as in every respect a man after God's own heart, and on this basis design his picture of that wonderful revolution of humanity. In that picture, moreover, under all the complication of details, the few and simple ground-strokes of the original conception are still clearly discernible. The fact that Mount Ararat is the locality assigned to Noah's ark also proves a close connection of his story with those of Enoch (see above, p. 266 sq.) and of other similar personages.

If any doubt should still be felt whether the personality of Noah as the Adam of the new and historical epoch<sup>1</sup> had this origin, another proof of it might be adduced from the varying representation of the seven antediluvian Forefathers put forward by the later narrator. In this shorter series not Noah but Lamech is evidently intended to close the first age: first on the general ground that he is the seventh, secondly (according to p. 267) as being the symbol of the degeneration of men into gross sensuality, which culminates in him and becomes ripe for destruction and death; and lastly as the father of three sons, who here exhibit a knot in the continuous line of the race and a subsequent new commencement, precisely analogous to those exhibited by the three sons of Noah and the three of Terah in the Book of Origins. This last fact is very important and decisive. As in the case of the twenty Forefathers in the Book of Origins only the father and the eldest son are named, and a plurality of sons only in the case of the tenth and twentieth, when their number is three; so with these seven Forefathers the line continues direct and simple until the seventh, who has three sons. The appearance of Abel, who passes away like a breath,<sup>2</sup> alongside of Cain, although one of the most

we may yet convince ourselves that among the Greeks in like manner Dionysus marks the commencement of a new era of civilisation. This idea, moreover, admirably suits Noah descending from Ararat; even now the vine grows wild in Eastern Pontus and other parts of Armenia more luxuriantly and ineradicably than anywhere else. That it was not the wild produce only, but the proper art of vine-growing that was originated by a primeval race, is shown by the remarkable circumstance that the word *wine*, יין, Ethiopic *vain*, Armenian *gini*, is common to very distinct Semitic and Aryan languages, and is lost only in comparatively recent or remote

languages; as in modern Persian *mai* (from *mada*) and in Arabic *خمر* (literally *the fermented*).

<sup>1</sup> As in the Hindu accounts of the Deluge, Manu (i.e. Adam) himself reappears under a special appellation as son of Vivasvan (the Sun); and for a similar reason they reckon four Manus, obviously to correspond with the Four Ages of the world, *Bhagavad-Gītā*, x. 6.

<sup>2</sup> But that this allusion to a word *נפש*, meaning *breath*, does not belong to the original story is shown in the *Jahrb. der Bibl. Wiss.* vi. p. 7 sq.

beautiful features of the story, is certainly its latest transformation, effected at the time of the Fourth Narrator, when the seven antediluvian Forefathers were coming to be regarded as altogether evil, and Cainan or Cain, especially, to be held as the type of wicked men;<sup>1</sup> for when this was the case it was necessary (since evil always draws out its opposite) to place by the side of this Father, who as the son of Adam was the type of the wicked child, a good brother, towards whom Cain showed himself in the same character as, according to the same narrator, the elder brother-nations, Edom, Moab, and Ammon, did towards the good but small nation of Israel.<sup>2</sup> But the three sons of Lamech, with all their difference from the three sons of Noah, have still one great intrinsic point of resemblance to them. All three bear names formed from one root, which may have originally denoted Sons of that Father, or children of the new age.<sup>3</sup> In olden times brothers or sisters of one house often bore names differing only by minor variations in meaning or formation;<sup>4</sup> and so here the same fundamental word, when used as a personal name, was broken up into the three forms, Jabal, Jubal, and Tubal. But the three sons of Lamech were also to be regarded as founders of the new age of civilisation, and therefore were required to express the three great classes into which every civilised nation of that age was divided. Thus Jabal (whose name also may signify the produce which the soil yields to manual labour) became the ancestor of the third class—the Viças as the Hindus would say—except that the Israelitish tradition, following the example of the Hebrew Patriarchs, prefers to speak of pastoral nomads rather than of tillers of the soil. Jubal (whose name readily suggests *Jobel* or *Jubilee*, i.e. loud crashing music) became progenitor of musicians, or even (through the natural connection of all the fine arts) of artists and the learned class (the Brahmins) in general. Lastly, Tubal, the son of another mother, formed a contrast to both the former, and became progenitor of

<sup>1</sup> Some trace of a similar belief may perhaps be discovered among the Carthaginians: see *Zeitsch. für das Morgenland*, vol. iv. p. 410; vol. vii. p. 82.

<sup>2</sup> The early passage, Gen. iv. 24, regards Cain only as the first son of Adam in contrast to Lamech as later born; and the idea expressed in iv. 13–15 may have only been suggested in connection with that ancient saying.

<sup>3</sup> Literally, *production, fruit*, as יבול.

<sup>4</sup> In Ezek. xxiii. 2. So in the ancient Arabian legend the two sons of 'Ad are

named *Sheddâd* and *Shiddîd* (see Baidhavi on Sûr. lxxxix. 5); in the Koran هَارُونَ and قَارُونَ are associated together; and even in late Arabic Cain is changed into *Qâbil* to form a counterpart to his brother *Hâbil*; just as פֶּלֶח Enoch xxii. 7. In ancient Hindu tradition also similar phenomena are found, as appears from Burnouf's *Introduction à l'Histoire du Bouddhisme*, i. p. 360, and many other proofs.

the arm-bearing or warrior-class (the Kshatriyas); retaining, however, the full name Tubal-Cain,<sup>1</sup> which, as Cain in one dialect may denote a spear,<sup>2</sup> would signify Son of a Spear, or Warrior. As therefore in the Book of Origins the three sons of Noah designate the new world with reference to the broad distinctions of nationality still existing, so these sons of Lamech describe it with reference to the three classes into which the nations were divided at their more advanced stage of development. The threefold partition therefore must in this case, as in that of Noah and Terah, manifestly have a meaning that shall embrace the whole of the new age: and brief as is the existing account (Gen. iv. 20-22), this meaning visibly shines through it. That these traditions were once much richer and more detailed we see also from the bare mention made of the sister of this Tubal-Cain, Naamah, who, as her name *Grace* justifies us in presuming, may originally have held a place beside that rough warrior similar to that of the Greek Aphrodite as the beloved of Ares.<sup>3</sup>

Of Terah, who concludes the second series, the Book of Origins (apart from the years of his life, which will be spoken of presently) really tells us nothing except that he had three sons, Abram, Nahor, and Haran,<sup>4</sup> and that while journeying with them from the land of the Chaldeans, he died on his road at Harran<sup>5</sup> in Mesopotamia; and the later narrators had nothing to add to this. Now as this can only be intended to indicate such ancient national migrations as had been retained in memory, we have every reason to regard the name of this concluder of the second age also as originally figurative. The three children of this twentieth Forefather refer to the historically known nations of the Third Age, and specially to Abraham as the historic hero of the period; he himself floats over them

<sup>1</sup> Some connection with Cain or Cainan must originally have existed here, since he belongs evidently to the same group, and Tubal-Cain may have originally signified 'Cain's descendant.' Perhaps the name of the nomad tribe Ca'n (Kenites), which after the time of Moses played a part in the history of Israel (see above, p. 251), caused the early contraction of Cainan into Cain; and may have even contributed to the impression of Cain's restless wanderings: Gen. iv. 13-15.

<sup>2</sup> קַיִן as *spear* is clearly only another form of קַנָּה *canna* = *hasta*, כּוֹנֵן Knös,

*Chrest.* p. 23, 5; قوس on the contrary is *artisan* in general (Lat. *fuler*), Zohair M.

v. 15, and distinct from the former.

<sup>3</sup> It has been preserved as *Neme* in the Punic (see *Gött. Gelehr. Anz.* 1860, p. 1369); as also the proper names *Lamech* and *Adah* in Asia Minor (see the *Jahrb. der Bibl. Wiss.* vi. p. 2; Strabo's *Geography*, xiv. 2. 17; C. Schmidt, *Zur Geschichte Kariens* (Göttingen, 1861, p. 13). See also Hesychius, *Lex.*, according to whom Adah is the Babylonian Hera.

<sup>4</sup> [הָרָן] Gen. xi. 26 sq.]

<sup>5</sup> [חָרָן] Gen. xi. 31 sq. Lat. *Carrae*; here spelt *Harran*, to distinguish it from the above-named חָרָן *Haran*; the ח ought to be doubled, only that it cannot receive *dagesh*. See *Lehrbuch*, § 163e, p. 423 and § 71, p. 156.]

as the personification of the National Migration,<sup>1</sup> from the lap of which issued the luminous forms of the following age; and as all the nations of the modern earth discovered their original unity in Noah, so the Hebrews who had moved towards the south-west found in him a unity demanded alike by tradition and imagination.

IV. The two series of ten Forefathers are therefore each made up of three smaller groups of four, five, and one individuals. Each of these groups has a distinct meaning of its own. Every name which enters into them certainly existed with a living meaning long before they were thus ranked together; but in this very grouping, so as twice to make up the number ten, they betray the same arranging hand. We know not whose hand this was; it is only manifest that he lived long before the writer of the Book of Origins.

These twice ten names, however, were made to extend over the space of two ages, much in the same manner as more recent and better known ages were described by the succession and pedigree of those rulers who had held the chief power in them. And since, in times when chronology had attained the importance which we know was the case among the most ancient Egyptians and Phenicians, it was always endeavoured to append to such historical lists of rulers the number of years that each had lived or reigned (as e.g. Manetho's Egyptian dynasties show), it was but natural that here also a definite number of years should be assigned to each Father. Another essential feature of the idea of the Four Ages (see p. 256 sqq.) was that they exhibited a continuous lapse from an original condition richer in divine blessings. But this lapse may also be conceived as referring to length of life; since the more complex and bewildering the higher strivings of a nation become, the more rapidly does the life of the individual threaten to be worn out, and the transient life of the men of the eager hurrying modern age might well be regarded as progressively diminished from an original duration of far greater length. And thus in ancient Israel the idea became prevalent that the duration of human life had diminished step by step through the great periods of the past.<sup>2</sup>

The form into which the details were cast by the force of general assumptions such as these is even now very clearly dis-

<sup>1</sup> It is quite as natural to suppose תָּרַח connected with אָרַח to wander, to journey, as אָמַר with תָּמַר: which last analogy was for the first time asserted by me in 1826, on the *Song of Solomon*, iii. 6. It seems, however, that in the present instance ת is radical, א softened from it.

<sup>2</sup> This feeling is expressed in general

terms in the words assigned to the Patriarch Jacob himself in the Book of Origins, Gen. xlvii. 8, 9, and poetically in those put into the mouth of a contemporary of the Patriarchs, in Job viii. 8, 9; compared with xlii. 16. Hence the Messianic hope expressed in Isaiah lxx. 20.

cernible in the main. On looking through the data concerning the lives of persons in the Four Ages down to the time of Moses and the Conquest, we discover the prevailing view to be that which assumes from 120 to 140 years as the extreme limit of human life in the existing epoch; for just as the men of the Third Age were conceived as far outliving that term, in the Fourth Joseph dies at 110, Levi at 137, Kehath at 133, Amram at 137, his sons Aaron and Moses at 120, Joshua, like his progenitor Joseph, somewhat below the Levites, at 110;<sup>1</sup> with other indications of the same view.<sup>2</sup> Now from this Fourth Age to determine by successive proportionate augmentation the possible years of human life in the earlier ages, the number 125 was evidently taken as the basis of the Fourth, from which by repeated doubling the number 1000 was reached as the ultimate limit: 125, 250, 500, 1000. Thus was prescribed to every historical personage, according to the age in which he lived, a maximum length of life which might not be exceeded. If the Hebrew conception went in this assumption somewhat beyond the most ancient Hindu, which (see p. 260) adopted the proportion 100, 200, 300, 400, on the other hand it always remained free from those extravagant extensions of these numbers into which the later Hindu traditions fell.

It would be expected then, from such a beginning, that the length of life of individuals also would be made greater or less on similar principles, tradition simply working out and developing any assumption that had once been accepted. Even at the commencement of the Fourth Age, the lives of the just-named heroes, though of different length, are manifestly determined on general principles; for the 120, 133, and 137 years of the Levite chiefs are really made up of mere round numbers, and exhibit, when contrasted with the 110 of the non-Levitical chiefs, an increase indicative of the higher dignity of Levi. Much more will this be the case with the twenty names of the first

<sup>1</sup> According to the passages Gen. i. 26; Ex. vi. 16-20; Deut. xxxiv. 7; Josh. xxiv. 29; all derived from the Book of Origins.

<sup>2</sup> These refer especially to the 120 years mentioned in Gen. vi. 3. These words are indeed obscure, inasmuch as they are put here out of the proper context, evidently because in this entire passage (Gen. vi. 1-4) the Fifth Narrator gives only very brief extracts from some written authority which he had before him. Nor does the term of 120 years for the life of man belong fitly to this passage, where the coming age is not the fourth, but the second; and the original tradition may very probably have assigned those giants to the second or third

age (see Gen. xi. 1-9); but still we can discern plainly the original meaning of the words to be, that the period of 120 years as the limit of human life was appointed by way of punishment for a new generation. With this is undoubtedly connected the ancient sanctity of the number 60 among certain nations: among the Hindus, who call the 60 years' cycle *Vrikaspati-Chakra*; the Chinese, who still reckon time by this number; the Babylonians, who made it the standard number of their chronology, both practical and theoretical (Berosus, in Richter, p. 53); and the Latins. See also the *Qirq Vezir*, p. 60, 2.



two ages. In fact, the general calculations are clearly discernible in many of the statements given in the Book of Origins respecting the age of each Forefather before and after the birth of the first son. In these the length of life, at least on the whole, diminishes by degrees: the 130 years of Adam before, and the 800 after, the birth of Seth are as transparent as Noah's 500 years before the birth of his three sons, and his subsequent 100 years before and 350 years after the Flood; or as the 500 years that Shem lived after the Flood (as if for a sign that the second age with its limit of 500 years had begun); or as the 70 years of Terah before and his 135 years after the birth of his three sons. In the case of Enoch we may besides (see p. 266) justly presume that his number 365 (which the Book of Origins divides into 65 and 300) had been fixed by earlier legends, which made it impossible to adopt a higher; the effect being that in comparison to others of the same age, his death is made to appear an early one. If some points in these numbers are more obscure, it is to be considered first that the store of tradition on these earliest times, originally abundant and varied, has come down to us in too scanty measure to give us even an approximate insight into all the grounds which influenced the arrangers of the numbers; and secondly, that out of the many originally existing versions of the traditions respecting the ages of the twenty Forefathers, only the single version followed by the Book of Origins has been preserved to us. Moreover, the great variations of the Seventy and the Samaritan text, both from the Massoretic text and between themselves, and even among various manuscripts of the same text, show that, as soon as ever we descend from the fixed bounds of an age to examine the numbers assigned to individuals within that age, the whole ground becomes unsteady beneath our feet.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ancient and modern critics have so fully discussed these variations that I deem it unnecessary here to treat the subject fully, although I consider the Massoretic text by no means everywhere and without exception entitled to the preference which is now again accorded to it by most of the moderns. To take a striking instance, it shortens by one hundred years the age of each father between Shem and Terah before the birth of his eldest son. The great importance formerly attached to every statement which had a bearing on the general chronology of ancient history, is very properly diminished in modern estimation; yet it is to be regretted that even Oriental scholars can still produce treatises such as that of Rask (translated by

Mohnike, in Illgen's *Zeitschrift für historische Theologie*, vi. 2), which makes great pretensions to judgment and caution, yet displays hardly any of either; see also Lesueur's *Chronologie des Rois d'Égypte*, p. 300 sqq. The subject is followed up, in an article by Bertheau, in the *Jahresbericht der Deutschen Morgenl. Gesellschaft*, Leipsic, 1846. To state briefly my own decided opinion, I consider that the first founders of these chronologies proceeded very systematically, taking (see p. 275), as the duration of each generation in the four successive ages of the world, 30, 60, 120, 240 years respectively, which would give for the two first  $240 \times 10 = 2400$  and  $120 \times 10 = 1200$  years respectively, embracing together the whole period from

In the history of the Flood, where the chronology goes still more into details, the working of the same general principles is easily recognisable, and the particular determinations flow very naturally from the assumption of one solar year as the duration of the Flood.<sup>1</sup>

### V. *The Origin and Immigration of the Hebrews.*

But the most important result of the examination of these traditions respecting the remotest times will after all lie in their disclosures of the earliest fortunes of the Hebrew race; and in this respect it can scarcely be said how much valuable historical material still lies hidden here.

1. The Hebrews preserve, according to these traditions, the consciousness of an original connection with other nations, some of whom, speaking in relation to the higher antiquity, dwelt far removed from them. Their special ancestor Eber descends through Arphaxad from Shem, the father of Elam, Asshur, Arphaxad, Lud, and Aram (Gen. x. 22). Now the five nations who collectively lay claim to the lofty name of Shem are not only perfectly historic, but also exactly defined in respect to their position. The circle began with Elam (Elymais) beyond the Tigris towards the south-east on the Persian gulf: proceeded northward to the Tigris with Asshur (the Assyrians); turned to the north-west with Arphaxad; stretched far westward to the Semitic nations of Asia Minor with Lud (the Lydians); and finally returned from thence in a south-easterly direction to the Euphrates with Aram. If now we ask why the Hebrews classed themselves with this circle of nations, the reason cannot lie simply in connection of language: for all the very various nations which (according to p. 224 sqq.) came into contact with Palestine in the earliest times—original inhabitants and migrating tribes alike—spoke the Semitic tongue, and in respect to language stood as close as possible to the Hebrews, and yet were never regarded as akin to them. As little could it be found in national partiality or aversion, since most of these nations, in the oldest times known to us, were quite estranged from them, and the Hebrews properly speaking are like a single branch pushed forward to an extreme distance on the south-west.

Adam to the Deluge, and thence to Abraham's entrance into Canaan. For both these periods it is the LXX. which approaches most nearly to the numbers just given, and which I therefore regard as the most authentic now existing: we only require to assign to Adam, Lamech, and

Nahor at the birth of the eldest son of each, 268, 288, and 129 years respectively. The variations of the Samaritan and the Hebrew text are thus generally arbitrary.

<sup>1</sup> See more on this subject in the *Jahrb. der Bibl. Wiss.* vii. 8 sqq.

We must therefore assume that a primitive national consciousness preserved in the memory of the Hebrews their relationship with these distant northern and eastern nations. But if we inquire further what could have led the Hebrews to conceive those five remote nations, with whom they felt themselves to be related through one of their number, as having originally been brethren and sons of Shem, we are compelled to assume that a closer connection formerly united them to each other, a connection however which rested neither on contiguity of their external boundaries (for this palpably did not exist) nor merely upon their possession of a common language (for, as we have seen, the so-called Semitic language extended much further), but upon firmer foundations. The bond which united these nations might possibly have been simply identity of religion; even as the Hindus, notwithstanding their division into an innumerable multitude of particular kingdoms, always conceived themselves as dwelling together in the Jambudvipa, the great centre of the earth, as their permanent home. But as it is certain that the Hindu religion proceeded ultimately from the Brahmans and the compact nucleus of a once ruling nation, so also the connection of those Semitic nations in the primeval ages when a religion did not extend itself, as now, by its own power, is to be traced to a nation that once ruled over all those countries. This nation afterwards parted into the five distinct nations which referred to Shem as their father; and to it the Hebrews, though dwelling so far to the south-west, always claimed to have belonged. The accounts contained in the primitive fragment (Gen. xiv.), concerning mighty confederate kings beyond the Euphrates, the traditions respecting a primeval Assyrian kingdom in Ctesias and others, the derivation of the most ancient Lydian dynasty from Ninus and Belus,<sup>1</sup> the claim of such cities as Damascus and Askelon to Semiramis as their original Queen,<sup>2</sup> these and other like indications refer in all probability to this original nation and the power that it once possessed. Indeed it may be unhesitatingly assumed that the renowned name of Semiramis which occurs as a personal name even among the Hebrews,<sup>3</sup> stands in con-

<sup>1</sup> Herod. i. 7. The city of Askelon also, according to the Lydian Xanthus and Nicolaus of Damascus, was founded by a Lydian, as is stated by Stephanus Byz. s.v. Ἀσκαλών; and with this would curiously accord the derivation of Amalek, from לוֹן in Arabic accounts (*Dubaut's Tabari*, i. 209; Abulfidâ's *Ann. Antisl.* pp. 76,

93 sq., 97 sq.; see above, p. 245). We have already (p. 267) hazarded the conjecture that לוֹן, Gen. x. 22, is probably identical with לוֹן, Gen. iv. 16.

<sup>2</sup> Justin. xxxvi. 2. 1; Diodorus Siculus, ii. 4; see Lucian, *De Deâ Syriâ*, c. xiv. or p. 1061 Bourd.

<sup>3</sup> The name שִׁמְרִימוֹת is an early form,

nection with Shem as the name of this original nation and its hero.

The same thing appears in another way if we consider the name Shem in its relation to the two other sons of Noah. Whatever the three names, Shem, Ham, and Japheth, may have originally signified, it is at least evident, that the primeval nation which divided all the nations of the earth into three groups, and took to itself as one of these three the name of Shem, deemed itself established in a commanding position in a conspicuous centre of the world, and thence named all the alien nations northwards Japheth, and southwards Ham. The feeling that lay at the root of this idea we can easily conjecture from the subsequent description of such a 'Navel of the earth,' Ezek. v. But how should this name have come into use in Palestine, where the Hebrews found themselves dwelling in the midst of the Hamites, on the south-westerly border of the circle which included the Semitic nations? The name must rather have originated in a northern table-land, which was in fact situated in the middle of the five nations mentioned above, e.g. in Arphaxad. The three names also certainly descended together from the remotest antiquity, and were only traditionally known to the Hebrews; they are scarcely met with in their ordinary speech or narrative;<sup>1</sup> they have in Hebrew no manifest meaning,<sup>2</sup> and might seem, like many of the names of the twenty Forefathers, to have their source in the traditions of the primitive nation in the north. As the Hindus apportion the south to Yama (the god of Death), and the north to Kuvêra (the god of Treasure<sup>3</sup>), so here the former might be assigned to Ham, the latter to Japheth; and the fact that in the Greek mythology also there is an Iapetus,<sup>4</sup> although little more than a mere name, derived probably from Asia Minor, where from the

belonging to the time of David (1 Chron. xv. 18, 20, xvi. 5; 2 Chron. xvii. 8); formed like אֲרֶפְחָד (1 Kings iv. 6), and probably of similar meaning.

<sup>1</sup> It is only once (1 Chron. iv. 40) that the name Ham appears in the narrative. The song in Gen. ix. 25-29, with the narrative to which it belongs, is derived from the Fifth Narrator; see above, p. 107, and elsewhere.

<sup>2</sup> שֵׁם in Hebrew would signify *name*, *fame*, which in itself gives here no appropriate meaning, and though חָם (which Eupolemus in *Eusebii Præp. Evang.* ix. 17 pronounces Χόμ) may, in the sense of *hot*, be an intelligible designation of the south, yet יַפֶּת, in our present Hebrew, remains

quite obscure, since the play upon words in Gen. ix. 27 comes from the Fifth Narrator only.

<sup>3</sup> See Job xxxvii. 22, and Alex. von Humboldt in the *Vierteljahrsschrift*, 1838, pt. iv.

<sup>4</sup> Hesiod's *Theogony*, 134, 507-511; Apollodorus' *Bibl.* i. 1. 3, and i. 2. 3; Stephanus Byz. s.v. "Ἀδάνα and 'Ικόνιον; see even Bochart's *Geographia*, p. 2, 13. In the *Clouds* of Aristophanes (v. 985) he appears as an aged divinity, an easy object of ridicule; see also the inscriptions in A. Conze's *Reise auf die Inseln des Thrakischen Meeres* (Hanover, 1860), p. 91. The phrase, the *boundaries of Japhet* (Judith ii. 15), probably refers to those on the north.

earliest times Greek and Semitic nations intermingled, might favour this origin of the name.

The later idea finds strong support in a northern legend which some Armenian authors have preserved for us. We must in these researches generally look to the old traditions of more northern nations, because the oldest reminiscences of the people of Israel themselves carry us into these regions; and hitherto, in the absence of any copious supply of Assyrian or Babylonian documents, we possess no other aids so near at hand and so ancient as the Armenian writers, who often used much older books. Now according to this legend, Xisuthros (who among them answers to Noah among the Hebrews) had three sons who ruled over all mankind, each in his own domain;—Zervan, Titan and Japetosthe.<sup>1</sup> These three were regarded as gods, as the two latter were among the Greeks also. Zervan, so celebrated in the Zoroastrian religion,<sup>2</sup> was compared to the Greek Kronos. To Titan, as god of the Lower World,<sup>3</sup> the dominion of the South might be assigned, and to Japetosthe as god of Heaven that of the North.<sup>4</sup> From this conception the Hebrew tradition has manifestly retained the idea of Japheth as ruler of the North; but it also lends force to the idea that Ham and Shem also were formerly regarded as gods. According to the Armenian authors, there was not only a hero (or god) Sim, son of Xisuthros,<sup>5</sup> but also a mountain bearing his name, near Taurus;<sup>6</sup> and this may have been regarded by the primitive Hebrews as the seat of a mighty dominion and religion—the sacred centre of a kingdom which included in itself all those five nations and countries. The name Ham remains hitherto the obscurest of those belonging to this period, and cannot yet be accurately traced.<sup>7</sup> We may however at least affirm that the combination

<sup>1</sup> Moses of Chorene (*History*, i. 5) gives this account, following a work based on Berossus, and again (*ib.* ch. 8) following Mar-Iba Catinas; he also refers to some early Armenian popular songs.

<sup>2</sup> See Eliseus, *History of Vardan*, ch. ii.; Eznik, *Against Heresies*, ii. 1. The latter explains *zervan* as 'fate,' but says it might also mean 'brilliancy.' The Sibylline verses (iii. 110 Fr.) render it by *Κρόνος*. No one surely will seriously maintain that the Armenian *Iapetos/hē* originated in a misunderstanding of *Ἰαπετός τε*, found in the Greek verses just alluded to.

<sup>3</sup> On the assumption, namely, that the Titans are in origin the same as the Hindu *Ditija* and *Asura*. These, indeed, have their name from *Ditis* (i.e. *Τηθύς*), the opposite of *Aditis* and *Aditja*; but the

contrast to light and heaven is equally contained in them all.

<sup>4</sup> Very curiously, even the *Samaritan Chronicle* (ed. Juynboll, p. 271) attributes the lightning to his son.

<sup>5</sup> The words of Moses Chor., i. 5, who on this point follows Olympiodorus, do not sound as if they were only borrowed from the Bible.

<sup>6</sup> Moses Chor. i. 5, end; i. 22, ii. 7, 81. This tempts us to conjecture that the original meaning of the word *Ἰαπετός* was 'height.'

<sup>7</sup> There is no reason for connecting him with the Egyptian god Amon or Hammon. According to Wilkinson (*Manners and Customs*, iv. p. 263) there was in Egypt an ancient god Khem, subsequently compared with Pan: and could it be shown that his worship existed in primitive times

of the three names Shem, Ham and Japheth among the Hebrews differs only by age and more primitive form from that of Zervan, Titan, and Japetosthe.

Other scattered traces of the sacred traditions of the primitive nation also lead us back to those northern regions. We met with Enoch at Iconium on Taurus, under the name of Annakos (p. 266); and the well-known coins of the neighbouring Apamea Kibotos, with the Ark and other signs of the Flood, as well as the name ΝΩ,<sup>1</sup> though dating only from the time of the Cæsars of the first half of the third century after Christ, can hardly have borrowed these signs exclusively from the Old Testament, since they represent one pair only as rescued, and not, like the Old Testament, the Father's sons and sons' wives as well. The tradition of the Flood in the Book of Origins (Gen. viii. 4) points definitely to Ararat: there, according to this mythology, was the hallowed starting-point and centre of all the nations, but especially of that group of them which dwelt nearest to it, and called themselves Shem. And although the conception of the four Rivers of Paradise which the Fourth Narrator introduces (Gen. ii. 10-14), seems to have its ultimate source in the remotest east, and after many transformations to have reached Palestine only in the time of the Kings,<sup>2</sup> yet even in its present

in Canaan, we should here stand on firmer ground. Ancient writers speak also of a certain Chôm or Chôn and Chons, also Sêm, i.e. ΧΟΩ or ΧΕΩ, as the Egyptian Herakles (Jablonskii *Opuscula*, ed. te Water, ii. p. 195 sqq.; R. Rochette in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, xvii. 2, p. 324 sqq.; compare Σημόρου κρατης, Eratosthenes ap. Syncellum, i p. 205).

More important to the present subject is the fact that the Egyptians called their own country Χημία, or in another dialect, Kame, ΧΑΜΗ, i.e. *black*, as was noticed by Plutarch, *De Is. et Osir.* xxxiii. But by the Hebrews, especially in the earliest times, the term Ham was not applied to Egypt exclusively; and it only begins to be poetically so called in some of the latest of the Psalms (lxxviii. cv. cvi.) If however, as Eupolemus, p. 400, says, the name Ham was interchangeable with Asbolos (i.e. *soot*), this must refer to the dark complexion of the Egyptians, who were in Greek also designated μελάγχορες and μελάμφοδες (see the commentators on Apollod. Bibl. ii. 1. 4). As the Egyptian meaning *black* is thus ultimately connected with that of the Hebrew חָמ,

חָמ, the name in question may have originally been given by the nation which called itself Shem to the entire south, and subsequently been restricted to Egypt, as the most important southern kingdom. See below, on Edom.

<sup>1</sup> Eckhel, *Doctrina Nummorum*, vol. iii. p. 132-139, treats this subject in detail, and shows a third letter to be wanting after ΝΩ. Undoubtedly the diffusion of the LXX. and the Old Testament histories in that age contributed much to bring such local traditions to light: one decisive instance of this, from about this time, is found in the notice in the Sibylline Books, i. 268 sq. From Moses of Chorene, *Geographia*, xliii., we learn how constantly the Ark was located in Phrygia. From hence may probably have sprung Herodotus' well-known story of the origin of mankind in Phrygia.

<sup>2</sup> The origin of the story of Paradise, Gen. ii. 5 sqq., is a question reserved for another place; but here I must observe that I do not believe the original form of the description of Paradise will be ever fully understood, or the four rivers be properly interpreted, till some of the names of rivers are allowed to have been changed during the migration of the

form it clearly shows us the locality in which the Hebrews from early reminiscences imagined their Eden (a pure Semitic word). For as the Hebrews could only appropriate this tradition by making the Tigris and the Euphrates two of the rivers of Paradise, it is evident that Eden was supposed to have lain at the very sources of these streams, in the sacred neighbourhood of Ararat.

It has been customary in Germany during the last fifty years to call Semitic all the nations who spoke a language kindred with the Hebrew, and this usage may be maintained, in default of a better. But in the language of antiquity the Semites included only a portion of these nations; and although nations such as the Phenicians, Philistines, &c., related in speech, but otherwise alien to the ancient Semites, may probably at an incalculably remote period have issued from the same northern birth-place, the Hebrews in Palestine no longer felt themselves akin, but entirely foreign to them. Thus it is certain that the Hebrews belonged to quite another order of nations, and kept up a lively remembrance of the north as the land of their descent.<sup>1</sup>

2. As the oldest reminiscences of the people refer to a mother country whose sanctuary was very different from that which they erected for themselves in Palestine, so also we find traces of a remembrance of the migration which brought them gradually nearer to the country which afterwards became their holy land. It is certainly no unimportant historical fact that the Hebrew nation does not claim an extreme antiquity. Their ancestor Eber descends from Shem through Arphaxad (for Canaan and Salah may be passed by, see p. 264). Now Arphaxad is without doubt the most northern country of Assyria, on the southern border of Armenia, which Ptolemy<sup>2</sup> alone among all the Greek and Roman authors mentions under the corresponding name of Arrapachitis, and describes, so insignificant had this once important and powerful land become. There lies, however, in the name itself a farther witness as to its situation and inhabitants; Arphaxad appears to denote 'Stronghold of the Chaldeans,'<sup>3</sup> and was perhaps at first used of the chief city

legend. In my opinion the Pison and the Gihon are the Indus and the Ganges; to these were originally added two others belonging to the same region; but when the legend passed to the Hebrews in Palestine, the latter were exchanged for the familiar Tigris and Euphrates.

<sup>1</sup> It seems superfluous after these explanations to refute in detail the opinions of others on Noah's three sons, and espe-

cially Shem; some of the most recent are noticed in the *Jahrb. der Bibl. Wiss.* iii. p. 208 sq., xi. p. 181 sq. It deserves notice, however, that Cappadocia is connected with Canaan and Ham in *Testamentum Simonis*, vi. and in Chamchcan's *Armenian History*, i. 3. Does this date from Herod's reign?

<sup>2</sup> *Geography*, vi. 1.

<sup>3</sup> *آرپ*, as well as *آرف* and *آرف*.

of the country: and Ur of the Chaldees, whence according to the very ancient author of Gen. xi. 28, 31, Abraham journeyed to Palestine, is probably only the name used of the same country in the time of that writer.<sup>1</sup> The Chaldeans, in name originally identical with the nation in this day called the Kurds, were even at a very early period widely scattered,<sup>2</sup> as the Kurds are now;<sup>3</sup> but we have every reason to believe their original seat to be the mountainous country called Arrapachitis. After the seventh century before Christ, indeed, a new non-Semitic nation—essentially the same that has ever since retained the name Kurds—appears under this name. This is explained by the hypothesis that a northern people who had conquered the land gradually assumed its ancient name, as the Saxons beyond the sea appropriated the name of Britons.

signifies *to bind, to make fast*. Now as *Arrapa* (Ptolemy's *Geog.* vi. 1) was the name of a city in Arrapachitis still existing under the form **ܐܪܦܐܬܐ** (*Jahrb. der Bibl. Wiss.* x. p. 169), and as several cities, and especially the well-known Arbela, which is not too far distant, are named **ܐܪܦܐܬܐ**, probably signifying 'God's stronghold,' and as also **ܐܪܦܐ** alone is the name of some cities (see Josh. xv. 52, 1

Kings iv. 10; and the well-known **ܐܪܦܐ** in Yemen), this name had probably the meaning of fortress. The use of **ܐ** militates but little against the word being compounded with the name of the Chaldeans, because elsewhere this is written with **ܐ**, but never with **ܐ**. And we know from the general laws of sound that the Hebrew pronunciation *Chasd* is the earlier one, from which sprang *Chard* or *Kurd* (Gord), and then *Chald*.

<sup>1</sup> That *Ur-Chasdim* was not regarded as a city, but as a country, is shown by the whole meaning and context of the words in Gen. xi. 28 sqq., and the LXX. are correct in rendering it by ἡ χώρα τῶν Χαλδαίων. A Zendic origin for the word **ܐܪܦܐ** can hardly be sought in an age preceding the seventh and eighth centuries. But

a comparison with **ܐܪܝܬܝܢܐ** gives us at once the meaning, 'residence,' 'region.' Curiously, however, in Armenian, **գավառ** (*gavar* or *kavar*) denotes **χώρα** (Faustus Byz. v. 7). and with this accords not only **ܠܚܕܐ** (Barhebr. p. 105) but also **ܠܚܕܐ** (sometimes

**ܠܚܕܐ**, a name given by Abdalhakam to the Egyptian Nomes). Compare also **ܠܚܕܐ** *vair*, denoting *place*. *Ur* as a city has however been sought for in many places, both in ancient and modern times: Josephus (*Ant.* i. 6. 5) says that the grave of Terah was still shown in *Uré* the town of the Chaldees, but he does not define its exact position; many of the Fathers took it for Edessa, because the proper name of this city was *Urhoi* (originally, however, *Osroi*, now *Orfa*). Later writers have often thought of the *Castellum Ur* mentioned by Amm. Marc. xxv. 8. Eupolemus in *Eusebii Præp. Evang.* ix. 17, imagined it to be *Urie*, also called *Camerine*, between Babylon and Bosra. Just now, English travellers are identifying Abraham's *Ur* with a place there called *Varka*, where extensive ruins have been lately found and excavated, and cuneiform inscriptions have been discovered (see Loftus, *Travels and Researches in Chaldaea and Susiana*, London, 1857, pp. 131, 161, 162); but this place is much too far to the south. (See more on this subject in the *Göttinger Gel. Anz.* 1858, p. 182 sqq.) Still stranger is the notion prevalent among the Moslim, that Abraham migrated from Kutha **ܠܚܕܐ** or **ܠܚܕܐ** in Southern Babylonia (see the *Marâssid*, ii. p. 519; Jelâleldin's *History of the Temple at Jerusalem*, translated by Reynolds from the Arabic into English, 1836, pp. 16, 333, 427; Chwolson's *Sâbier*, ii. p. 462 sqq.), which was probably derived from the Samaritans.

<sup>2</sup> As is proved by the reception of the name *Chésed* among the Nahorites in Gen. xxii. 22.

<sup>3</sup> See Rödiger in the *Zeitschrift für das Morgenland*, iii. p. 3 sq.



That Eber is called a son of this Arphaxad means simply that the Hebrews remembered that they had in their earliest ages lived in this land, and from thence had journeyed to the south. Beyond this remembrance they manifestly retained nothing; but that their small nation had once dwelt in that great home of their race was still clear to them. Nothing is hereby really determined respecting the origin and connection of this name, HEBREW, which fills so eminent a place in history; we are at liberty to supply the void as we best can. It would be entirely erroneous to assume that the name was given to them only by foreigners after they had passed over the Euphrates, and that it originally signified *the people of the farther side*, that is, who had come from the farther side. This idea can hardly lie even in the name;<sup>1</sup> and while there is nothing to show that the name emanated from strangers, nothing is more manifest than that the nation called themselves by it and had done so as long as memory could reach; indeed this is the only one of their names that appears to have been current in the earliest times. The history of this name shows that it must have been most frequently used in the ancient times, before that branch of the Hebrews which took the name of Israel became dominant, but that after the time of the Kings it entirely disappeared from ordinary speech,<sup>2</sup> and was only revived in the period immediately before Christ, like many other names of the primeval times, through the prevalence of a learned mode of regarding antiquity, when it came afresh into esteem through the reverence then felt for Abraham.<sup>3</sup>

Of the three great epochs into which the history of this nation

<sup>1</sup> As the region beyond the Euphrates is always called *הַעֲרָב*, and never *עֲרָב* simply, we should have to assume an abbreviation found nowhere else, and devoid of intrinsic probability. The LXX. in translating *הַעֲרָב*, Gen. xiv. 13, by *δ' ἐπεδρῆς* may indeed have had some such idea. The sense of any such designation is however shown to be absolutely uncertain by the Fathers of the Church, who know not what to make of it; as we see from Origen on Numb. xxiv. 24, Matt. xiv. 22. See also *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1837, p. 959 sq. The doubts which in 1826 I threw out in my *Kritische Grammatik* against this derivation, were only too well founded, though at the time misunderstood by many.

<sup>2</sup> This was likewise noticed in my *Kritische Grammatik* of 1826, but it can be now defined more exactly. The name

Hebrew is found in the ancient fragment Gen. xiv.; it is used also by the Earliest Historian, Ex. xxi. 2, and by the Third Narrator of the primeval history (Gen. xl. 15, xliii. 32, probably also Ex. v. 3), and in the ancient Book of Kings in the earlier period preceding the death of Saul, 1 Sam. iv. 9, xiii. 3, 7, xiv. 21; hence it would seem to have been avoided in the Book of Origins, and already forgotten in the time of the great Prophets. Perhaps, however, a trace of this ancient national name is preserved in the compound word *'Avešpér* in *Sanchoniathon*, p. 42 (Orelli), if we may alter the reading to *'Avešpér*, and interpret it as *עֵין עֲבֵרִית*, Hebrew fountain, i.e. Nymph.

<sup>3</sup> As we find for instance in the New Testament; Jonah i. 9 is written in imitation of Gen. xl. From such late writers as these is derived the modern designation of the language of Canaan as Hebrew.

falls, the name Hebrew strictly denotes the earliest, in which Israel with great toil struggled out as an independent nation from amid the crowd of kindred and alien peoples. In the second epoch, in which after the establishment of the kingly rule its native power reached the mightiest development, its name Israel became as sublime and glorious as the nation itself, and supplanted the older more general name. And as no notable period need want for a suitable sign and name, the third and last epoch of the history is distinguished by the name Jew, together with a resuscitation of the old name Hebrew. In like manner, in the sphere of religion these three epochs, which embrace the whole history, are distinguished by a change in the mode of speaking the Divine name Jahveh (Jahveh alone, Jahveh Sabaoth, Jahveh suppressed); for thus great national changes and revolutions generally leave their mark on words and names in daily use. Thus then the national name Hebrew, even more than the Divine name Jahveh, reaches up into the earliest times; and the people, seeing in it nothing less than the token of their own origin, called their progenitor Eber.

But since Eber (as before observed) was conceived only as one son of Arphaxad, we are entitled to ask further whether these Hebrews, who could have inhabited but a small portion of the ancient land of the Chaldeans, had not a connection with any more distant region. And here the name of the Iberians, who dwelt somewhat farther to the north, forces itself upon us involuntarily, so that we can hardly help thinking of some connection with them. What language among the hundreds spoken in that medley of races in the Caucasus<sup>1</sup> that of the Iberians was, it is not possible for us to unriddle from the short description which Strabo gives of them;<sup>2</sup> but there is nothing to oppose the possibility that they and their language were originally of the Semitic stock. Up to this great parting of the nations we should then be enabled to trace back the stream of their national life to its source, though of the primary signification of their name it is as difficult to speak as of the

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, xi. 2. 16.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, xi. 3. That the Iberians at the other end of the ancient world, in Spain, were related to them, was only a conjecture of some ancient writers; which S. F. W. Hoffmann (*Die Iberer im Osten und im Westen*, Lpz. 1838) supports, but with ineffectual arguments. The Armenian pronunciation, *Vëra*, shows that the long vowel of the Greek form was not essential.

The original meaning of the name Hebrew is of course not determined thereby; and we may therefore conjecture that it is connected with the root *עבר* to *explain*, to *speak plain*, to *expound*, and thus designates the nation which was separated by its language from all non-Hebrews, and contrasts them with the *לויים* or *עֲבָדִים* (Welsh, Barbarians).

names of the Arameans (except that this name seems to have been originally identical with that of the Armenians), or of the Assyrians, Chaldeans, Lydians, and Elameans. And how easily a section of a nation might migrate southwards from the Caucasian Iberia, and then grow into historical greatness, is shown by the very similar case which Amos<sup>1</sup> briefly mentions. It was well known in the time of Amos that the Arameans (here used in the narrower sense of the Damascenes<sup>2</sup>) had emigrated from the Cyrus, the same river that, according to Strabo, flows through Iberia also; although Amos by a strange sport of destiny was compelled to threaten them with banishment to this same northern river, which had then become Assyrian.<sup>3</sup>

That the name of Hebrews originally included more nations than Israel alone follows not only from the position which the ancient tradition gives to Eber, but also from other indications. When the ancient fragment, Gen. xiv. 13, gives the epithet 'the Hebrew' to Abraham (though his name in itself by no means suggests the word Hebrew<sup>4</sup>), it evidently ascribes to the name Hebrew a much wider extension, and speaks just as we might expect from the primitive views of national relationships contained in the genealogical tables of the Book of Origins. In like manner the Fifth Narrator, who had several very old accounts before his eyes, speaks of 'all the sons of Eber,' in a place where he must have had in view many more nations than the one people of Israel.<sup>5</sup> The name Hebrew, indeed, belongs to all the nations who came over the Euphrates with Abraham. So also long before Abraham, according to ancient tradition, a powerful branch of the Hebrews, under the name Joktan,<sup>6</sup> had migrated into the south of Arabia, and there founded flourishing kingdoms; for nothing else can be meant when Joktan (Gen. x. 25-30) is made the second son of Eber. And since in northern Arabia many tribes are placed in a close relation to Abraham, the name Hebrew might well be very predominant throughout the whole length of that country. But

<sup>1</sup> Amos ix. 7.

<sup>2</sup> According to Amos i. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Amos i. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Although Artapanus, in Eusebii *Præp. Evang.* ix. 18, derives the name Hebrew from Abraham.

<sup>5</sup> Because Gen. x. 21, a verse inserted by the Fifth Narrator, speaks in the style of the genealogies. The same narrator however in Numb. xxiv. 24 (where the context is very different), understands the name Eber, as used in poetry, to mean no

more than the whole land of Canaan.

<sup>6</sup> The name *يكتان*, LXX. *Ἰεκταν*, as also

*يعرب*, his son *يخاب*, and all the names with *י* prefixed present a characteristic formation of the oldest Hebrew (see *Lehrbuch*, § 162a, p. 418), which probably distinguished it from all other branches of the Semitic stock; and the pronunciation of the later Arabs, *تخطان*, seems to be Arabised.

we must beware of fancying that the name Arab, which was gradually extended to all the nations of that immense country only after the seventh century before Christ, was produced only by a slight modification of the older name Hebrew.<sup>1</sup>

The people who remained in the north on the far side of the Euphrates seem then to have founded several small kingdoms, the memory of which (see p. 268) has probably been retained in the names of the four direct descendants of Eber, and among whom the Nahoreans, who lived in Harran, have been somewhat more fully described for us because of Jacob's close connection with them. That Nahor is the name both of the father and of the second of the three sons of Terah (see p. 273), agrees well with this supposition; and the name of Haran, the third of the three sons of Terah and the father of Lot, is probably still preserved in that of a northern country, the situation of which agrees not ill with the idea.<sup>2</sup>

3. Accordingly, in the migration from Ur-Chasdim distinguished by the name of Abraham and his companions, as well as in the subsequent one of Jacob, who took the same direction from the more southerly Harran, we see only continuations of the migratory movements of this primitive people, which, after having struck out probably in many directions, now took its farthest course towards the south-west, and thus found its last goal in Egypt. But this leads us into a new region. Here rises into view the land which was destined to be to the children of Israel, when arrived at maturity and competing for the good places of the earth, infinitely more sacred than ever the fatherland of their childhood had been; and on which the plot was laid of all the rich history that follows. Yet so long as the migration reaches only the fore-land of Egypt, Canaan, and not that great centre and point of attraction of ancient civilisation itself, we remain still only in the Primeval History.

<sup>1</sup> This name undoubtedly may be traced back to the signification עֲרַב *Steppe* (Isaiah xxi. 13), as also according to

the Moslim only the أعراب are genuine Bedouins, and these two names are interchangeable (Hamâsa, p. 294, v. 2); but these very words of Isaiah (xxi. 13) show that in the ninth or eighth century it was not yet in use; and according to Jer. iii. 2, Ezek. xxvii. 21, and Isaiah xlii. 20, it was not current till the seventh century, when the name Hebrew had been long obsolete. But the usage of language shows that this name originated in Northern not Central

Arabia, since عَرَب resembles the Hebrew עֲרַב, but is foreign to ordinary Arabic.

<sup>2</sup> أَرَّان or أَرَّاز whose capital is Berdâa. See Kemâleldîn in Freytag's *Chrestomathy*, p. 138, 8; Abulfidâ's *Geography*, p. 386 sq. ed. Reinaud; and *Journal Asiatique*, 1847, i. p. 444; ii. p. 403; in Armenian probably Harkh (which is only a plural form); in Moses Chor. *History*, i. 9, 10, *Geography*, lxix. On another Arrân beyond the Tigris in Media, see Rawlinson in *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, x. 81 sq. 139 sq.

## C. THE THIRD AGE.

## I. THE THREE PATRIARCHS OF THE NATION.

The Third Age is properly (according to p. 274 sqq.) that of the Heroes.<sup>1</sup> Those only are strictly Heroes whom every nation boasts of possessing in the time of its fresh energy and youth, and of whom the earliest and most powerful serve as founders or fathers of the nation itself. For the conception of such prehistoric heroes afterwards spreads further, and the like grand forms are finally transferred even into the preceding ages; so that their collective image is constantly being removed farther and higher (of which we had an example at p. 275); but their proper place is unquestionably in this Third Age, immediately before the historic period. And they may be conceived as entirely filling the space of this age, the Book of Origins even placing the last remnants of the Hero-race in the earliest part of the age of Moses as enemies of Israel.<sup>2</sup> But since in the case of Israel their Egyptian period makes the boundary between the two last ages, all the persons who in the strict sense may be called their fathers fall before this time, especially those whom in the spirit of the tradition itself we must distinguish under the name of the three Patriarchs.

The region of these three Patriarchs is thus sharply defined on both sides. Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob-Israel are, according to the true national feeling, the great names of the three sole founders and types of the Canaanite-Hebrew nation; the addition of Joseph to the number belongs to a much later view.<sup>3</sup> In the old tradition concerning them their sphere is separated from that which precedes it by the fact that they first tread the holy ground, and thus with them the narrative first acquires the true Mosaic expansion and warmth of tone. From the following it is separated by the fact that even Joseph's life sinks down to the stage of the ordinary life of the later age, while the three others all remain upon the higher stage of the still vigorous hero-life.

The exact investigation of this region is rendered difficult

<sup>1</sup> גִּבּוֹרִים, or, according to the earlier more mythical appellation, גִּבּוֹרִיִּם. See the *Jahrb. der Bibl. Wiss.* vii. p. 18 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Numb. xiii. 22, 28, 33.

<sup>3</sup> It is clear from the age of the passages Ps. lxxvii. 16 [15], lxxx. 2 [1], lxxxi. 6 [5].

because (with a very few exceptions to be mentioned shortly) we have knowledge of it only from Biblical sources, since these three Patriarchs could not possibly be to other nations what they were to the Hebrews after Moses. But there is some compensation in the greater fulness and variety that are here to be observed for the first time in the specially Hebrew accounts. If we recognise in this far-off cloud-land comparatively little real history with its desirable certainty and completeness, we welcome the more gladly some important truths which are in the strictest sense historical, as soon as we are sufficiently equipped to see them aright.

But the more narrowly we reinvestigate the multitude of primitive traditions and reminiscences here collected, which upon a closer view appear remarkably rich and varied, the more manifest it becomes that even in those ancient times when their foundation was laid there were two veins from which, by a kind of intermixture, they grew up in their present form. One half only, though indeed by far the most important one, is so to speak purely Hebrew; and this carries us easily and securely back to the basis of the true history of that primeval period when the nation of Israel and those immediately related to it were formed. Of another kind are single scattered traditions, which in their essential substance and meaning recur also among other ancient nations belonging to the same sphere of rising civilisation, different as they may at the first glance appear in the names of places and of persons. The carrying off of Sarah and of Rebekah by a foreign king has unmistakable resemblance to the Greek legend of Helen and the Hindu story of Sita; and in the original meaning of these traditions unquestionably it was the honour and beauty of the kingdom itself of whose protection and recovery they spoke. In like manner, as will be shown below, many things narrated of Isaac and Jacob recur in the traditions of the most ancient neighbouring nations.<sup>1</sup> In fact, we have here only fragments of a primitive body of tradition existing in these regions long before the time of these Patriarchs, which early mingled itself with the remembrance of the grand Patriarchal days, and adorned that with many flowers which then, bedewed by the spirit of the religion of Israel, shone again with a double radiance. How this might happen is shown by the case explained above (p. 275 sq.), as well

<sup>1</sup> It is perfectly obvious that this extends much further, to later as well as to earlier times. Icarus, like Noah in Gen. ix. 21, meets with disaster through his dis-

covery of wine. Athen. *Deipn.* xv. 6. 8, Hygin. *Fab.* 130. See also vol. 2 on Jephthah and Samson.

as by many others; and nothing else so clearly indicates the antiquity of all these traditions respecting the Patriarchs as the fact that through them we can look back farther into a still remoter sphere of tradition. A third source of these traditions is found in the peculiar legends of the Canaanites; that of Sodom, for example, Gen. xviii. xix., is unquestionably purely Canaanitish.

That which may still be recognised as belonging to the ancient accounts of the time of these Patriarchs, will be here explained with a careful distinction of its sources. At a later period the history of the Patriarchs, in common with the whole of the primeval history and even that of Moses, gradually became a field for arbitrary invention, as may be seen in the extant fragments of that literature: ' but upon these no close attention need be bestowed.

## II. THE CYCLE OF THE TWELVE TYPES.

If we look simply at the prevailing character of the narratives and representations of this period given in the most ancient sources, we shall find little that is really historical to say of the three Patriarchs. For on a close view it is obvious that to the nation as we see it in the time of Moses they had not only long served as types, and therefore receded more and more into a prehistoric region, but also that they were members of a very large circle of national types.

When an ancient people occupied a position from which it could look back upon a previous period of grandeur and renown, in which its own foundations had been laid and its organisation advanced, the few indestructible personages of that past, its true Heroes, naturally formed in the imagination a circle, and were treated as so many members of a typical house. For the distinction of a Hero, as contrasted with a God, so long at least as they are not confounded with each other (which certainly often takes place in the more refined heathen religions), is this: that the God is the type of all men, but the Hero of one special order, correspondent to his own character—as the man of his age, stamped with all its peculiarities. Thus a

<sup>1</sup> An instance of this sort of Egyptian-Abrahamic history, with a king Nekao, with Jerusalem, &c., is given by Josephus in his *Jewish War*, v. 9. 4, but not repeated in his *Antiquities*. In an addendum, given by a Greek codex to Barnabas xii. ed. Dress., may be seen a piece of

fictitious early history on Shem and his age. But the use of Abraham's and Isaac's names in adjuration by the Egyptians and others, affirmed by Origen, *Contra Celsum*, i. 5. 1, iv. 4. 3 sq., can only be referred to a later blending of religions.

limited type is involved in the very conception of the Hero. And since the family, especially in the wide sense of the Patriarchal world, is the primary sphere of the manifold interests and activities of man, and in antiquity, much more than at the present day, even a considerable nation considered itself to be living together in the domestic circle of a *house*,<sup>1</sup> we cannot wonder that a national hero was always regarded not as an individual only, but as a member of a typical house, who is distinctly remembered mainly by virtue of the definite position he held in it. The distant period when these Heroes lived is the sacred time, past but never to be forgotten and in spirit ever present, in which the nation as a house or family first gained the true feeling of a home. Around its hearth are ranged the historic forms to which the nation looks up as types of all the various members of its lower present house, while many subordinate persons of the same circle owe the vivid impression they have left merely to their connection with the rest. Heroes of every possible complexion are generally embraced in a certain definite circle; around one or two chief heroes others are ranked as counterparts, and fill their necessary place. If the *Iliad*, however, owing to special causes represents a scene of camps and battles, the *Odyssey*, like the *Rāmāyana* and *Mahābhārata*, exhibits the domestic life of Heroes and Heroines, and this view will ever tend to become the dominant one. Even when under peculiar circumstances the groups of Heroes and of Gods are intermingled, and produce that elaborate heathen mythology which we see in its completest form among the Greeks and the Hindus, the very heavens become the seat of a typical house, and Indra or Zeus is but the pre-eminent father and ruler of the organised circle of gods of the most varied qualities who surround him.

Although the typical house of the people of Israel has come down to us incomplete in some of its members, we may by some attention see that it embraced a circle of exactly twelve members, who were again distributed according to the seven fundamental relations possible to an ancient Patriarchal house.

1. At the head stand the three Patriarchs themselves as the *Fathers* and most prominent forms of this typical house. The combination of these three may be compared with that of Agamemnon, Achilles and Ulysses, around whom in the *Iliad* all

<sup>1</sup> It is not poets only who still perpetually speak of the house of Jacob (Isaiah i. 12, ii. 4-11, v. 6, 15, xii. 8, xv. 3; xxix. 22; Amos v. 1, 5, vi. 11), but also historians (Ex. xvi. 31, xl. 38; Lev. x. 6; Josh. xxi. 43; 1 Sam. vii. 1 sqq.; 2 Sam. i. 12, ii. 4-11, v. 6, 15, xii. 8, xv. 3; 1 Kings xii. 21, 23, xx. 31).



else is ranged, or with Anchises, Æneas, and Ascanius in the Trojan legends: what follows agrees still more exactly. In the Hindu legends, with the chief hero there is generally ranked a secondary one, who reflects in a lower degree his exalted character, as if from an apprehension of the truth that an ideal type can only be seen in its right light by means of an inferior yet aspiring copy of itself, and from the desire to place before ordinary men who could not rise to the level of the ideal a lower yet still admirable model. In these legends the secondary hero appears as a younger brother of the chief: as Râma and Lakshmana, Krishna and Bala. And in the Mahâbhârata, where the idea of the chief hero assumes a threefold form in the persons of Yudhishtira, Bhîma, and Arjuna as representatives of the three kingly virtues of justice, valour, and wisdom,<sup>1</sup> there stand beside these three elder brothers at least two younger, bearing a like significance. So Isaac stands beside Abraham, lower, but resembling him, under the conception of a son who in all things faithfully follows his father. Jacob is then introduced as the third of this series, though in a different character. He also, as father of the nation, is a type, but under quite another aspect: so little can even the combination of the three Fathers in a typical house conceal the fact that the house on which in after years the nation looked back with pride as the home of its childhood, really grew out of two different houses; somewhat as in the heroic legends of Rome Numa was put beside Romulus and Remus<sup>2</sup> as worthy of no less reverence; or as in the Greek myth, Hercules was at length received into the house of Olympus. Standing side by side each has an equal claim to the honour of being a father in the typical house; yet with this equality a certain diversity of character may be perceived, even as the human conditions, whose types they are, amid a common excellence exhibit great variety. The nature of this variety will be more suitably explained hereafter; it is evident that the paternal, as the first of the seven fundamental relations of every house, admits most obviously of this internal variety, here presented in a threefold form.

2. As the type of the *Wife* there appears Sarah, as that of the *Concubine* Hagar, both standing by the side of the first of the three Fathers, and partaking of his higher dignity. Con-

<sup>1</sup> But in this instance it is characteristically Hindu, that Arjuna, as the type of wisdom, has at least a spiritual supremacy over his two brothers, and accomplishes more than they.

<sup>2</sup> These two, curiously, form a similar pair to Râma and Lakshmana in the Hindu tradition; although Romulus, who from his name ought to be the younger, conquers Remus.

sidering Sarah under this aspect, we can apprehend the full significance of the story, undoubtedly popular in antiquity, of her rescue from the hands of a lascivious prince. This narrative as it stands in Gen. xx. is Canaanitish and primeval; with some modifications it is transferred by the Fourth Narrator to Egypt, Gen. xii. 10-20; and in Gen. xxvi. 7-11 is applied by others to Rebekah also. In times when wanton hands were active everywhere, every chaste matron hoped to preserve her honour, like Sarah her prototype; and in so far nothing can be objected against the historical significance of the narrative. But the fact that it was deemed important to associate with the wife the concubine as her inferior counterpart, and to place them in mutual relation, proves quite as strongly as the marriage of two sisters at once to the same husband (to be presently mentioned),<sup>1</sup> that this conception of the Twelve Types had its origin before the time of Moses.

3. As type of the *Child* there appears Isaac; exhibiting the same quiet and cheerful spirit also as father by the side of Abraham. As type of the true child, he serves in the Mosaic community as an example of circumcision, Gen. xxi. 4. How old the origin of this view is, is clear from the fact that all the existing stories of their long and anxious waiting for him as infant, of his choice as the heir, of his childlike obedience and his trustful journey even to sacrifice at his father's will, refer essentially to this his typical significance.

4. The same Isaac in union with Rebekah stands as the type of true *Betrothal* and *Marriage*, represented in a charming idyl of unsurpassable beauty and true Mosaic spirit in the fragment Gen. xxiv., emanating from the Fourth Narrator.

5. But because the marriage-bond did not always retain this true and simple character, least of all in the early times, Leah and Rachel were admitted into the circle, as types of the *position of one wife towards another* equally legitimate, but less beloved: a frequent case, especially in the primitive times.<sup>2</sup> But, the frequency of this relation being presupposed, the type demanded an exactly equal original title on the part of each without favour or disfavour, and only in this sense can they (like the two knights of the Hindu and Greek mythology) be inseparably ranged together in the typical house.

6. To complete the number of female members of the typical household, we have Deborah, Rebekah's nurse, as type of the

<sup>1</sup> Contrary to Lev. xviii. 18. See my *Academy's Monatsberichte*, 1859, p. 340. *Antiquities*, p. 197, and similar instances from Hindu antiquity in the Berlin

<sup>2</sup> Deut. xxi 15-17.

*Nurse* of Heroes, to whom is assigned an elevated position in the traditions of other nations also.<sup>1</sup> Much more mention must have been made of her originally, and her memory is almost lost in the existing traditions, which are certainly in part greatly curtailed. In Gen. xxiv. 59 she is meant, though not expressly named; but the few words respecting her death and the tree held sacred to her memory in Gen. xxxv. 8 sufficiently testify to the spirit of the earlier story. And the fact that the later judge of the same name (Judges iv. v.), who was also a kind of hero-nurse, had her seat under this same tree at Bethel,<sup>2</sup> is a fresh proof of the ancient spread of the tradition respecting her.

7. Finally, to close the circle, is added as the twelfth type Abraham's upper *Slave* and steward,<sup>3</sup> whose position according to the whole constitution of the ancient house is so far honourable and important that he could no more be omitted in the series of types, than in Olympus the doorkeeper and messenger. It is true his memory has suffered in what has come down to us, and only casually, in an antique phrase in Gen. xv. 2, has his name Eliezer of Damascus been preserved: but how dignified a part he played in the tradition in its living freshness may be plainly seen in the beautiful description of his service Gen. xxiv., where he is unquestionably intended, though not named.

In this manner we can still, on the whole with great certainty, understand this cycle of types of the national life, and see how complete it was.<sup>4</sup> The best proof of it is, farther, that all the traditions which do not rest upon one of these twelve types, or upon Lot, Ishmael or Esau, who are brought into prominence as contrasts to the three chief heroes, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, have become quite lifeless and empty. The Nahoreans, Gen. xxii. 20-24, and the Keturians or Saracens, Gen. xxv. 1-4, were related nations once as important as the others; but since they

<sup>1</sup> Comp. the *Parulus* of Plautus; Virgil's *Æneid*, iv. 634, vii. 1 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> As the same topographical position is assigned in either case, the discrepancy in the name of the tree, which in Gen. xxxv. 8 is called the *oak* of lamentation, and in Judges iv. 5 a *palm*, is not of essential importance.

<sup>3</sup> In order to prevent the dispersion of the family property in default of a male heir, such a one was often adopted as a son, or married to his master's daughter; as is also seen in the story of the powerful Jarha, in 1 Chr. ii. 34 sq. The *Testamentum Levi*, ch. vi., calls this Eliezer by the name *Jiblai*, and contains a separate tradition respecting him.

<sup>4</sup> It is well known that the Greeks also had a cycle of twelve gods, or in some districts of eight (see *Rheinisches Museum*, 1843, p. 489). In all ancient nations we find a tendency to the repetition of similar combinations and round numbers: as among the Egyptians, who grouped their deities as father, mother, and child (Wilkinson's *Manners and Customs*, iv. 231), and recognised eight great divinities (Lepsius, *Chronologie*, i. 253). Let it not, however, be supposed that the above idea of an ancient Hebrew cycle of twelve prototypes was suggested to me by these examples. On the contrary, it was forced upon me from the merest examination of the objects, and I was myself surprised at the result.

had no place in that circle, their mere names were handed down, and no reminiscence is linked with them.

As to the age in which this circle of types became fixed in the mind of the people, every indication besides those already mentioned points to the last few centuries before Moses. For true as it may be that these types were among the wants of every aspiring nation (see pp. 29 sq.), still they generally sprang up to satisfy a felt need, which could only arise while such a nation moved in a very narrow and homelike sphere, and could picture to itself all that was lofty and noble only by looking back to its own past, to the exalted house from which it had issued. It is essentially the domestic and homely spirit that enfolds itself in this circle of paternal types; in later times as the nation enters into a wider sphere and attains a larger history, an infinite number of new types opens out before it. This consideration leads us to the Premosaic time when Israel dwelt in Egypt, externally oppressed and without internal movement, yet with an elevating remembrance of its nobler past. This idea is further fortified by the consideration that the conception of such Heroes is opposed to the strict Mosaic religion, and at least could not have issued from it. For in the sense of antiquity the true hero is a being intermediate between God and man, who, long after he has left the earth, retains a sort of mystic bond with later generations, knows those who look to him, regards them with deep sympathy, and even as a mediator hears their prayers. Thus he becomes the recipient of a kind of worship, which according to strict monotheism is due to One alone; and thus it is quite fitting that among the Prophets (at a time when the Mosaic doctrine was beginning with greatest vigour to unfold all the consequences involved in it) the Great Unnamed one, although speaking as usual of Abraham and Sarah as the venerable parents of the nation,<sup>1</sup> is yet driven to the new declaration that the people of Jahveh must not regard Abraham and Israel as their fathers and protectors, nor address prayers to them, but that Jahveh alone was their Father and Redeemer.<sup>2</sup> In this the Mosaic doctrine does but utter that which from the first lay within it, and which must logically sooner or later have come clearly into view.

But in the first centuries of the Mosaic religion all that characterised the Israelitish nationality in contrast to the other nations was too eagerly grasped to suffer this typical circle to lose much of its value to the popular heart. If the Mosaic

<sup>1</sup> Isaiah li. 1, 2; comp. xlviii. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Isaiah lxiii. 16; comp. lxiv. 7 [8].

religion absolutely forbade the dedication of actual worship (a *cultus*) to their persons, their memory, cherished above that of all other men, could cleave to sacred places, as the many traditions respecting the three Patriarchs, the pillar at Rachel's grave, Gen. xxv. 20, and the mourning oak for Deborah (p. 294) show. And to how great an extent, at least in the height of poetical feeling, an enduring reciprocal action between them and the existing nation was affirmed, is shown not only by Jacob's Blessing (Gen. xlix. comp. pp. 69 sq.) but by such extraordinary expressions as Jer. xxxi. 15.<sup>1</sup>

We may indeed easily understand that the need of such types would be felt afresh with every new direction of the national life: and accordingly later times set up Moses as the type for prophetic gifts, Samson for the Nazirite life, Joseph, Joshua, and David for leadership and rule in different aspects, David for lyrical poetry, and Solomon for wisdom and poetic art. We have also an example which shows how types were set up for individual occupations, and which in age and form closely approaches the great typical circle of the Twelve, in the two Hebrew midwives whom Pharaoh could not induce by his threats to destroy the male infants, and of whom the Third Narrator says: 'because they feared God rather than Pharaoh, they were blessed also by God in house and in possessions.'<sup>2</sup> The typical significance of these two midwives is indicated partly by the style of this short narrative, and partly by the fact that there are but two of them, like the two physicians of the Hindu heaven (*Açvinau*), since this number must have been practically quite insufficient. Even their names are probably only metaphorical.<sup>3</sup> But notwithstanding all this, the twelve primitive types maintained their preeminence during the centuries which succeeded Moses, the most brilliant period of the nation's history, nor could any other type force itself into equally high and general esteem.

In this mean between a vivid feeling of their continued spiritual activity, and the avoidance of any act of worship towards them, these sacred types of the spirit and the power of the higher religion gained an increasing hold upon the national

<sup>1</sup> Hosea xii. 4 sqq. expresses very distinctly the feeling of such a living communion between the ancestral father and his people. The words in Isaiah xxix. 22 sqq., when closely examined, also admit of a signification which is appropriate here (ver. 23, 'when he sees his sons, as the work of mine hands in him,' i.e. according to xix. 25, 'when he sees them amended and blessed, [he will see how] they hallow my name'): similarly Luke i. 54, 55, 72,

xvi. 22. With this was in fact connected the belief in a kind of continuous consciousness on the part of every deceased father of a tribe: 1 Sam. ii. 33; 2 Sam. vii. 16 (according to the common reading).

<sup>2</sup> Ex. i. 15-21.

<sup>3</sup> מְשִׁיבֵי רָחֵק may be connected with מְשִׁיבֵי רָחֵק (comp. Hos. xiii. 13; Is. xxxvii. 3, lvi. 9); and פִּזְעָה in the same sense, with פִּזְעָה, פִּזְעָה, to break forth.

mind, and grew into those beautiful forms which again became their most eloquent interpreters. Such a revival all those noble forms, so far as they hold an important place in the existing traditions, have visibly experienced; but especially those which stand highest and gather the others round themselves, the three Patriarchs. As the conception of their spiritual character is developed in the Book of Origins and still more by the Third and Fourth Narrators, they give the pattern of a life which through ceaseless and triumphant aspiring to God receives from him its true strength and aid, and thus advances from blessing to blessing. There the heart meets those pure and noble forms on which it would gladly repose its faith, but which it cannot find in the present. In those bright regions it beholds, with a clearness nowhere else to be attained, the true God, whose mighty hand it seeks in vain beneath the veil of the real and the tediousness of daily life, condescending to those who walk worthy of him. And since the Divine blessing on the life of the Patriarchs has been long inly felt by those who looked to them as their types, contemplation, looking back to the primeval time when the foundation of all these blessings was laid, now takes a higher flight, and ventures to regard in the reverse order the whole course of the past and present history, tracing it according to its Divine necessity.<sup>1</sup>

In this respect the three Patriarchs are entirely alike: they are all types of an exalted life, and instruments of the Divine blessing for endless time. But besides this, which is common to all three, each possesses a very marked character; for even the absolutely good when embodied in personal life must express itself in diverse modes, without thereby ceasing to be good, and the Patriarchs being thus different are the more fit types of life in its many-coloured reality. It is at the outset desirable and possible that the Mosaic life should be exhibited in an individual person perfect in power and in act; and of this the first Patriarch Abraham is the type. Initiating a new era as father, founder, and ruler, and deriving neither his knowledge nor his power from another, he unites the most absolute dominion and original power of soul with the utmost purity, peacefulness, and energy of action; perfectly irreproachable, and yet at the same time ruling and conquering by his own

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xvii. 2-8; xxxv. 11, 12, from the Book of Origins; xii. 2, 3, 7, xiii. 14-17, xv. 18 sqq., xxii. 17, 18, xxvi. 4, xxviii. 14, by the Fourth and Fifth Narrators. But that such glorious words were intended to excite in those of later days for whom

they were written, not only pride, but also eagerness to live not unworthily of such ancestors, and are therefore to be regarded as only conditional, is seen from one very clear hint thrown out concerning them in Gen. xviii. 18, 19.

godlike power, resembling most a 'Prince of God' (Gen. xxiii. 6: comp. xxi. 22), or a 'Prophet' (Gen. xx. 7), and as the most generally perfect placed at the head of the triad. But there are not many who can equal or approach such a type. And after such an example has once been given, it is more than mere duty, it is excellence rather, not to fall behind him, but to tread faithfully in his footsteps and inherit his blessing; a life less highly pitched may also be a good one, and may be crowned with a blessing not inferior. Of this life the type is Isaac, living from his birth in possession of high worldly endowments, not of lofty independent power, but faithful, kind, and gentle, preserving that which was already given, and thus at last blest like Abraham. And if few can emulate Abraham, it is to be hoped that many or even all may be like this second Patriarch. But experience shows how few there are among the multitude even of those peaceful and upright souls whose type Isaac is; uncertainty of will and its consequences, crafty designs or passion-guided actions, carry away so many even amid the light of truth. And the issue of such deviations must be a terrible strife, in which the struggler may indeed be finally victorious and return to the good, but only through long suffering and by the strenuous exertion of all his noblest powers, and even then often bearing for the rest of his life an outward mark as a memento of his perilous encounter. The type of this life, good and blest in the end, but conquering only after severe strife and merited suffering, is Jacob-Israel, who for this very reason stands last and lowest in the series and bears a twofold name, Jacob, 'the crafty,' in his lower human aspect; 'Israel,' 'the God-striver,' after his last divine victory; though even then he remains at least in body 'the halting,' Gen. xxxii. 32 [31]. In this victorious end he stands as a type; but it is manifestly in that double-sidedness that he corresponds most perfectly with the actual nation which also revered in him its immediate father. Among the three he was evidently the hero best known and most beloved in later ages; and many traditions from the sphere of the lower life (which would not have accorded with the elevation and dignity of Abraham) have been retained in the series of legends, here very differently coloured, given by our chief narrator. Traditions such as that he lifted with ease a well-stone which all the other shepherds together could scarcely raise (Gen. xxix. 10); that he discovered the art of producing particular colours in lambs not yet born (xxx. 37 sqq.); even that he wrestled till morning with a spirit of the night that attacked

him (xxxii. 25 [24]), go back into the region of the primitive Palestinian traditions, and belong in their origin and nature to the same rank with those related of Ulysses, Apollo, or Krishna.<sup>1</sup>

But in every complete tradition, which exhibits an Heroic Pantheon, as the *Iliad* or the *Mahābhārata* for example, the most prominent personages and types are confronted by an equal number of counterparts, as enemies: and here Lot, Ishmael, and Esau appear as the three counter-heroes. To furnish these contrasts, the traditions which were developed among the kindred nations around were unquestionably early blended with those of the Israelites. For although at the present day all independent accounts of the traditions of these nations are lost, we can plainly trace the intermixture. There can be no more genuinely Arabian tradition than that in which Hagar in the midst of the desert and utterly despairing of life suddenly discovers a well till then unknown, and meets as it were a visible messenger from heaven.<sup>2</sup> And as the Arabs who trace their descent from Ishmael were certainly at all times a far more numerous people than the Israelites, and the Idumeans much earlier civilised, the existing traditions speak of Ishmael and Esau as by nature the first-born, giving them in this respect the same place as they held in the foreign traditions. But since the Israelites at the time of the chief narrator had become conscious of their intellectual if not political superiority over these kindred nations, these foreign traditions had already been transformed by them: the three ancestors of the other nations, though still eminent of their kind, and serving as types for lower classes of persons and spheres of life, being regarded as not reaching the same height of spiritual capacity and dignity as the three Israelite types, and therefore as quitting the Holy Land. They correspond also in the successive lowering of the three types, the most admirable counterpart being opposed to the sublimest type. The relation of Abraham to his nephew Lot (Moab-Ammon) is the delightful and reciprocally beneficent relation of a superior who rules solely by personal loftiness of character towards an inferior who freely yields to it and is protected by it; a pattern of peaceful agreement and mutual blessing between two neighbouring persons or nations. Ishmael, who with his mother Hagar presents the image of the proud intractable

<sup>1</sup> I here lay especial stress on this point, with reference to what has been already stated, p. 289. It is equally remarkable that nothing of this sort is found except in connection with this Patriarch, the

nearest to the later nation, and never in connection with Abraham. Yet there is with Sarah, according to p. 292, compared with p. 289.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xxi. 15-19; comp. xvi. 7, 14.



temper of the Arab of the desert, departs from Canaan not so easily and willingly as Lot indeed, but still without strife with the mild and loving Isaac; and he always holds his place as the first-born of Abraham, and is highly honoured in the tradition as the representative of a great and powerful nation, though descended from Abraham only as the son of a concubine. Esau, on the other hand, rightly the first-born, also in the end loses his birthright, because he sinks back into barbarism from a state of culture previously attained, but only after a long and not inglorious struggle with Jacob, an adversary inferior in external strength but superior in craft and art: the true type of a nation which (like the Idumeans, the next of kin to the Hebrews) fails to maintain faithfully and carefully the blessings it once possessed, and so, notwithstanding considerable external power and more truthful natural feeling, succumbs at last to the arts of a persevering and more highly aspiring brother-nation; <sup>1</sup> and also the representative of the historical struggles of the Postmosaic nations. In this manner the three counterparts of the genuine Hebrew heroes also form a complete circle; so that other related nations and ancestors mentioned in the primitive tradition, e.g. the Nahoreans (Gen. xxii. 20–24) and the sons of Keturah (Gen. xxv. 1–4), have maintained no vital connection with the already perfect story, but lie dead beside it, the demand for counterparts to the three great forms of the primeval Hebrew times having exhausted itself in these three foreign ancestors.

### III. THE HISTORY OF THE THREE PATRIARCHS.

If nothing more than the typical signification of each form in this Hero-Pantheon had been handed down to us, we might with justice insist that the three Patriarchs must at least have lived and performed extraordinary deeds, because otherwise there would be no accounting for the rise of the existing traditions respecting them; but we should be obliged to forego any inquiry into their significance as historical persons. The type, once set up with such decision, is with difficulty defined in the conception of those who cleave to it with their whole soul, except in so far as it defines itself by contact with its fellow types; and the endeavour to apprehend it introduces other views, which are incapable of strict historical proof, but without which it is supposed impossible to conceive it.

But happily there is open to us, at least in respect to Abra-

<sup>1</sup> In the same way as the 'honest' fore the Frenchman—deservedly, because German has always had to give way before through his own fault.

ham, a source of another kind hitherto little regarded by recent scholars, which at once introduces us into a very different region of historical contemplation, and affords us the clearest view into the reality of his history. This is the fragment in Gen. xiv. of small extent but inestimable value to the historian, of the general nature and significance of which we have spoken in pp. 52 sq.<sup>1</sup> Here we see Abraham in real life, often very different from the Abraham of the other writers. He wages war, of which, as not very befitting to a Prophet and Saint in the Mosaic sense, the other accounts nowhere give the remotest indication. With the Canaanites Aner, Eshcol and Mamre (of whom we have not the most distant knowledge from other sources, and whose names have a thoroughly historical sound), he stands in a mutual league which pledges them to help one another in war; he thus, exactly like them, looks like the head of a powerful house in Canaan. He receives a blessing from the Canaanite priest-king Melchizedek, and renders homage to him as it can be rendered only to a priest of high antiquity. But while all this, diverge as it may from the other representations, is historically so lucid and self-evident as to entitle us to say that here we have the true picture of the highest antiquity, and so Abraham must have acted in real life, he is at the same time endowed with so simple yet so exalted a greatness, so sympathetic in Lot's fate, so devoted and free from all self-seeking, nay, so nobly indignant at the very appearance of it (ver. 21-24), and so venerated by his contemporaries, that we can well comprehend how from such an Abraham of real life the Abraham of tradition could arise. Also in respect to his external condition and abode this primitive narration (ver. 13) agrees with the main contents of the prevailing tradition. To this it may be added, that in this fragment Abraham is touched upon not deliberately, but rather incidentally, since its aim is evidently a much more general one than to describe the history of Abraham. And thus nothing remains for us, but to rejoice in the rare good fortune which has preserved to us this single instructive fragment: for he who after a careful study of it could still doubt the reality of the lives of Abraham and Lot, can scarcely be even beginning to see anything with certainty in this field of history.

Further, there glimmer also out of the prevalent traditions no few rays of historical reality. Especially peculiar to the

<sup>1</sup> I drew attention as early as 1831 to the extreme importance of the passage, Gen. xiv. On the localities there men-

tioned, see a full disquisition by Tuch in the *Zeitsch. der Deut. Morgnl. Ges.* 1847, p. 161-194.

author of the Book of Origins is a very clear and firmly held conception of the difference between the primitive Patriarchal and the Mosaic times; and to one who in our day studies the history of that primeval period it gives a true pleasure to observe how simple and pure the fragmentary reminiscences of it, reduced in number as they even then were, remained. He has a clear consciousness that the art of writing, with all its consequences, was wanting in the Patriarchal times, as is further explained in p. 47. He well knows also the distinction of the Patriarchal religion, not only in respect to names (carefully avoiding for example, for those times, the name Jahveh) but also in what relates to its objects. Thus, e.g. he never represents the Patriarchs as bringing the sacrifices which later became customary, but ascribes to them simple usages which were afterwards entirely lost. In this appreciation of the religion of antiquity, the Fourth and Fifth Narrators are very different (compare pp. 103 sq.); but all the narrators agree in describing the external life of the Patriarchs in Canaan as totally different from that which those who lived after Moses had before their eyes; not as settled and peacefully developed, but as somewhat unstable and migratory, without the restraints but also without the advantages of a well-ordered social system, which however, according to the same traditions, existed around them among the Canaanites. In this peculiar and fixed conception must surely be embodied a true remembrance of the general character of the period. The conception of this distinctive character is so strong in the author of the Book of Origins, that he constantly describes the life of the Patriarchs in Canaan as a *pilgrimage*.<sup>1</sup>

And there remained not only a consciousness of the difference of the periods: when the author of the Book of Origins wrote, there were still preserved a multitude of verbal traditions as well as of external objects and memorials, which pointed to an earlier and much simpler time. There were sacred trees and groves with which notable remembrances were linked; for the most part, solitary trees of centuries of growth, the terebinth-tree of Mamre (a Canaanite who must have first possessed the spot on which it stood),<sup>2</sup> the terebinth-tree of Moreh, so called for a

<sup>1</sup> מְסָרִים, Gen. xvii. 8, xxviii. 4, xxxvi. 7, xxxvii. 1, xlvii. 9; Ex. vi. 4. The higher application of this idea to the transitory nature of human life in general (Heb. xi. 13; 1 Pet. i. 1, ii. 11; Ephes. ii. 19) is indeed already apparent in such poetical words as Ps. xxxix. 13 [12];

but this cannot have been the original meaning.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xiii. 18, xiv. 13, xviii. 1; comp. xiv. 24. Josephus (*Antiq.* i. 10. 4; comp. *Jewish War*, iv. 9. 7), in calling such a tree *Ogygin*, means only *very old*, according to a well-known Greek phrase.

similar reason,<sup>1</sup> the tamarisk at Beersheba,<sup>2</sup> the oak of mourning at Bethel;<sup>3</sup> places which in the period after Moses possessed in popular belief a deep-rooted sanctity. There were besides primeval altars, which were in later times open to the public gaze, standing free beneath the heavens, as the simplicity of the earliest times had erected them.<sup>4</sup> And the fact that, according to the short narratives given respecting them, many of these altars and other holy places received at their origin particular names (brief and manifestly historical as 'God of Bethel,' like our church names St. James's, St. Mary's, and so on),<sup>5</sup> is but another proof for us that the circle of a definite and peculiar religion was formerly drawn around each such place: for the religions of these primitive times are even locally as various and manifold as is always found to be the case with natural religions. Still older and simpler, if possible, are the pillars or stone-memorials, which from the general tenor of the legends must be supposed to be set up without any inscription, without even the Egyptian picture-writing, some in commemoration of holy places or of covenants;<sup>6</sup> some as boundary-marks near which on account of their sacredness an altar might be frequently erected;<sup>7</sup> some as grave-stones, like those of Egypt and Phenicia, of which many (though always provided with written characters) have been discovered.<sup>8</sup>

By such objects, which from their character or the descriptions given of them must have belonged to an early period, the contemporaries of Saul and David were largely surrounded; and we can easily conceive how firmly and permanently they maintained a vivid memory of that primitive time and of its difference from later days. The Patriarchal age had been entirely without writing or written records (p. 47); yet these permanent and visible remains were for the subsequent generations like a great natural book, in which to read the existence of the ancestors of whom early tradition spoke.

It is indeed possible that the remembrance which was sustained by such tokens had not remained correct in every detail; as for example, the sacred tree and altar at Shechem is attributed to Abraham by the Fourth Narrator of the Primitive history,<sup>9</sup> but not by the older ones. It is further possible from

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xii. 6; comp. Deut. xi. 30.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xxi. 33.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. xxxv. 8.

<sup>4</sup> Gen. xxxv. 1, 3, 7; comp. xii. 7, xiii. 19.

18, xxvi. 25, xxxiii. 20.

<sup>5</sup> Gen. xxxv. 7, xxxiii. 20, xxi. 33; comp. Ex. xvii. 15.

<sup>6</sup> Gen. xxxv. 14, 15; comp. Ex. xxiv.

4; Josh. xxiv. 27.

<sup>7</sup> Gen. xxxi. 45-54; comp. Isaiah xix.

<sup>8</sup> Gen. xxxv. 20.

<sup>9</sup> Gen. xii. 6, 7.

the close contact of the Hebrews and the Canaanites at an early period, that the sacredness of a place that had first been deemed holy by the Canaanites, and afterwards by the Hebrews, might at the time of David be referred immediately to a Patriarch. This is very probable with respect to Bethel. For according to the oldest existing account (Gen. xxxv.) two ancient sanctuaries existed there, one of which, the memorial-stone erected in the open country remote from the city, appears to be the properly Hebrew one appropriated to Jacob and bearing the special name of Bethel;<sup>1</sup> while the other, the altar, is not only expressly distinguished from the former, but also held somewhat lower, and referred strictly to the ancient Canaanite city of Luz.<sup>2</sup> From this tone of the oldest tradition known to us, and from the statement that Luz was the older name, we may be disposed to recognise in Luz the more ancient Canaanite, and in Bethel the properly Hebrew sanctuary of the same place; but since in David's time the Canaanites had long been driven out of Luz, both the holy places could then be referred to Jacob, although a great difference was still made between them.

In fine, it is plain, on a closer examination, that even in David's time, and yet more in the following centuries, there was a tendency to represent every place which had been deemed holy for an immemorial time, as having been hallowed by one of the three Patriarchs. At the time of the chief narrators the prevailing view was, at least where possible, that a Patriarch had dwelt there, or visited the spot in passing, or consecrated it on account of a manifestation of Deity there vouchsafed to him; and in the very considerable series of holy places, the order of the encampments in which the Patriarchs on their journeyings tarried for a longer or shorter time, and where the gods (that is, God and angels, or angels alone) descended and took up their abode, seems to have been laid down. For among all the places at which, according to the existing narratives, the Patriarchs dwelt, scarcely one is to be found which, in the popular belief of David's time and subsequently, had not possessed an acknowledged and primeval sanctity.<sup>3</sup> And on the

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xxxv. 9-15; comp. xxviii. 10-22.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xxxv. 1-7; comp. Josh. xviii. 13; Judges i. 22, 23.

<sup>3</sup> Though no other direct proof should exist of the sanctity of such a place, yet taking into consideration the paucity of our records, this must not lead us at once to doubt the fact. Had not the hint in the Song of Solomon (vii. 1 [vi. 13])

been accidentally preserved, there would have been a total absence of proof, even for Gen. xxxii. 2, 3 [1, 2]. The only localities, however, which are not elsewhere referred to, are: 1. *Peniel* (literally, 'Face of God'), Gen. xxxii. 31, 32 [30, 31], and *Beer-lahai-roi* (literally, 'Well of the Living One who sees me,' i.e. 'overlooks me not, even in the desert'), Gen. xvi. 13, 14,

other hand, several places are drawn only casually or tentatively into this circle; the city of Mahanaim for example (properly *double camp*), on the further side of Jordan, is linked to Jacob's history by no stronger bond than the story that there a whole *encampment* of angels appeared to him;<sup>1</sup> and the Temple-hill, Moriah, which appears by every indication to have been consecrated only by David and Solomon, is dragged into the history of Abraham—in only one story however, and that by the Fourth Narrator.<sup>2</sup>

But to go further and say boldly that all the places in Canaan in which the tradition places the three Patriarchs were only borrowed from the history of the Postmosaic period, and that therefore we know nothing of their historical existence and residence in Canaan, would be quite opposed to wisdom and truth; for a rigorous scrutiny discovers after all a solid background of fact to these primitive histories. A careful examination proves that Abraham is described by the oldest tradition as travelling about in southern Canaan only, and dwelling here or there for a longer time. Gen. xii. 9 tells of his journey into that region; the terebinth trees of Mamre, not far from Hebron, Gen. xiii-xix, Hebron itself, the place of Sarah's death, ch. xxiii, then Gerar still farther to the south, ch. xx, and Beersheba, ch. xxi-xxii, all belong to this part of Canaan; and it is only the Fourth Narrator who represents him as passing quickly by Shechem and Bethel in the middle of the country, Gen. xii. 6-8. Still more limited according to the most authentic tradition are Isaac's journeys on the most southern and least fruitful border of the Holy Land, where only occasional oases stand out from vast deserts, especially at Beer-Lahai-roi and Beersheba, Gen. xxiv. 62, xxv. 11, xxvi. 1-33.<sup>3</sup> Jacob, on the other hand, besides southern abodes, is placed also in the middle part of Canaan, which is the peculiar region of his activity and power, while Shechem and Bethel especially appear<sup>4</sup> to have been the true seats of his greatness as well as of his religion. Now how can it be accidental that not the whole Holy Land, nor even the same part of it, but a different and limited space in it, is assigned

in which cases the name itself bespeaks the historic sanctity. 2. *Succoth*, Gen. xxxiii. 17, and in Abraham's history, *Gerar*, Gen. xx. 1 (comp. xxvi. 1, 17), cities of whose history we know nothing, though in an ancient hymn, Ps. lx. 8 [6], Succoth is mentioned with Shechem. The ancient sanctity of Hebron is for us a matter of course. The wells named in xxi. obviously belonged, by some old allotment, to Beersheba, in the same way

as Dothain, mentioned in ch. xxxvii., to Shechem. The name *Peniel* or *Phanûel* was also Phœnician, and is rendered in Greek by *θεοῦ πρόσωπον* in Strabo xvi. 2. 6, 16.

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xxxii. 2, 3 [1, 2].

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xxii. 2-4.

<sup>3</sup> For xxxv. 27-29, according to which Isaac dies at Hebron, ought rather to be compared with ch. xxiii.

<sup>4</sup> From ch. xxviii-xxxvii.

to each Patriarch as the chief locality of his life? And why are Abraham and Isaac banished into the most barren steppes on the southern border of Canaan? Why is Jacob alone assigned even to its central part? Surely, unless we here choose darkness instead of light, we must confess that at the time of the chief narrators, the tradition preserved, at least in its main outlines, some clear reminiscences of the life and abode of all the three Patriarchs, and of each individually as distinguished from the others.

This general result is confirmed by some especially conspicuous phenomena. In the case of Abraham, who is always placed in the southern country only, the family sepulchre and the grove of Mamre<sup>1</sup> near Hebron, are made prominent as his only permanent possessions even in this region. On this, however, the Book of Origins, at the death of Sarah and that of all the Patriarchs (though not of Joseph), lays so extraordinary a weight, and it is described in Gen. xxiii. and elsewhere so fully and explicitly in respect to its position and its oldest possessors, that we cannot doubt it was the primeval family-grave of the national chiefs, and was traced back as an established possession of the house to the Patriarchal times.<sup>2</sup> Besides this in Abraham's and Isaac's life weight is laid only on Beersheba as actually possessed by them by treaty.<sup>3</sup>

In the centre of Canaan Jacob holds a similar position. Here the city of Shechem is the only one which the oldest tradition known to us recognises as acquired by him; acquired however in quite a different way, by right of war, and by means of the tribes of Simeon and Levi, which long before Moses must have been much stronger and more warlike than later.<sup>4</sup> After the conquest of the whole land the tribe of Ephraim always possessed this city; and therefore in the tradition it is given by Jacob, as his own city, out of special affection to his beloved Joseph.<sup>5</sup> Thus it must have been a much older reminiscence that Simeon and Levi conquered it. And then Bethel, which lay not far

<sup>1</sup> So named from the Canaanite possessor Mamre; see also Josephus, *Jewish War*, iv. 9. 7.

<sup>2</sup> But whether the great edifices at Hebron now shown as the Patriarchs' Tombs (and called also by the Moslim رامت الخليل see the *Jihân Numâ*, Wilson's *Lands of the Bible*, i. p. 363-366) are really so ancient, has now become more than doubtful, after the more careful investigation of them which was commenced recently (see the *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1863, p. 636, on Dean Stanley's researches).

But this city certainly dates from the very earliest times, as is proved by its very name, which is identical with that of one of equal antiquity still existing in Hauran حيران; see *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, 1855, p. 245. Hebron also is one of the few cities, the time of whose foundation was always accurately remembered in later times: see p. 52.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. xxi. 22-34, xxvi. 26-33.

<sup>4</sup> Gen. xxxiii. 18-xxxiv, xxxvii. 12 sqq., xlix. 5-7.

<sup>5</sup> Gen. xlviii. 21, 22.

from thence, receives in Jacob's history such prominence as a stone-sanctuary, as can be explained only on the supposition that in that earlier time a peculiar development of the Canaanite religion must have been connected with it.

Finally, if we consult the history of the Israelites after they had reconquered the Holy Land under Joshua, we see other sanctuaries rising up at Gilgal, at Shiloh, and elsewhere, which in the time of the Judges were the most important, but are never mixed up with the Patriarchal history. In this there lies accordingly a new and weighty proof how accurately the tradition distinguished, at least in the main, the Premosaic and the Postmosaic sanctuaries of the nation, one of the chief elements of the history of each period: and we shall be still less disposed to find in the existing accounts of the Patriarchal world nothing but unhistorical invention.

Thus, the historical basis of this period in general being now made good, we can attempt to advance further into details, and seek to discover with all attainable certainty, how much in the various traditions which are connected more or less closely with each of the three Patriarchs may be recognised as real history.

## 1. ABRAHAM.

### 1) *Abraham as Immigrant and Father of Nations.*

In the oldest extant record respecting Abraham, Gen. xiv, we see him in the clear light of history, the separate rays of which were nearly all gathered into a focus in pp. 301 sq.; and we have only to lament that its brevity does not allow us to collect many more such rays and from them to form a connected history of this hero of the remotest past. We see him acting as a powerful domestic prince, among many similar princes, who like him held Canaan in possession; not calling himself King, like Melchizedek the priest-king of Salem,<sup>1</sup> because he was the father and protector of his house, living with his family and bondmen in the open country, yet equal in power to the petty Canaanite kings; placing in the field at his first nod 318 chosen servants, and second to none in military experience; yet leagued for mutual aid with the three Canaanite potentates, Mamre (on

<sup>1</sup> The position here indicated shows at once that it cannot have been Jerusalem; it was clearly a city on the other side Jordan, which must be traversed on the return route from Damascus to Sodom: certainly not the Salem mentioned John iii. 23 (see

on this point my *Johanneische Schriften*, i. p. 174), but a different place (see the *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1863, p. 1636-7, and the somewhat earlier *Jahrb. der Bibl. Wiss.* vol. v. p. 234-5).



whose domain he dwells, we know not exactly how), Eshcol and Aner; somewhat as in Joshua's days the small princes of that land could not dispense with mutual leagues in time of danger.<sup>1</sup> He is however sufficiently distinguished from his Canaanite allies as a 'Hebrew' (ver. 13) and as the avenger of Lot his 'brother,' who is thereby also made a Hebrew. But the question forces itself the more strongly upon us, how he could be leagued with Canaanites and with them pursue the four northern kings who had invaded the land? We must confess our inability, with the scanty sources as yet accessible, fully to solve this riddle. The short account in Gen. xiv. sounds thoroughly historical. The names of the north-eastern kings and countries must be derived from a high antiquity, since those of two of the countries nowhere appear again and seem in later ages to have vanished.<sup>2</sup> The kings of the five cities sunk in the Dead Sea have in like manner truly historical names;<sup>3</sup> indeed the whole fragment is full of primeval and almost obsolete names, which the Third Narrator felt called upon to explain by appending the names usual in his time. The fact that the chiefs of the other nations conquered by the four confederate kings of the north-east (ver. 5-7) are not given with equal accuracy, may be explained by the supposition that the Third Narrator being interested only in the histories of Abraham and Lot, preferred to shorten the remaining description of this otherwise fully detailed expedition; for the whole narrative looks like a fragment torn from a more general history of Western Asia, merely on account of the mention of Abraham contained in it. But detached as this account may be, it is at least evident from it that the Canaanites were at that time highly civilised, since they had a priest-king like Melchizedek, whom Abraham held in honour, but that they were even then so weakened by endless divisions and by the emasculating influence of that culture itself, as either to pay tribute to the warlike nations of the north-east (as the five kings of the cities of the Dead Sea had done for twelve years before they rebelled, ver. 4), or to seek for some valiant descendants of the northern lands living in their midst, who in return for certain concessions and services promised them protection

<sup>1</sup> See what is said further on of Josh. x. and *Baal-Berith*.

<sup>2</sup> Namely Ellasar and Gôjîm, with the well-known countries Shinar or Babylonia and Elam on the east, whose king Chedorlaomer is called the chief commander. On the historical significance of this military movement of the north-eastern nations see p. 400.

<sup>3</sup> The name of the fifth king—ver. 2—is possibly only omitted by accident: at least all the others have quite historical-sounding names. It was however supplied thus from Theoph. Ant. *Ad Autol.* ii. 45; Βαλὰχ βασιλεὺς Σηγῶρ τῆς Βαλὰκ κεκλημένης; both words formed from שֶׁלַח.

and defence. Abraham dwells among the terebinths of Mamre his ally; this appears as if the latter had ceded that dwelling to him in return for his reception into the league; and all his three Canaanite allies seem to have more need of him than he of them (compare ver. 24). The covenant of Abraham and Isaac with Abimelech the king of Gerar, which is spoken of in ancient sources,<sup>1</sup> is made, according to the extant accounts, on the express ground that the native ruler thinks that he cannot safely dispense with the foreign princes; and thus these stories, though derived from very different sources, and notwithstanding their very dissimilar tone, agree with the most ancient account in Gen. xiv.

In fact this idea furnishes the only tenable historical view of the migration of Abraham and his kindred. They did not conquer the land, nor at first hold it by mere force of arms, like the four north-eastern kings from whose hand Abraham delivered Lot, Gen. xiv. They advanced as leaders of small bands with their fencible servants and the herds, at first rather sought or even invited by the old inhabitants of the land, as good warriors and serviceable allies, than forcing themselves upon them. Thus they took up their abode and obtained possessions among them, but were always wishing to migrate farther, even into Egypt. This desire was naturally strengthened in proportion as the need which the Canaanite princes had of their alliance was weakened. This is especially shown by the narrative of Isaac's fortunes after the death of his dreaded father, Gen. xxv. 15 sqq. Little as we are able to prove all the details of that migration from the north towards Egypt, which probably continued for centuries, it may with great certainty be conceived as on the whole similar to the gradual advance of many other northern nations; as of the Germans towards Rome, and of the Turks in these same regions in the Middle Ages, who also were often sought as allies or otherwise in one way or another as brave protectors. And if later the peaceable and mutually beneficial community of such various nationalities issued sometimes in strife and bloodshed (of which the narrative in Gen. xxxiv. contains one of the clearest reminiscences), it was only what in similar circumstances has always occurred to other nations too.

Now if this was the true character of these migrations, we can see that they might last for centuries, and that nothing less than the forcible rearrangement of the political relations of Canaan through the Mosaic kingdom of Israel put a final stop

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xxi. 22-34; xxvi. 15-33.

to the dependence of Canaan on the influences of the north-east; for Chushan-Rishathaim, who shortly after Joshua, issuing from Mesopotamia, subdued Canaan,<sup>1</sup> is the last ruler of this kind for many centuries. Further, we now understand that Abraham's name can designate only one of the most important and oldest of the Hebrew immigrations. But since Abraham had so early attained a name glorious among the Hebrews advancing towards the south, and since he was everything especially to the nation of Israel which arose out of this immigration, and to their nearest kindred, his name came to be the grand centre and rallying-point of all the memory of those times—primarily with reference to nationality only; so that at the time when the nations thought the most of affinity of race as affecting their relations towards their neighbours, he was placed in a strict domestic relation to all the different nations of this great popular migration. Thus among the people of Israel a clear remembrance connected those immigrations which subsequently became the most important, and from which national territories and governments had been formed, with the pedigree of Abraham, since the chiefs of the early developed kindred nationalities of this kind were ranked in a definite relationship around this greatest of their heroes. In this pedigree of Abraham given by the Book of Origins there lies concealed indisputably a great amount of ancient memories of those national relations: indeed we can see in it an illustration of the great progress and extent of the Hebrew migration. For,

a.) That portion of the Hebrews which remained in the north by the Euphrates, the Nahoreans, are represented as springing from one of the two brothers of Abraham. These may have dwelt first on the farther side of the Euphrates, since they had their ancient sanctuary in the Mesopotamian Haran;<sup>2</sup> but the twelve tribes into which they were divided appear to have spread themselves out also on this side of the Euphrates as far as the eastern boundary of Palestine, and southwards to the Red Sea.<sup>3</sup> Their chief importance in this history is in connection with Jacob. Unquestionably they once constituted a kingdom as powerful as that of Israel, but they must early have been

<sup>1</sup> Judges iii. 8-11.

<sup>2</sup> Not merely does Jacob come thence, but the forefather Terah, according to an early tradition in Gen. xi. 32, is mentioned as finally resting there; so that it must have been at one time the seat of some sanctuary around which the whole nation gathered.

<sup>3</sup> Of the twelve names mentioned in

Gen. xxii. 21-24, three undoubtedly belong to this side of the Euphrates: Uz (Eug. version here only *Huz*, and here the LXX. pronounce it not *Aûs* but *Oûz*), Buz, and Maachah, which last is synonymous with the Hermon district; Aram, in ver. 21, is undoubtedly identical with Ram in Job xxxii. 2.

broken up and dispersed, since in the later history the very name of Nahor dies out. At one time even Chaldeans belonged to their kingdom (see pp. 283 sq.), the chief tribe however, called Uz, or Hellenistically Aus (Ausitis),<sup>1</sup> extending on this side of the Euphrates far towards the south, and immortalised by the history of Job, at the time of its highest power certainly formed by itself a mighty kingdom; but long before the Mosaic age was so compressed by advancing Arameans that it came to be reckoned among the immediate sons of Aram,<sup>2</sup> and appears in historic times only as a small portion of Edom, by which it must have been afterwards subdued.<sup>3</sup>

b.) On the direct route from the Euphrates to Palestine lay the ancient Damascus; and that this city was brought into connection with Abraham by the most ancient tradition is proved by the primitive proverbial expression preserved in Gen. xv. 2,<sup>4</sup> in which Damascus, as the fatherland of Eliezer, Abraham's steward, makes a claim on his whole inheritance. For by virtue of the intimate relation of the head-slave to the house, he being often regarded in the absence of children as heir to the whole property,<sup>5</sup> when Damascus is called the city of Eliezer it implies almost as much as if it had been called the city of a son of Abraham; except that the bond which thus connects it with Abraham is described as a very remote and loose one. But that the Israelite tradition had lost almost all memory of this primitive connection of Damascus with Abraham is explained by the fact that this city, probably in the age shortly before Moses, was entirely estranged from the Hebrew nationality, by a change which happily we can still demonstrate. In the interval it was unquestionably possessed by a new and powerful emigration, namely by Arameans from the river Cyrus in Armenia (mentioned by Amos, ix. 9).<sup>6</sup> It is, indeed, commonly termed an Aramean city, and as the nearest to the Hebrews was by them often called simply Aram. This immigration, being so well known in the time of Amos, must, even if it happened

<sup>1</sup> See also Ptolemy's *Geography*, and the remarks in the *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1863, p. 200.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. x. 22, 23; comp. xxii. 21.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. xxxvi. 28, Deut. iv. 21, Lam. iv. 21 (see my *Job*, p. 24-26). Josephus indeed (*Ant.* i. 6. 4) reckons Trachonitis and Damascus as belonging to Uz, but as usual without giving any reason.

<sup>4</sup> The Fifth Narrator himself is obliged to explain it by a paraphrase in his own words in ver. 3; and though the play on words in *רמזק* and *בן רמזק* undoubtedly belongs to the proverb, yet the origin of

the proverb clearly lies in the local and the personal name, and therefore in an ancient story. In the closely conjoined words of the proverb, 'Damascus of Eliezer' (i.e. Eliezer's city, according to my *Lehrbuch*, § 286 c, p. 713), the name of the city is intentionally made to precede, as being more important to the sense than the individual Eliezer.

<sup>5</sup> On this see above, p. 294.

<sup>6</sup> That by Aram Amos really meant Damascus is evident also from i. 6; comp. Is. vii., xvii. 3.

before the conquest of Canaan by Joshua (in which Damascus, as not inhabited by the Canaanite race, had no part), have taken place not earlier than the period succeeding Abraham and Jacob; and the similar case related above (pp. 311 sq.), respecting Uz and the rest of the Nahoreans greatly aids this conception. Now it is remarkable that in the Greek and Arabian times the Damascenes boasted of their descent from Abraham, and showed 'a dwelling of Abraham' as a memorial of him among them.<sup>1</sup> Whether this view had first been developed by Christianity, or somewhat earlier, through the Greek translation of the Old Testament, merely on the basis of the incidental expression Gen. xv. 2, may well be doubted. A dim remembrance of the same fact in long distant ages, which among the Hebrews had linked itself with the expression in Gen. xv. 2, may have been more strongly preserved at Damascus itself; and thus Damascus would be the more surely constitute a link in the chain of this primeval Hebrew migration.

c.) Directly to the south of Damascus, on the eastern side of the Jordan, dwelt the two nations Ammon and Moab, which traced their descent from Lot the nephew of Abraham. Since Lot is mentioned only in the traditionary history, and in ordinary life only Moab and Ammon were spoken of,<sup>2</sup> it might be imagined that he never had a true historical existence, did not the ancient fragment Gen. xiv. beforehand condemn that assumption. Here we see him described quite historically as 'brother' (i.e. near relative) of Abraham,<sup>3</sup> living in Sodom, as if

<sup>1</sup> In the first place, Nicolaus of Damascus, a witness of the highest authority, in the fourth book of his history, spoke of Abraham's ancient renown in Damascus and in a village which still continued to bear his name (see Josephus, *Ant.* i. 7. 2; repeated by Eusebius, *Præp. Evang.* ix. 16). In the second place, apparently quite independent of this are the accounts given in abstract by Justin (*Historia*, xxxvi. 2), according to which Damascus, Azelus, Adores, and then Abraham and Israel, were the ancient kings of the city; even supposing the two middle names to be derived from the Hazael and Ben-Hadad frequently named in the Books of Kings, and consequently to belong to a much later age, yet the tradition of Abraham and Israel would remain; and the Damascenes are said by Justin to refer the origin of the whole Jewish people to themselves and their city. But we have no valid reason to doubt the existence of an ancient Hazael as Prince of Damascus, whose name may have been taken by later princes; and in

*Adores*, by a common abbreviation ('Ader or 'Ador being also a dialectic variation for 'Ezer), may be latent the very *Eliezer* of whom we have lately spoken. The Arabian historians vary: see Herbelot, s.v. *Abraham*, Ibn-Batuta, ed. Lee, p. 28, 29; Jeldeldin, *History of Jerusalem*, p. 405, 406, Reyn.; Stephanus Byz. s.v. *Δαμασκός* has nothing to the point; see also Petermann's *Reisen*, i. p. 307.

<sup>2</sup> For the very late Psalm lxxxiii. 7-9 [6-8] certainly obtained the appellation *Sons of Lot* only from a learned study of the primeval history.

<sup>3</sup> The term *brother* in ver. 14, 16 (a very ancient document) may be understood in the same sense as it is used of Jacob in Gen. xxxi. 23, 25, 46, 54 (also a very ancient passage); the more distinctive name is however used in ver. 12. Philo, *On Abraham*, xxxvii., speaks far too contemptuously of Lot, from mere rhetorical one-sidedness; but speaks differently in his *Life of Moses*, ii. 10.

among the old inhabitants of the further side of Jordan he played much the same part as Abraham on this; and though in Gen. xiv. 5 the same countries are spoken of which were afterwards called Ammon and Moab, no mention is made of these names. It is remarkable besides how, without reference to any other narratives, a Lotan (i.e. perhaps *one*, or *a part*, of *Lot*) stands first among all the old races of Seir (see pp. 226 sq.),<sup>1</sup> and must have formerly been very important in their history. In this there is evidently a remnant of a primeval tradition of an intermingling of the original inhabitants with a conquering nation called Lot. On the other hand, the name of Lot's father Haran, who died in Ur Chasdim (pp. 283 sq.), before his son emigrated thence with Abraham, strongly suggests the land of Arrân near Armenia (p. 287). But the Iscah, whose name is preserved only in a fragment of the oldest historical work, was probably regarded as the ancestress of the two nations who trace their descent from Lot, as Sarah and Milcah were treated as foremothers of the descendants of Abraham and Nahor.<sup>2</sup>

The greatness and power of a nation called by the name of Lot, at least in the two halves into which it must have been divided long before the time of Moses, descend much lower into the region of known history than do those of the two former nations. Not without reason was Lot in the old national traditions placed in so close a relation to Abraham: the clear later history of Israel from Moses onwards also witnesses that this Hebrew people must formerly have had an intimate share in all the greatness and glory which is attached to Abraham's name.

But the notion that this pair of nations, Moab and Ammon, were once more flourishing, may be confirmed also by special testimony. The tradition of the destruction of the four Canaanitish cities, Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah and Zeboim (p. 104 and 242), is certainly very old; and that volcanic convulsion was the agent in it is not only suggested by the oldest and most significant figures employed in this tradition,<sup>3</sup> but also confirmed in

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xxxvi. 20, 22, 29.

<sup>2</sup> If we must find some significant reference for the name Iscah, which now stands quite isolated in Gen. xi. 29, it can be no other than this; and like all other names of similar rank in the primeval genealogies, it must have been significant. But besides this detached notice of Iscah, the passage Gen. xi. 29, 30, exhibits in יְלָה a form so antiquated and so unlike the Book of Origins, that we are obliged to recognise in it a fragment of the earliest

historical work. Iscah would thus appear as both sister and wife to Lot; and Sarah was nearly related to Abraham, according to Gen. xx. 12; and Milcah to Nahor, according to Gen. xi. 29.

<sup>3</sup> These are now interwoven with the words of Gen. xix. 24-29, but are still recognisable. It was probably through reading the Septuagint that the attention of the Greeks was directed to this alteration of the surface. See Strabo, xvi. 2. 44, Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 7; Sol. *Polyh.* xxxvi.

our own days by a close examination of the whole bed of the Jordan and the Dead Sea.<sup>1</sup> We can now, indeed, in consequence of this careful examination of the ground, better understand many aspects and details of the tradition itself. The engulfed cities must have been in the southern half of the Dead Sea. This half has a strikingly shallow bottom, and undoubtedly only the larger northern part with its far greater depth existed before the last great change in the ground: oral tradition also places the ancient Sodom on the south-west shore. There, not far from the margin, still appears the strange cone of salt standing like a pillar, in which the ancient tradition so easily found a petrified human being (Lot's wife); and we see now that it was not without reason that Josephus testified that this pillar of salt existed to his day, and that he himself had seen it.<sup>2</sup> And if the city of Zoar,<sup>3</sup> by itself, or even with its province, lay in the peninsula which cuts deeply into the southern half of the Sea of Salt, and looks like a portion of land that escaped the general overthrow, the tradition might easily take the form that it had been a fifth to the four other cities, and been spared by special grace.<sup>4</sup> But in this tradition the glory originally fell on Lot alone; it was his race only that had boasted of a higher degree of the divine favour than the Canaanites could claim; and it is evidently only the later Israelitish modification of the legend that connected Abraham with it.

d.) Farther in the wilderness two nations claimed origin from Abraham: the smaller having six branches and believed to descend from the mere concubine Keturah, dwelling for the

<sup>1</sup> W. F. Lynch, *Narrative of the United States' Expedition to the River Jordan and the Dead Sea*, London, 1850: *Jahrb. der Bibl. Wiss.* iii. p. 190: and on Sauley's views, *ibid.* vi. p. 80 sqq. It deserves notice that *סָדֹם* to turn over, the constant expression in ancient Hebrew for the earth-

quake at Sodom, reappears in the *סֹדֶם* *Sâr.* liii. 54, and is well explained by *أرض مقلوبة* *Isstakhri*, p. 35. Möll. A similar lake Jammune, in northern Lebanon, is described by Seetzen (*Reisen*, i. 229, comp. 302, ii. 338). Compare also *Phlegrae pedion*, in Aristophanes' *Birds*, 822.

<sup>2</sup> *Ant.* i. 11. 4.

<sup>3</sup> The LXX. pronounce it harder *Σηγορ*.

<sup>4</sup> Gen. xix. 19-22. While the city *زفر* (also *زفر* and *زفر*) is often mentioned

by Arabian writers (as Edrisi, p. 337 sq.; Kazvini, ii. p. 61; Abulfidâ, *Geography*, p. 228), the Wadi *زفر* at least derives its name from this place, if not also the existing village, *سزرعة*; for this appellation, signifying *seedfield*, has in modern times become common for small places in that region. The *Zuër* to the west, which Bertou and Sauley (*Athen. franç.* 1854, p. 902) identified with this city, has nothing to do with it; and whether the low hill near Hebron, which is now called *صغر* (see the *Jihân-Numâ* s.v.), is the ancient one is doubtful. See also the *Zeitsch. der Deut. Morg. Ges.* 1847, p. 190 sqq.; Ritter's *Erdbeschreibung*, xiv. 108 sqq., xv. 587 sq. On Sodom, the Dead Sea, and *Zuëra*, see also Tristram's *Land of Israel*, p. 319-29, 332-3, 350-53, 363.

most part east from Palestine, and so coming under the conception of *Bne-Kedem* (Sons of the East) or Saracens<sup>1</sup> (the later synonymous term); and the greater having twelve branches, all of which were said to descend through Ishmael from a more honoured concubine, Hagar,<sup>2</sup> which spread first over Northern Arabia to the south of Palestine,<sup>3</sup> but afterwards also far to the east. As these nations in the Israelitish tradition appeared as sons of Abraham by concubines, that is, as of lower standing and half-degenerate, so also in history they probably yielded themselves up very early to the Arabian desert life, spread over the wide plains, and were thus severed from the other nationalities of kindred blood who devoted themselves rather to the culture of the soil. But one at least of these eighteen nations, the Midianites, was an exception to this rule: they were very early settled, partly on the Arabian coast opposite the peninsula of Sinai, distinguished themselves by commerce and other arts of civilised life, and in early times came repeatedly into close contact with Israel, but in the end receded in culture and power, as Israel advanced. In the earliest period the Ketureans, of

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 253. Zimran, who stands at the head of the six chief tribes mentioned in Gen. xxv. 6, probably reappears but once, in Jer. xxv. 25, and Cushan (probably the same as Jokshan) only in Hab. iii. 7, and Shuah only in Job ii. 11. The Shebaites and Dedaneans, mentioned in Gen. xxv. 3, as subordinate tribes of Jokshan, are obviously only isolated families of these old Arabian tribes, which are well known to us from other

sources (compare  $\text{س}$  in Tarafa's *Moall.*

v. 3); but this very circumstance confirms our assertion that the Ketureans were immigrants into Arabia. The notices given by Islamite Arabs of twelve sons of Ishmael, with *Qaidir* and *Nâbit* at their head, seem to have a Biblical origin; but the *Journal Asiatique*, Aug. 1838, p. 197-216, contains a remarkable account derived from the Kitâb Alaghâni of a tribe Qatûra or Qatâr. Compare Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'Histoire des Arabes*, i. p. 20-23, 168, 176, sq. Fresnel attempts the difficult comparison of the early Hebrew and the Arabian accounts in the *Jour. Asiatique*, Aug. 1838, p. 217-221, Sept. 1840, p. 177-202, 1853, i. p. 43 sqq., but with as little success as crowned Caussin de Perceval's work in 1847. Considering how great the interval of time which has elapsed, we cannot expect to recover more than a few traces of these ancient tribes, as the primeval combinations of tribes in

Arabia were evidently very early dissolved. We ought, however, to observe that Burckhardt, in his *Notes on the Bedouins* (London, 1830), claims to have discovered the remains of a primitive religion and usage which formerly embraced the whole of Arabia.

<sup>2</sup> That Hagar was with them a national name, and not a mere invention of Israelite tradition, appears also from the mention of a nation of Hagarites, 1 Chron. v. 10, 19, 20, whose name is in Ps. lxxxiii. 7 [6] put in poetic parallelism with Ishmaelite. Strabo, xvi. 4. 2, joins them with the Nabateans and Chauloteans; 'Αγάραιοι or 'Αγρῆται appear likewise in Dionysius Perieg. v. 956 and in Steph. Byz. On Hagar as identical with *Bahrain*, see the Marâsid in the Mushtarik, p. 438. How Paul (Gal. iv. 24 sq.) could interpret the name Hagar by 'Mount Sinai,' whether from the name of a city,  $\text{الحجر}$ , *Hijr* (Masudi, i. p. 76; Abulf. p. 88), or on some other ground, is discussed in my *Sendschreiben des Ap. Paulus*, p. 493 sqq. *Jahrb. der Bibl. Wiss.* viii. p. 200.

<sup>3</sup> This is deduced from the way in which the ancient tradition always puts Ishmael and Hagar in the desert leading to Egypt, or even connects them with Egypt itself, Gen. xxi. 21, xvi. 7, compare xxv. 18: on the other hand some of the twelve tribes or sons of Ishmael, mentioned in xxv. 13-15, certainly lived on the east of Palestine.



whom these Midianites were a branch, were very powerful; this we know because they soon disappear from history, and yet must once have been an important nation. But even at the time of the Book of Origins the Ishmaelites were far more powerful than they, as is clear from the distinction with which this book treats them and their progenitor.<sup>1</sup> Still later they take the place of the former in ordinary language.<sup>2</sup> These also seem long to have been steadfast to their league of twelve. Kedar, in the Book of Origins the second of the twelve branches, becomes prominent in somewhat later times as the most powerful,<sup>3</sup> and the Nabateans (Nebajoth), who take the first place there, constitute at a still more recent period a great kingdom overshadowing the ancient league.<sup>4</sup>

e.) As settling down in Canaan, and there becoming the father of Isaac by Sarah, Abraham is represented in the old tradition as established only in certain definite localities of the southern country: and it has been shown in p. 305 sq. that in this must lie the undimmed memory of a fact. But his stock immediately spreads abroad in three branches, Isaac, Ishmael and the sons of Keturah; and this continues down into historical times, and gives the first occasion to the custom of genealogical series mentioned on p. 24.

These then are the kindred nations, whose memory clung so closely to the name of the ancient Hero; who must all have looked to him with high regard, and many of whom, with others somewhat younger, who appear as his grandsons (Esau and the twelve sons of Jacob), always revered him as their father, so that in the history he is celebrated as the *Father of Nations*<sup>5</sup>—not the least of the lofty titles which preserve his memory. And although in after-times the nation of Israel made a special boast of him as their first father, it could never be forgotten even in their sacred traditions that he originally stood in much wider national relations, and rather deserved the name of Father of many Nations.<sup>6</sup> How it came to pass

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xvii. 18, 20, xxv. 12-18.

<sup>2</sup> Ishmaelite is a more general term for Midianite, Gen. xxxvii. 25, 27, 28, 36, xxxix. 1; Judges vii. 12, viii. 22, 24.

<sup>3</sup> Isaiah xxi. 16, 17, and subsequently.

<sup>4</sup> Compare vol. v. p. 153, 314, 324, 351; Quatremère in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1833. The ancient capital *Nabata* on the Red Sea is now rediscovered in the ruins of

حواري, or *Λευκή κόμη*; see *Bulletin de la Soc. de Géographie*, Nov. Dec. 1849. On the *Λευκή κόμη* see the remarks in Maltzan's *Wallfahrt nach Mekka*, i. p. 95, 96, 114 sqq., which must however be

received with great caution. On the Nabateans see vol. V. p. 351. Josephus (*Ant.* i. 15, ii. 9. 3) gives only a very general conjecture as to the position of the Ketureans, in assigning to them Trogodytis and the region on the Red Sea, and was perhaps led to this by the position of ancient Midian. Long before Josephus, however, other Hellenists had found Afer and Africa in אפער, Gen. xxv. 4, possibly because the LXX. adopted the pronunciation 'Αφείρ.

<sup>5</sup> Gen. xvii. 4, 5.

<sup>6</sup> Gen. xvii. 4, 5; compare ver. 16.

afterwards that the single nation of Israel could appropriate him as in a special sense their first and highest father, will become clear only when we consider the other respects in which he became a yet mightier influence in the world's history.

## 2) *Abraham as a Man of God.*

For had Abraham been nothing more than even the greatest of the leaders in that national migration, his name would at most have been handed down as bare and lifeless as those of other once renowned heroes of those times. But assuredly there began with him a new and great epoch in the history of the development of religion: he first domesticated in his house and race the worship of that 'God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob,' who, as personating the fundamental idea of a true God, was never forgotten even after the lapse of centuries, until by the prophetic spirit of Moses he was placed in a yet higher light, and became the eternal light of all true religion.<sup>1</sup> To apprehend even the historical possibility of this we must carefully bring together the scanty accounts which have been preserved from those times with all the scattered traces that history affords. And this presents in brief somewhat the following conception.

It was not only the ordinary necessities of life, nor even mere desire of conquest, which caused that mighty national migration of the Hebrews from the north-east. Other and nobler impulses also ruled them. Already even among those hitherto uncorrupted northern nations, simple religion was falling more and more into a false and artificial state, and superstitions of all kinds became prevalent. But in the very strife against this corruption there arose in many of the Hebrews a new and powerful tendency towards the true religion; and not a few would flee from the ferment of strife in the north, because they were attracted by the southern lands, where, although the moral corruption was prevailingly greater, there flourished also an insight and wisdom which had even then become widely renowned. Among all who thus migrated from the north there can have been none who felt more deeply the spiritual needs of the time, or who had early been called upon to strive harder for the knowledge and veneration of the true God—hereby happily learning how to

<sup>1</sup> See further the treatment of this subject in the *Jahrb. der Bibl. Wiss.* x. p. 1-28. W. Pleyte's *La Religion des Pré-Israélites* (Utrecht, 1862) is reviewed in the *Gött. Gel. Anz.*, 1862, p. 1822-28. Considering how difficult it now is to re-

cognise any of the mental characteristics of those early ages, we ought to beware of hasty and unfounded judgment upon them, and collect most carefully any real atoms of reliable knowledge of them that are still to be found.

strive and live—than Abraham. When he trod the soil of Canaan he was according to all reliable traditions already advanced in years, and matured in the service of a God truly known; but we can scarcely conceive what conflicts he must even then have endured, and from what mortal dangers been rescued.<sup>1</sup> Assuredly he had learned in the severest life-battles what the true God was, even as he was destined to learn still more of that truth on the soil of his new fatherland. But his real greatness is this, that he not only steadfastly maintained the knowledge of the true God in his own practice and life, but knew how to make it lasting in his house and race. And in nothing is the memory of the reality and grandeur of his God-fearing and God-blessed life more evidently preserved than in this, that powerful and devout men even among foreign nations were compelled to confess that ‘God was with him;’ and eagerly sought his friendship and blessing.<sup>2</sup>

It is true that while the national conditions, at least in their main features, have been preserved in tolerably sure remembrance, a comprehension of the more delicate and mutable essence of the religion of those times is much more difficult. The Book of Origins, indeed, represents the same God who revealed himself from Moses onward, as revealing himself also to the three Patriarchs, though not by the name Jahveh, but by that of El-Shaddai;<sup>3</sup> but as surely as these names were not changed by mere accident, and a new name always indicates a new conception, these words do imply the remembrance of a difference between the religion of the times before and after Moses. Only the Fourth and Fifth Narrators on the one hand transfer the name and conception of Jahveh completely and without distinction to the primeval period (p. 103, 114 sq.), and on the other represent Moses as speaking of ‘the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob,’ or more briefly the ‘God of the Fathers,’<sup>4</sup> as of the same meaning with Jahveh; and in this the Deuterono-

<sup>1</sup> We here leave out of sight the later narratives which will be subsequently discussed; but one little word in Isaiah xxix. 22, that ‘Jahveh redeemed Abraham,’ points with sufficient clearness to great battles and dangers of which our present narratives, beginning at ch. xii., furnish no hint, but which, we have every reason to expect, would occur before Abraham entered Canaan. Isaiah must undoubtedly have had before him many earlier and fuller stories of Abraham.

<sup>2</sup> As appears from the very old narrative in Gen. xxi. 22–34, and the yet earlier one in xiv. 18–20. Such passages furnish

the key to those popular stories in which the memory of Abraham’s superhuman greatness has fastened on certain sharply defined crises of his history, and often been wittily compressed into a few pithy words, as Gen. xx. 15–17; xii. 10–20. On the difficult words in xx. 16, see my *Lehrbuch*, § 123 b, p. 327. It is very important here to recognise aright the great antiquity of such passages, and to observe how the striking old words and recollections were by degrees softened down into such later descriptions as xii. 10–20.

<sup>3</sup> Ex. vi. 3; Gen. xvii. 1 sq.

<sup>4</sup> Ex. iii. 6, 13, 15, 16, iv. 5.

mist follows them.<sup>1</sup> Even the oldest sources indeed, in the simple but peculiar expression 'the God of my father,'<sup>2</sup> imply a certain connection between the Premosaic and the Postmosaic God, even as Moses himself adopted as his foundation all that was truly good in the older popular religion; but this is only a denial of the importation of foreign elements, and not an assertion which would have been contradicted by history, that it had not been internally reformed and more firmly defined by Moses.

We must, therefore, look for other and, if possible, stronger proofs. And here we may start from the use of the name of God himself, which we observe in this nation in the mist of the remotest antiquity. We saw (p. 264) that the common name for God, *Eloah*, among the Hebrews as among all the Semites, goes back into the earliest times; and it is remarkable that this word for God, as also those bearing the cognate meaning of Lord, are always employed specially in the Hebrew tongue, from those early times, in the plural number.<sup>3</sup> We might easily suppose this to be a Hebrew peculiarity, were it not unquestionably very ancient; for the later poets, especially after the end of the eighth century before Christ, began to substitute for *Elohim* the singular *Eloah*, which prevails in Arabic and Aramaic; showing that the original plural meaning was then obsolete, when poets at least could introduce the singular form. The formation of these plural words for God and Lord leads us back into that far-off time when the conception of majesty and power seemed to be exalted by those of multitude and universality.<sup>4</sup> It was effected, however, without so formal a change of the whole sentence as is involved in the so-called *plural of Royalty* in our speech, but simply by a slight modification of the word *God* or *Lord*.<sup>5</sup> But the origination of a plural word for God implies that even in that early age when this word was developed, the idea of many gods existed. The conception of God, indeed, appeared to the most ancient world boundlessly

<sup>1</sup> Deut. i. 11, 21, iv. 1, vi. 3, xii. 1, xxvi. 7, xxvii. 3. The words אֱלֹהֵי נַתַּן Josh. xviii. 3, in this connection appear like an addition from the hand of the Deuteronomist.

<sup>2</sup> Ex. xv. 2, xviii. 4.

<sup>3</sup> *Amlâk*, the Ethiopic word for God, affords the only other instance where there is room for inquiry whether it was originally plural, though in certain connections used quite like a singular.

<sup>4</sup> The question might arise whether the

nation did not adopt this usage during the Egyptian bondage, as I have read that at the present day a fellâh addresses his master as *arbâb* (see also Bruce's *Travels*, i.); but the history of the language seems to me to prove that the use of the plural is much older.

<sup>5</sup> Analogous to this is the Hebrew use of the plural in the formation of abstract nouns (see my *Lehrbuch*, § 179 a, p. 468), and the use of the feminine, especially in Aramaic, to give emphasis to names of dignity (see my *Lehrbuch*, § 177 f, p. 465).

extensible, and infinitely divisible; and thus in this plural word polytheism might easily have found its firmest prop.<sup>1</sup> It is the more surprising, therefore, secondly, that we find this plural word Elohim employed by the people of Israel with the greatest regularity and strictness, always in the purest monotheistic sense: so that it is grammatically treated as a real plural only when it is designed to speak expressly of many gods; for example, in the heathen sense, in conversation with the heathen, or other exceptional cases.<sup>2</sup> When, then, did so marked and so fixed a distinction in the use of this word begin? Is its strictly monotheistic employment due to Moses? No; it appears too firmly established for so recent an origin. There is no indication that it was first introduced by him: he rather makes use of the new name Jahveh. Or was it introduced in the time immediately preceding Moses, when Israel, in strife with the Egyptians, gained a great elevation of their life? Of this, too, we have no trace.

We have therefore, in the primeval use of the word Elohim, a memorable testimony that even the Patriarchs of the nation thought and spoke monotheistically. But we possess other testimonies also from the same earliest period of a religion corresponding with the simplest faith in the Invisible God. Nothing is more characteristic of the earliest worship of this nation, as it existed even till the time of Moses, than the custom of erecting everywhere simple altars without images or temples under the open sky.<sup>3</sup> These suffice where men believe in an invisible heavenly God; and in their very simplicity they correspond to the simplicity of a true religion. And all the severe subsequent strife between Israel and the Egyptians was essentially a religious strife, which could not well have arisen until Israel possessed a basis of true religion, of which it refused to be robbed by the Egyptian religion.

The history of the conflict between Monotheism and Polytheism is in the main that of the development of every higher truth. Like every truth, Monotheism itself lies safe in the human breast; in the moment when man actually perceives the living God he can perceive him only as one power, can feel his spirit only in the presence of one God. But according to time, place, and condition, man may perceive the Divine as easily in infinitely varied and manifold ways: and here is the source of Polytheism, which, like every error, having once arisen

<sup>1</sup> As is evident from the plural, תַּרְסִים, penates.

<sup>2</sup> See my *Lehrbuch*, § 318 a, p. 784.

<sup>3</sup> See my *Antiquities*, p. 117 sq.

will long maintain itself. But it is also accordant with the nature of all development that, as Polytheism assumed a settled form, Monotheism struggled against it the more powerfully. Even by the Patriarchs of Israel, according to every indication, this struggle was maintained; and we may well assume that the Canaanites also were at that time so far cultivated, that even among them there were incipient and scattered monotheistic movements; indeed, the instance of Melchizedek gives sufficient evidence of this. But that the faith of the Patriarchs of Israel was entirely independent appears from their peculiar name for the true God, *El-Shaddai*.

But although this was certainly a commencement of Monotheism, it was not quite the Mosaic form of it. It was only the one supreme and almighty God, whom individual enlightened spirits knew, and sought as far as possible to retain in their own circle; it was the one true God, whom the father of a household, having clearly known him, elevated over all others as the God at least of himself and his house, because in that age the mere household of one powerful man was all-important, and no nation in the higher sense of the word had as yet been developed at all. And in this sense each of the three Patriarchs could hold the more firmly to one God, the more purely domestic his own rule was; their god continuing thus to be an individual household god.<sup>1</sup> That they apprehended this one God under a strict moral aspect, and in opposition to many lower conceptions, is vouched by their whole life as the founders of a new epoch, on which their posterity looked back with pride. The Canaanite Priest-king also, when (according to the ancient fragment, Gen. xiv. 20, comp. ver. 22) he is about to bless Abraham, calls on 'the supreme God, the Creator of heaven and earth,' as the God whom he adores. But the god of a household, however exalted he may be conceived to be, still suffers other gods besides himself for other households and other men, and thus is by no means a safeguard against polytheism, especially since these can easily be somehow associated with him. And that the Divine Being in the Premosaic period was apprehended with this idea of undefined extent and possible divisibility, is proved by the most ancient tradition itself, in which the god of Abraham and the god of Nahor are invoked by oath as two different gods, and 'the God of the father of both,' is placed above this duality, simply that the two gods may not

<sup>1</sup> Even at a much later period this xxiv. 15; compare Ex. xxxii. 10; 1 Chron. was still laid down as a possibility, Josh. iv. 10.

appear to have a separate existence and thus contradict the Mosaic religion.<sup>1</sup> It is also shown by plain indications (see p. 290 sqq.), that at least in the popular conception a Hero-Pantheon was superadded to the chief god and the house-god of the ruler. Equally ineffective was this indefinite apprehension of one god completely to suppress idolatry. How firmly rooted this practice was, at least among the women and inferior domestics, is evident from the obstinate retention of the Teraphim (or *Penates*) many centuries after Moses, and in spite of the commands of the higher religion. Tradition indeed does not deny idolatry at least on the part of Rachel and Laban.<sup>2</sup> Thus there was wanting to the one God worshipped by the Patriarchs all the distinctness and definiteness of the God of Moses.

But as in that early period mankind were strongly exposed to the immediate influence of the visible, and everything symbolical exerted over them a living power, some of the most ancient symbols of higher thoughts lasted from it even to the later Mosaic times; and these reveal most plainly an original connection of the Hebrews with the northern nations. The Israelites under Moses would assuredly have known nothing of Cherubs or of Seraphim as heavenly animals, unless the memory of these shapes of the older religious faith had been preserved from a higher antiquity;<sup>3</sup> and with these are connected the other sacred reminiscences which have been above related.

But if this was the state of the most ancient religion in the Hebrew nation while yet they sojourned in their northern home, it is evident how great a risk they ran of falling before the allurements of a low sensuous faith and a dissolute ungodly life. And this result must have really taken place in that nation (who had otherwise remained so simple and robust) even before Abraham: indeed Abraham must have had to combat most strenuously among his nearest kindred and in his own house with the seductions of the ripening heathenism, and men corrupted by them. The Fifth Narrator has omitted to relate this before the present brilliant opening of the history of Abraham

<sup>1</sup> In the undoubtedly ancient phrase, Gen. xxxi. 53.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xxxi. 19 sqq., xxxv. 2-4.

<sup>3</sup> כְּרִיב points to an Aryan derivation (see *Prophets*, IV. p. 27 sq.): and כְּרִיב, despite the slight mutation of sounds, is indisputably of the same origin as *δρυκων*. As sharp glowing eyes and colours were regarded by the ancients as the chief features of this creature, so in virtue of exactly such eyes the winged seraphs of

heaven were the best watchers and guardians of the heavenly throne. The gigantic Cherub was originally only one, whereas of the smaller and more fairy-like seraphs there were always many. The fact that Sphinxes are unknown to the most ancient sculpture and writing of Egypt, and only appear there after the Hyksós period, is an additional proof that all such symbolical images had their origin not in Egypt but in Central Asia.

(Gen. xii.), as if he hastened past this dark picture to give greater prominence to that noble introduction which had been already delineated by the Fourth (Gen. xii. 1-3); but the remembrance of it has been elsewhere preserved.<sup>1</sup> The strife was assuredly long and hard. But the highest and most peculiar element in his history, and that which has become most fruitful for all future time, is, that he clung so firmly to his assurance of the one true God, and recognised so clearly that true salvation can come from him alone, that he chose rather to abandon fatherland and relations than faith in the sole omnipotence and helpfulness of this supersensuous, heavenly and only true God, and resolved to make this confidence the root of his life and influence. With this feeling he must first have acted as a powerful prince towards his own extensive household, and afterwards have persevered in the same course in Canaan and in Egypt, among nations where he encountered a much higher wisdom and more enlarged experience, but at the same time much over-refinement and moral corruption.

### 3) *Abraham as exhibited by the existing Narratives.*

Although we may convince ourselves satisfactorily of the truth of all that has hitherto been explained of the actual history of Abraham, it is not to be denied that in the Old Testament but few and scattered passages concerning him have been preserved from the oldest writings. What we now know of him with any considerable coherence is due to no earlier source than the Book of Origins; but, unhappily, a large portion of that which this book had originally told of this greatest of the Patriarchs has been lost. As, however (see p. 82 sqq.), it brings forward with the greatest interest all that relates to law and rule, Abraham appears in it chiefly as the great father and founder of the people of Israel; as the type of the true ruler, in so far as he is a father of his house and nation; and as the first Hebrew inhabitant of the Holy Land at the commencement of the Third Age of the world, and at the same time as the noble prototype of all its later inhabitants. In the

<sup>1</sup> Apart from the Deuteronomic and subsequent narratives which will be discussed hereafter, it follows from the arrangement of the Book of Origins itself, as displayed in my *Antiquities*, p. 104, that its author must have described, at the close of the second and commencement of the Third Age, a universal de-

pravity of manners, from which Abraham alone, as the venerated founder of this Age, was by God himself preserved. But then the Deuteronomist himself can have derived only from earlier writings the information respecting Abraham's relatives, which he introduces incidentally, Josh. xxiv.



second place, so far as concerns law, the idea of a covenant between God and man being the highest point of view taken in this book of every great crisis of history (see p. 85 sqq.), a new covenant of this kind serves also to express the grandeur of Abraham's whole life, all that is eminent in it being gathered together under this conception. The Covenant stipulates, on the part of man, first of all, the right regulation and attitude of the spiritual life (Gen. xvii. 1, 2), and then demands, as an outward sign of this moral purity and consecration (as Sacrament), Circumcision (ver. 9-14). But immediately upon that primary condition of inward consecration, there follows on Elohim's side the promise of the highest blessing, as his part of the Covenant; and thus the sublimest divine words which this narrator can conceive to have been addressed to Abraham are accumulated at this point (ver. 4-8). Circumcision, as the sign of this sublime Covenant, is enforced very appropriately just when the birth of Isaac is expected in the next year; so that this first child of the community may at his very birth become the type of all its true children, and enter through this sign into the higher community now formed. Thus here also is placed the sublime moment when, among other promises, is given that of the approaching birth of Isaac, and through him the secure continuance of this Covenant and its blessings for ever, and when Abram and Sarai, as the first parents in this eternal Covenant, receive the new names of Abraham and Sarah,<sup>1</sup> corresponding to their new higher dignity (ver. 5, 15-21). And that this zenith of Abraham's life may be attained at the correct middle of the life of a Patriarch of this era (see pp. 275 sq.), the sacred year of this Covenant and expectation of the genuine child of the community is Abraham's 100th year (ver. 24, xxi. 5); that is, in the original sense of the tradition, not much beyond the golden middle of the Patriarch's life (compare

<sup>1</sup> As, however, the alteration of both these names only consists in a slight difference of pronunciation, we must suppose the story of the change of the name *Jacob* into *Israel* to be the earlier, and this to be suggested by it. The original name does not seem to be אַבְרָם (*Abram*, which might be a formation similar to עֶמְרָם, the name of Moses' father), as this form would make the interpretation given in Gen. xvii. 5 the least intelligible, but אַבְרָהָם (*Abraham*), in which אֵב (*Ab*) may be a dialectic abbreviation for אָבִי *Abi*, father of (see my *Lehrbuch*, § 273 b, note, p. 664);

רָהֵם (*Ráhám*) could be easily shortened into רָם (*Rám*; see *Lehrbuch*, § 72 c, p. 158). In the other case, however, the pronunciation שָׂרַי (*Sarai*) is certainly the older, and its original meaning the obscurer. But the longer name, *Abraham*, as synonymous with *Ab-Hamon* (*father of a multitude*), and שָׂרָה (*Sarah*), as meaning *Princess*, appeared to the narrator most suited to the higher dignity conferred upon them. The giving of names stands in connection with circumcision; see my *Antiquities*, p. 96.

ch. xxv. 7).<sup>1</sup> This opens large sections of Abraham's history to further chronological arrangement. We necessarily expect the birth of Isaac, and in connection with it the expulsion of Ishmael, somewhat as they are described in Gen. xxi. 1-21. The assumption of the mid-life of the Patriarch reacts also on the conception of his earlier history. For since at the introduction of circumcision, according to old and well-founded traditions, Ishmael was about 13 years old;<sup>2</sup> Abraham must at his birth have been 86 years old;<sup>3</sup> while still further back, at the time of his immigration into Canaan, 75 years are assigned to him, corresponding very well with this number 100.<sup>4</sup> And since the 175 years of his whole life evidently answer to these 75 and 100, all the years of Abraham's life are accounted for.

So far, therefore, we can securely trace the plan of the life of Abraham given by this chief narrator. Many other passages are to be referred, with more or less modification, to him and the other ancient sources; as the story of Sarah's fate in the court of the Prince Abimelech, ch. xx.; that of the legal procedure for giving possession of Beersheba, ch. xxi. 22-32 (where the name of that prince's captain, Phichol, nowhere else mentioned, must be derived from old tradition); that of the family sepulchre, ch. xxiii, where in beautiful picturesque language the Book of Origins again finely discloses its deep sense of law. But on the whole, these remains of the ancient sources are very scattered.

The Fourth and Fifth Narrators conceive the preeminence of Abraham in a different manner, and thereby transform a chief part of this history. In their time the lapse of centuries had strengthened the nation's consciousness of the great blessing of the true religion which flowed in upon them abundantly out of the primeval period of their past ancestors. Thus they, even more strongly than the Book of Origins, figured Abraham chiefly as the type of the great and universal Divine blessing, spreading from one saintly man to many, to all his nation, and even to many nations; the idea being then modified by the

<sup>1</sup> Tradition similarly magnifies many other numbers belonging to the same period: Ishmael is a child when fourteen years old, Gen. xxi. 14-16; the sacrificed lamb is three years old, xv. 9; and Isaac and Esau were both married in their fortieth year, xxv. 20, xxvi. 34.

<sup>2</sup> See *Zeitschrift für das Morgenland*, iii. p. 230; even *Zohar* (i. p. 165 b, ed. Amstel.) takes the twelfth year as the first of puberty and accountability.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. xvi. 16.

<sup>4</sup> Gen. xii. 4: the discrepancy between this number and that assigned to Terah's life in xi. 26, 32, is to be explained (contrary to Acts vii. 4) by the assumption that Abraham departed from Haran before his father's death; for the numbers are undoubtedly all taken from the Book of Origins, whose author, in his usual way, finished off with Terah only that he might be able then to dwell on Abraham's history alone.

Messianic hope of that time. It is taken for granted that the later nation, taught by its ancestor, would also always be worthy of this blessing;<sup>1</sup> and the aim of the particular descriptions of these narrators was especially to show *how* Abraham himself had become perfectly worthy of it.

But farther, that simple purity and sanctity of life which, according to the Book of Origins, was expected from Abraham (Gen. xvii.) did not suffice for their own time, more advanced as it was in prophetic culture (p. 104 sq.) For a life of piety there was then demanded the maintenance of faith through the longest trial and the severest temptations,—a momentous advance, the historical causes and consequences of which cannot here be discussed. Accordingly while the Book of Origins sums up all that is highest in Abraham's character in the one name of a 'Prince of God,' and most delights to depict men as meeting him more and more with the spontaneous respect and homage due to one enjoying that Divine protection,<sup>2</sup> by these last narrators he is regarded rather as a Prophet, and is even called by that name.<sup>3</sup> But if the climax of his life is found here, and Abraham serves as the sole perfect type of this character, it is evident that he may be regarded also as the sole great hero of the true faith and of the Divine justification thereby attained, and that a narrator of the traditions, filled with this thought, might remould from his new point of view the scattered reminiscences respecting him. He met with much that might lead him to this; the tradition of the temptation to sacrifice Isaac is, by many indications, old:<sup>4</sup> that of Sarah's danger (see p. 293) was easily brought into connection with the same idea; and Abraham's receiving his promised heir only in his hundredth year might be interpreted by a somewhat later age to imply that the pledge had been fulfilled through a severe testing of the parents, and after all expectation had been given up.<sup>5</sup> In this

<sup>1</sup> According to the important passage, Gen. xviii. 19.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xxiii. 6; compared with the earlier expression, xxi. 22.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. xx. 7.

<sup>4</sup> See my *Antiquities*, pp. 70, 228. Similar traditions among the Phenicians will be mentioned hereafter in treating of Israel.

<sup>5</sup> The description of Isaac as son of very aged parents, and of the laughter which accompanied his annunciation and birth, not only in ch. xviii., but also in ch. xvii. and xxi., appears to me mere addition and amplification by later writers. Let it be remembered that, besides the

circumstances already explained, the Book of Origins makes no difficulty in ascribing to Abraham after Sarah's death another wife and many sons, xxv. 1-4. I view the words in xvii. 17 beginning with וַיֵּשֶׁב as an addition by the Fifth Narrator, and xxi. 6 sq. as added by the Third. Isaac was certainly always regarded as much younger than Ishmael, Gen. xi. 30, xxi. 2, 7; and in aid of the historical reasons which may have induced the early tradition to regard the tribes of Isaac and Joseph as later, and therefore to make the Patriarchs Isaac and Joseph younger sons in the pedigree, came the religious truth that as all the greatest blessings of life

manner, the thought that even the perfectly irreproachable is tried in the faith through all degrees even to the uttermost, and only when completely approved can attain the highest and most enduring Divine blessing, becomes the keystone of the history of Abraham, and binds all the most prominent events of his life into a new whole. That which precedes this series of trials of his faith is but preparation for, and that which follows to the end of his life is but the issue of, this intensest activity in the grand middle period of his life.

a.) Thus, although Abraham is exhibited from the first as the same perfect hero, all that is brought together by the last narrator (Gen. xi. 27–xiv.) as far as the first trial of faith in ch. xv, serves but as a preparation for the great development in the middle of his life. According to this version Jahveh calls Abraham into the Holy Land, and promises him beforehand all the grand and unparalleled future of the history, ch. xii. 1–3 (for this narrator delights in such sublime commencements in preparation for what is to follow, p. 111 sq.); and then Abraham willingly follows the call from above, and travels through the Holy Land, building altars to his God, and receiving from him gracious messages (xii. 4–9). Here already, in Abraham's progress as far as Egypt, and the danger which befell Sarah at the court of that country, it is shown what protection the holy life of such a hero extends even to the farthest borders of his house, and how little a woman like Sarah is liable to actual wrong (xii. 10–20).<sup>1</sup> And in his behaviour towards Lot, Abraham exhibits even in the casual disputes which may arise between peoples of kindred race, that noble spirit of endurance and pacification which turns all possible evil to good. Accordingly Lot yields voluntarily, and removes eastwards into the very land which in the subsequent history his descendants Moab and Ammon possess; and Jahveh blesses anew him who by such conduct retains his abode in Canaan, ch. xiii. And as towards Lot, so does he behave towards people and princes of foreign race, even to the king of Sodom, rendering aid to others with noble boldness and self-devotion, and is blessed for it even by

can be obtained only by slow and laborious striving, so these exalted Fathers of the nation were born into the world only after lengthened expectation and anxiety. But we see with equal distinctness that this feature of the tradition was first eagerly prosecuted by later writers, so that none earlier than the Fifth Narrator transfers it to the birth of Esau and Jacob, Gen. xxv. 21.

<sup>1</sup> The legend of Sarah's danger was transplanted to Egypt by the Fourth Narrator, as appears from the style of treatment; earlier narrators had related the same of a Canaanite court (Gen. xx.) Considering, however, that Isaac's power is always described as weaker than Abraham's, it is natural to look for the original scene of the story in Isaac's life; see Gen. xxvi. 7–11.

the foreign priest-king Melchizedek; <sup>1</sup> as is stated in ch. xiv, which is inserted almost word for word from the primitive history often referred to above.

In fact, after these trials and these proofs of an unsurpassable elevation of life, it seems as if nothing further could be added to him; and yet all this is but the introduction to something higher still, since hitherto everything has gone right with him of itself, so to speak, and his own trust and endurance have not yet been tried; though this trial would seem to be nowhere so necessary as in the case of one who occupies so exalted a sphere of life. If much has been given to him and much is to be expected from him, the mere accidental success of all his affairs will in his case suffice less than in that of others; a deeper probation of his inmost heart must be added, so that when he has approved himself through all the stages of that test, then and then only he may attain those spiritual blessings which surpass all casual and transient success.

b.) This trial turns at first, as it might seem to us later-born and alien readers, upon an unimportant blessing—the advent of a legitimate heir, through the birth of Isaac. But without insisting too strongly on the fact that this is really a blessing, or that in a trial the important element is not the inherent value of the object, but the price at which it is held by him who is tried, from his personal position and feeling, or even that the blessing of bodily issue is immensely greater in those primitive times when the very bases of the household, the nation, and the kingdom are to be laid, than at a period when the first necessary wants have long been supplied, and spiritual blessings therefore can come more freely into view—it is to be remembered that in the genuine meaning of the tradition this promised and eagerly awaited son and heir is no common child, but as it were the primitive child of the community, the type of its constant renovation and continuance, without whose birth and preservation the subsequent community could neither have arisen, nor have felt itself endowed with permanence and perpetual youth. What were Abraham as the origin and head of a national community, if that which he founded expired with him and were not secured by the continuance of the same house filled with his spirit, since

<sup>1</sup> It has been already noticed, however, on p. 307, that Salem, his metropolis, was not Jerusalem; the 'fortress Salam,' said to be conquered by Rhamses (Brugsch, *Geographische Inschriften*, ii. p. 71 sq.; *Histoire d'Égypte*, i. p. 145) may have been either the city just named or one further

to the north. The Hebrew text of Gen. xxxiii. 18 does not mention a city Salem, though the LXX. do; but it is remarkable that the Book of Jubilees xxx. places it to the east of Shechem, as if its position were well known to the author.

no strict severance of the domestic and national from the spiritual could then exist?

Moved by such reflections as these, the narrator naturally exhibits the father and founder of the nation himself as expecting with religious eagerness the lawful heir, and, though all his other wishes are fulfilled, painfully agitated at last by longing for this latest blessing. Thus is prepared a trial fit for a hero such as he. The divine certainty that this necessary keystone shall not ultimately fail, is indeed easily reached by one as blameless as Abraham; but even when the time approaches the realisation may be deferred and encounter manifold hindrances. And when the long desired but much delayed son is born, and the natural blessing gained, the further question arises whether he, who thus far holds it only as an earthly good, is able to guard and maintain it also as a spiritual and permanent blessing. In this are contained a multitude of possible degrees of trial for his faith, even to the utmost; and a way is opened for the great development of the middle period of his life.

The narrator therefore, according to his custom (p. 111), commences in a strain befitting the loftiness of Abraham's whole life, with a sublime revelation of the divine certainty of the desired blessing, ch. xv. When, on another gracious appearance of Jahveh, Abraham ventures timidly to utter what he longs for, the former, not merely in words (ver. 4) promises him his desire, but also directs his gaze to the stars, which his posterity shall equal in number (ver. 5). Finally, when Abraham, having proved his faith in a region not reached by sense, seizes a favourable opportunity to entreat yet more boldly for an outward sign and pledge, Jahveh gives him his Covenant as such a mutual pledge (ver. 9-20). This covenant-making is in the main transferred hither by the later narrator from the older tradition in ch. xvii; but he very appropriately uses the occasion of this description of the Covenant only to foreshadow here (where for the first time posterity is seriously spoken of) the whole future destiny of Israel (p. 35). Having put the commencement of this revelation in the night and treated it as a night-vision (ver. 1-9), he similarly embodies its conclusion also in a night scene. On the following day, Abraham, having put everything in proper order for a sacrifice at a sanctuary, and lain down to sleep towards evening on the hallowed ground,<sup>1</sup> expectant of what is to come, not only sees a fire

<sup>1</sup> This is a distinct allusion to the rite p. 259. But even Marcus Aurelius in his of *incubatio*, on which see my *Antiquities*, *Memorabilia*, i. 17, says something similar

passing between the pieces as a sign of the conclusion of the covenant (and how else but in such a fire-sign could Jahveh show himself in the darkness of night?), but hears also in that solemn moment a Divine voice foretell the fortunes of that posterity for whose sake this covenant is made (ver. 10–20). And since this prophecy cannot promise unmixed prosperity for the future of Israel (e.g. in Egypt), some unfavourable prognostics precede: viz. birds of prey, which try to seize the sacrificial pieces when already placed,<sup>1</sup> but are driven away in good time by Abraham; and then at sunset, in his first sleep, a fearful darkness.

But in the agitation of real life this last express Divine assurance is met by multitudes of obstacles and new trials.

(i) In the first place, Sarah becomes impatient of the delay, and Abraham is obliged to submit to her wish to have a son, at least indirectly by her maid; Ishmael, although persecuted by Sarah even before his birth, must be born in Abraham's house (ch. xvi.) By the birth of this but half lawful son, the advent of the true one, who alone can have been intended by Jahveh as worthy, is evidently thrown back further into uncertainty.

(ii) But as, according to the older story, circumcision was introduced thirteen years later as the sign of the covenant, and the birth of Isaac then promised for the following year, the later narrator uses this to set forth that the true son—although the announcement might be received with laughter on account of the great age of the parents—will yet surely come (ch. xvii.)

(iii) At this moment of high-wrought expectation, the interlude of the fate of Sodom and of Lot (ch. xviii, xix.) is very effectively introduced by this narrator. While Jahveh is about to show favour to Sarah in giving her the expected lawful son, he has also to come down to earth for a very different reason, on account of Sodom. But whether he descend to bless or to punish, neither blessing nor chastisement can be found immutably necessary by Jahveh till after a just examination. So at this moment, critical to entire nations on every side, there comes first examination, and then, as its consequence, retribution. But the examination begins with him who has always stood the highest—Abraham; for, should he be found guilty, the very severest

of himself. Compare also *Revue Archéolog.* 1860, p. 116 sqq.

<sup>1</sup> Virgil (*Æneid*, iii. 225 sqq.) gives a

description very like this, only more elaborated; in which the mention of *ara*, v. 231, deserves especial attention.

punishment would await even him.<sup>1</sup> But when the Divine Being approaches him in the illusive form of three strangers seeking shelter, he hastens to meet them with the most real and active kindness possible; and then, as the Divinity is gradually revealed to him as he deserves to know—first in a renewed promise of the approaching birth of Isaac, notwithstanding the laughter of Sarah, who thought herself unnoticed in the background, and again in an intimation of the fate of Sodom then to be decided,—he steps before the One, who has already sent his two subordinates (messengers or angels) to Sodom, and ventures even at the last hour to present an urgent intercession for that city, flowing from the purest love (for he would rescue all its inhabitants, not Lot alone), and persists in it with desperate boldness, and to his own risk. But while Abraham thus perfectly approves himself, and wins for those over whom punishment has long impended, the very easiest condition of forgiveness, it is proved in the self-same night that even this condition is not fulfilled in Sodom. In the darkness of this night, therefore, these two angels, quitting their invisibility, complete their work of horror, scarcely rescuing even the family of Lot. With an unsurpassable beauty, the narrative concludes (xix. 27, 28) by returning again to Abraham, whose first gaze and thought on the morrow turned towards Sodom, but found only traces of its utter ruin.

(iv) In the same decisive year also occurs Sarah's danger at the court of Abimelech; and how then could she become the mother of the lawful son? But, according to the older tradition, this danger also passes over, and brings an actual increase of safety to Sarah and honour to Abraham (ch. xx.)

(v) Finally, late indeed, but at the right time, comes the Lawful Son, for whom Ishmael must soon make way (ch. xxi. 1-21).

(vi) To this is appended, almost unaltered from the older work, though not strictly belonging to this connection, the account of Beersheba (xxi. 22-34), the pith of which lies simply in the thought that even in things of this world possession is permanent and legitimate only when it rests not on mere natural taking and giving, but upon mutual agreement, upon a covenant between Higher and Lower, and consequently upon oath. King Abimelech seeks of his own free will to enter into a peaceful league with Abraham; but the latter prudently arranges beforehand everything from which strife might arise

<sup>1</sup> Compare Jeremiah xxv. 29; 1 Peter iv. 17.



between them, and binds the former, who in external position is his superior, by the acceptance of a gift in token of homage, to the remembrance of his duty of protection.<sup>1</sup> But even Isaac, when finally obtained, is as yet only a blessing of nature for Abraham; a son like any other son, though of the lawful mother; Abraham's son because born to Abraham, and nurtured in his house. True labour, the labour of a soul wrestling in faith, Abraham has never had for him since his birth; and yet that only is a spiritual, and therefore true and abiding blessing, which we are able to make our own in the strife and wrestling of a faithful spirit.

(vii) Therefore, just when the highest blessing is obtained in Isaac, the highest trial of faith and obedience comes to Abraham. That same Isaac, some Divine voice says to him in the night, he must sacrifice at a fitting place.<sup>2</sup> Though he be the highest and dearest of all external blessings, that on which the father's whole life now turns, Abraham must be ready to render him back to him from whom he has been received. And behold, this hero of faith, following the Divine voice as he has hitherto apprehended it, shrinks not nor tarries to offer even this hardest sacrifice. With wonderful self-control and calmness, he makes all needful preparations; he even carries them all out deliberately himself. But let it not be thought that, having once believed the command to be from above, he fulfilled it rigidly and blindly; he enters upon it indeed with patience and firmness—as a religious man he cannot do otherwise, so long as by his best efforts he can discern no other decision from above. But, though his devotion is perfect, he does not carry out the command as if nothing beside this hard necessity were still conceivable and possible,—as if no other and higher truth could be announced from heaven. When the son, the unconscious victim, already bearing the wood for the offering, and willingly following his father's every command, inquires for the victim, he does not suffer that heart-breaking question to divert him from that which he has recognised as the will of Heaven, but neither does he answer with unfeeling readiness, 'Thou art he!' but in his anguish cries out as if involuntarily, and yet inspired by a true prophetic impulse, 'God himself will provide

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xxxii. 14 [13]—xxxiii. 11, describes similarly the relation subsisting between Jacob and Esau, undoubtedly in imitation of this same earliest narrator.

<sup>2</sup> It is quite in keeping with the style of the Fourth and Fifth Narrators, that they exceptionally (according to p. 305),

but most significantly, transfer Abraham's sacrifice to Jerusalem, though very artfully they rather indicate than name the spot. There is, however, no doubt that that is the place meant, as has been quite recently demonstrated in the *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1863, p. 637 sq.

the victim.' From this happy combination in Abraham, of readiness and devotedness of act, with the true readiness of thought, of hope, and of believing expectation, arises the most glorious and blessed of results. Already he has bound his son, already raised the knife, already all but sacrificed the innocent, obedient, unresisting child, when at the last moment a voice from above is heard again—not now like that dream-voice of the night, but clear and loud in the full day, bidding him abstain from the actual deed, now that his temper, his true faith, is proved; and his eyes are opened to see beside him the victim which is actually better pleasing to Jahveh. The highest trial of faith thus ends with the gain of a new and great truth;<sup>1</sup> and not only is Isaac rescued for ever through this death-pang of his father, but an indestructible foundation is laid for the community which was destined to be perpetuated for ever in every form of blessing.

c.) Nothing higher can follow: the rest of Abraham's life flows on undisturbed in that happy repose which is the ideal condition for old age, and the third part of the narrative is occupied only with accounts of the various domestic concerns of the hero and his kindred, of the acquisition of the family sepulchre, and of the arrangements for Isaac's happy marriage.<sup>2</sup>

#### 4) *Abraham according to the later Books.*

Thus it is only the finished art of the last narrator which moulds the history of Abraham to that brilliant type of the Mosaic religion which never afterwards grows pale; anything greater is not attempted in this region, and indeed were scarcely to be conceived. For this very reason this conception of the champion who stands at the head of all the heroes of the faith in the Holy Land, when once powerfully aroused, could not stand still; and the Bible itself still shows certain indications how it progressed by the aid of tradition. For what causes Abraham migrated from the north, the narrative as shaped by the last author does not precisely indicate (p. 322 sq.), although the oldest sources allowed the full historical facts to appear more manifestly (p. 323 note). By these oldest authorities it is simply mentioned that Terah, Abraham's father, desired to

<sup>1</sup> Viz. the truth that Jahveh does *not* desire human sacrifices. There was certainly a time when it was possible to conceive, and therefore to attempt, the contrary. But it was refuted even in that

primeval time, through the experience of the greatest hero of the faith. The higher meaning of this tradition is also indicated, Heb. xi. 19, in the words *ἐν παραβολῇ*.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xxii. 20—xxv. 11.

journey with him and others to Canaan, but came with them only as far as Haran in Mesopotamia, where they all settled provisionally, and afterwards died.<sup>1</sup> The Fourth Narrator gives prominence to the parting of Abraham from his home and country, and takes occasion from it to expound the truth of the Divine call to spirits of such innate power and such strength of faith, somewhat in the same manner as was held of the Prophets, and often preached in the eighth century;<sup>2</sup> but he asserts nothing respecting the religion of his father. And the existing Pentateuch merely says incidentally in one place in Deuteronomy that on the farther side of the Euphrates Terah and the other ancestors of the people had served other gods;<sup>3</sup> an assertion not exhibiting merely a further development of tradition, separating with increasing sharpness between the polytheism external to Israel and the one God worshipped by them, but (according to p. 323) really based upon older narratives which were in later times more brought into notice. Now partly the hiatus in the prevalent story, which must always have been very apparent, partly the pleasure of reviving the Patriarchal time in later days in new and vivid pictures, must have tempted an author, who probably also used other ancient stories, to sketch a striking picture, showing how much Abraham, while yet in his father's house, had to suffer for his worship of the true God; and this work must have been much read in the centuries immediately before Christ.<sup>4</sup> This narrative brought Nimrod, as the great heathen king and persecutor of the pious, into contact with Abraham; but in doing so it certainly only started from the name 'land of the Chaldeans' as Abraham's northern fatherland (p. 282 sq.), and thence concluded that Nimrod, as the single celebrated ancient king of the Chaldeans, must have been his opponent; and when the writer

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xi. 31, 32. How different is the later description in the Book of Judith, v. 6-9! This and other similar descriptions given in later times cannot possibly be all derived from the words in Gen. xi. 31 sqq. But it is certain on other grounds that this passage has been much curtailed (see *Jahrb. der Bibl. Wiss.* x. p. 26 sqq.); and even if the discrepancy in the numbers found at Gen. xi. 26, xii. 4, can be reconciled as shown at p. 325, yet we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that Abraham's own history now commences most abruptly, Gen. xii. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xii. 1-4, compared with Is. vi., Amos vii. 15; also Jer. i.

<sup>3</sup> Josh. xxiv. 2, 14; see Judith v. 6-9,

and a number of other late passages.

<sup>4</sup> Yet the phrase in Is. xxix. 22, 'Jahveh redeemed Abraham,' is certainly ancient, though very remarkable, and (as shown on p. 318) scarcely explicable from the narratives contained in our present Genesis alone; for it would imply that Abraham had been rescued out of some great bodily danger, and thus brought to the knowledge of the true God. At any rate, there were in Isaiah's time earlier stories of Abraham, and very distinct and detailed ones too. But pictures of Abraham's early history such as those found in Judith and in Acts vii. 2-4 must be derived from some later source.

represented him as cast by the terrible Nimrod into the furnace, the Book of Daniel was in his eye. But Abraham became in later ages more and more the favourite object of a thousand forms of pious expressions, poems and stories.<sup>1</sup> Standing titles of honour were also being perpetually created for him, to heighten the splendour which antiquity had already lavished on him. Especially after the sixth century before Christ, everything exalted which could then be possibly conceived of Abraham was summed up in the new name 'Friend of God.'<sup>2</sup> This name is still retained in the Islamite world as the most suitable; and there its abbreviation, 'The Friend' (El Chalil), is directly interchangeable with the name Ibrahim. The immediate occasion for this name was furnished undoubtedly by the beautiful narrative from the hand of the Fourth Narrator, Gen. xviii. 1-xix. 28. Simpler and yet accordant with the spirit of true religion is the title 'Servant of Jahveh,' which he received equally gradually;<sup>3</sup> as also that of 'The Faithful.'<sup>4</sup> The Rabbis finally, who sought to round off everything, brought up the temptations of Abraham to the number ten.<sup>5</sup>

The assumption of Josephus,<sup>6</sup> that Berosus in his Chaldean history made mention of Abraham, is shown by his own words to be groundless; for he could not find in Berosus even the name of the 'great and just man learned in astrology,' who lived among the Chaldeans in the tenth generation after the Flood, and therefore only assumed arbitrarily that Abraham was intended. According to all that we now know, on the contrary, Abraham's memory was preserved only in the Israelitish history, till Asia was opened to the Greeks and Romans by the Macedonian conquests, and the Greek translation of the Old Testament, as well as the spread of Judaism and Christianity, excited a new curiosity respecting the history of this hero of antiquity. But at that time the derivation of Abraham from Ur-Chasdim (p. 283) misled the investigators in many ways. Thinking that by the term Chaldeans could only be denoted

<sup>1</sup> All the Rabbinical stories about Abraham are now collected and elucidated in B. Bœr's *Leben Abraham's nach Auffassung der jüdischen Sage*, Leipsic, 1859.

<sup>2</sup> Is. xli. 8; see 2 Chron. xx. 7; James ii. 23; Clemens Romanus *Ep. ad Cor.* x. xvii.; *Homil.* xviii. 13; Abdias, *Hist. Apost.* iv. 5; and Melo ap. Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* ix. 19.

<sup>3</sup> See the addition of the LXX. to Gen. xviii. 17.

<sup>4</sup> ὁ πιστός ἐπώνυμος, Philo, *Opp.* i. p. 259. Philo, more strangely, wishes to

give him the title ὁ περὶ θεοῦ, actually according to the Holy Scriptures, ii. p. 46, or ch. xxxix. of his long oration on Abraham (which contains nothing else peculiar). On the other hand, the work on Jonah ascribed to Philo (Aucher, ii. p. 592) does certainly mention Patriarchs who were thrown into the fire by Babylonian tyrants.

<sup>5</sup> *P. Aboth*, v. 3.

<sup>6</sup> *Ant.* i. 7; repeated by Eusebius, *Præp. Ev.* ix. 16.

the highly civilised Chaldeans of Babylon<sup>1</sup> at their own day, they conceived of Abraham and Joseph as Chaldeans distinguished respectively in astrology and in weights and measures, and said that they both had gone to Egypt to instruct the Egyptians in these arts as well as in the true religion.<sup>2</sup> This view is in so far true, that these arts really appear to have proceeded more from the Babylonians than from the Egyptians, and that there is distinct evidence that weights were introduced from Babylon into Egypt.<sup>3</sup> But that Abraham and Joseph were the means of introducing them is a mere conjecture of those writers. It is curious how fond the Greek writers were of this particular idea, which became familiar to them from the celebrity of the Chaldeans. Not only writers of the character and age of Justin Martyr constantly speak of Abraham and Lot as Chaldeans, but even in the Orphic poems<sup>4</sup> the Chaldean sage is undoubtedly meant for Abraham.

Among the ancient Arabs, far more than among the Babylonians, we should expect to find independent traditions of Abraham's early sovereignty and greatness. The fame of Abraham was certainly wide-spread among the Arabs of the interior long before Mohammed; as their own ancestor and hero, they transferred him, with Hagar and Ishmael, to Mecca, regarded him as the builder of the far-famed sanctuary there, the Caaba; and gloried in the possession of an image of him there, and of his footprint on the black stone. And in conformity with the Old Testament, they also distinguished as *Arabised*, certain northern tribes supposed to be derived from Ishmael, from the pure Arabs. We also possess some poetical accounts from the pre-Islamite period, respecting Abraham, as founder of the religious observances connected with the Caaba.<sup>5</sup> But it is quite evident that at the institution of Islam, very vague traditions alone remained concerning him, and that these were eagerly pursued by Mohammed for his own special object. For the name of Abraham, as an ancient Arabian prophet, was for Mohammed a weapon against both Jew

<sup>1</sup> There is an exact parallel to this great transformation of the Chaldeans in that of the Toltecs, the former conquerors of Mexico, into artists, after they had lost the sovereignty.

<sup>2</sup> Josephus, *Ant.* i. 8. 2. Eusebius, *Præp. Ev.* ix. 16-19, 23. See also Fabricius in the *Codex Pseudepigr. Veteris Test.* i. p. 556, 557. According to Eusebius, xvii., Eupolemus identified Ur-Chasdim with a place in Babylonia named *Urie*, otherwise *Kamerine*; but see above, p. 283.

<sup>3</sup> See Böckh's *Metrologische Untersuchungen*, Berlin, 1838.

<sup>4</sup> Quoted by Aristobulus, under Ptolemy IV., in the third century before Christ, ap. Eusebium *Præp. Ev.* xiii. 12, p. 665 Vig. I do not here notice the Nabatean fragments respecting *Ibrahim the Canaanite from Kutha* (see p. 283), published by Chwolson in 1859.

<sup>5</sup> See the two lines in the *Hamâsa*, p. 125, 3 sq.

and Christian; Mohammed therefore eagerly caught up all attainable stories about him, derived principally from the highly coloured narratives of later writers, and afterwards worked them up himself with great freedom.<sup>1</sup> But though his memory was thus renewed in Islam, and certain scenes of his life depicted in the most vivid colours, especially his contest with Nimrod and the Babylonian idolaters, among whom was his own father; yet all such narratives (except the truly Arabian idea of his having lived and worked at Mecca) are very plainly derived from Biblical sources: a single word of the Bible often serving as the foundation of an entire history. Nothing distinct of what the ancient Ishmaelites may have related, centuries before Christ, of their progenitor, remained in these later times; and as the history of Job (Ayyûb) was first known to the Arabs in Christian times from the Old Testament,<sup>2</sup> so *Ibrahim's* old renown seems first to have been revived among them by the Jews scattered through Arabia, and through the introduction of Christianity.<sup>3</sup> Only if it were possible to recover some far earlier Arabian accounts, might we hope for much more important aid to historical research.<sup>4</sup> And though the Sabians, from mere similarity of sound, attempted to identify the name of

<sup>1</sup> Koran, Sûr. ii. 118 sqq., 260 sqq., iii. 89 sq., iv. 124, vi. 74 sqq., ix. 115, xi. 72 sqq., xiv. 38 sqq., xxi. 52 sqq., xxix. 16 sqq., xxxvii. 81 sqq., li. 24 sqq., lx. 4 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> *Zeitsch. für d. Morg.* iii. p. 234.

<sup>3</sup> The stories about Ibrahim collected by Arabic historians are now found most complete in Tabari's *Chronicle*; in which, however, as given by Dubeux, i. p. 127-194, two or three sources must have been brought together with hardly any amalgamation. See also Jelâleddin's *History of Jerusalem*, p. 320-377, ed. Reyn. On carefully examining all this confused mass of narratives, we find that 1. Some few are genuine Arabic, relating to the *Caaba*; 2. The principal materials were derived from the Koran, from other traditions which had passed through the Rabbinical sieve, and from the Old Testament itself. But the combination of such heterogeneous elements occasioned no small difficulty; as in the question whether Isaac, according to the Old Testament, or Ishmael, according to the genuine Arabic view, was the first-born, whom his father was called on to sacrifice; and in that respecting the name *Asar*, *إسار*, given in the Koran to Abraham's father, which seems to have originated only in a false reading of the

*Qapd* of the LXX. 3. But along with these we meet with some extremely naïve stories springing indeed merely from the combination of Arabic and Biblical elements, but animated by a highly poetic spirit. Ibrahim repeatedly visits Ishmael from Syria, and Elijah-like creates and presents on these occasions all the several treasures of Mecca, &c., &c. What is reported on the transference of the guardianship of the *Caaba* from the Ishmaelites to the genuine Arabic tribe Jorham (Abulfidâ's *Ann. Antisl.* p. 192; comp. Tabari, p. 152 sq.), may perhaps deserve investigation. But this transference is thrown so far back, to the age of Nâbit, or Kajdar (i.e. the Nabateans or Kedarites, Gen. xxv. 13), sons of Ishmael, that we can scarcely expect to find any firmer ground there.

<sup>4</sup> A Chinese notice of Arabia has been lately brought under discussion, in which Ishmael, born at Mecca, but immediately abandoned by his mother, digs in the soil of the desert a deep well of healing water; see Schott in the *Berliner Akad. Monatsberichte*, 1849, p. 336; and compare Tabari, p. 156. But this is not a primeval tradition independent of the Bible, if, as Schott says in his *Sinesische Sprachlehre*, p. 75, the notice dates no farther back than Mohammedan times.

Abraham with that of Brahmā,<sup>1</sup> the notion has not even the remotest historical importance.<sup>2</sup>

## 2. ISAAC; ESAU.

With Isaac we arrive at the two youngest nations of this great migration, the twelve tribes of Esau and the twelve tribes of Jacob, where the clear daylight of national history first breaks upon us; while Esau and Jacob, as the two sons of Isaac, still elude our gaze amid the dim morning mists of historical antiquity. There can indeed be no question that the two nations, Esau or Edom, and Jacob, are really the youngest of the whole circle. With regard to Israel, this is a matter of course; but also the nation of Edom, Israel's kindred race, appears in the full light of history as a far fresher and more vigorous people than Ammon or Moab, the next in affinity to both. But it is also important to remember, that Esau is yet the first-born son; and that only the Mesopotamian mother has a special attachment to the Mesopotamian Jacob. This nation of Edom, which throughout its entire history was recognised by Israel as a brother race, and must originally have formed part of one and the same nation, is certainly the elder; and in the olden time even predominated in power and prosperity. This predominance was even attained during that period when Israel was sinking deeper and deeper under Egyptian bondage; but even after the time of Moses, Edom long maintained its position as an important and independent power, by the side of the kindred race, notwithstanding the new and lofty aspirations to which Israel had then awakened; and in far later times its ancient greatness and former precedence over Israel could not easily be forgotten. Its head-quarters were still the land of mountain and cavern which stretches southwards from the Dead Sea to the Red, where Abraham and Isaac had once pitched their tents, according to p. 305 sqq.; but its dominion must often have extended far to the north, and have spread on the east and west, over both sides of the Jordan valley. And we have many indications that this rude and warlike mountain-race, though always retaining that original type, were in their earlier and better days no strangers to the arts of civilised life.

<sup>1</sup> See Shahrastānī's *Elmilal*, p. 444 sq., and Chwolson's *Sedbir*, i. p. 226 sqq., ii. p. 503, 743.

<sup>2</sup> Quite inexcusable, therefore, is the idea set up in our own times by the Würzburg philosopher, J. J. Wagner, and

repeated even by Orientalists like Bohlen, to derive Abraham from *Brahmā*, and Sarah from *Sarasvatī*. Worst of all, Julius Braun (*Stimmen der Zeit*, May, 1862), endeavours thus to prove all the Patriarchs unhistorical personages.

The wisdom of Edom long retained its repute;<sup>1</sup> and one gleam of the departed glory is still reflected to us in the Book of Job. Early traditions also of important discoveries were transmitted by Edom to the people of Israel.<sup>2</sup> We shall explain further on the causes of Edom's gradual decline after the time of Moses, until it became wholly unable to cope successfully with Israel, younger 'brother' of the race.

The early glories of Edom are indeed reflected back upon Isaac, the ancestor, and give to his history the most vivid interest. The few accounts which we have of Isaac have evidently been much tampered with by later narrators; but we have every reason to doubt whether the earlier ones can have had much to tell of this Patriarch. If Isaac was in truth what his name—'the Laughing,' that is, the kind and gentle—implies,—if he, among the three Patriarchs, passed preeminently for the type of that kindly and quiet nature which preserves the possession of its inherited share of worldly goods through unpretending goodness and constant fidelity (p. 298), the old legends could hardly have anything very remarkable or varied to relate of him. As rightful son and heir, he had no need by great deeds or great qualities to win for himself what was already his. His greatness and his duty consisted only in the faithful maintenance of these spiritual and material possessions; and to this, a firm, unruffled, and virtuous nature, even if unaccompanied by extraordinary powers of mind, was fully equal.

Isaac thus typifies the true child of the community, who by faithful obedience and self-sacrifice even unto death, rewards his parents' hopes and longings, toil and care;<sup>3</sup> and thus earns by merit a new title to what is already his by birth. In like manner, his union with Rebekah is the prototype of every happy marriage, approved by parents, and blessed by God, as appears in the beautiful story in chap. xxiv. And where the preliminary conditions which ought to precede every such undertaking are of the kind here described—the design proceeding from a household animated by such paternal affection as that of Abraham,

<sup>1</sup> See vol. IV. p. 192 sq.

<sup>2</sup> As the tradition in Gen. xxxvi. 24. of the discovery by herdsmen, following the track of their asses, of the warm-baths (elsewhere celebrated) of that region;

comp. the place *مأثور* and its origin according to Abdalhakam's narrative (Weil's *Geschichte der Chalifen*, i. p. 285). It also deserves notice that the author of the Book of Origins thought it worth

while to devote to the history of this people the (for him) very long passage, Gen. xxxvi.

<sup>3</sup> A Greek parallel to the tradition of Isaac's deliverance from death at the altar is the story of Phrixus, son of Athamas, in Apollodorus, i. 9. 1, complicated, however, by much extraneous matter. A Hindu parallel exists in the story of Çunahsepa; see Roth in the *Indische Studien*, ii. p. 112 sqq.



and such filial devotion as that of Isaac, and directed with such purity of purpose towards so suitable an object (see p. 349 sq.) —the journey undertaken for its accomplishment will prove as prosperous throughout its course as that of Abraham's messenger;<sup>1</sup> and the bride, though like Rebekah she may never have seen her destined husband, will be guided by as correct a presentiment of success;<sup>2</sup> and the lovers, before unknown to each other, will from the moment of their first unexpected meeting, feel a love as true and lasting as Isaac and Rebekah.<sup>3</sup>

Then, as himself the head of a household, Isaac treads in Abraham's footsteps, like him serving Jahveh, and protected by Jahveh, harassed perhaps awhile by envious neighbours, exposed by his gentle, peace-loving nature to many hostile assaults; yet in the end, by quiet persistency and the secret working of the Divine blessing, gaining an honourable victory. For what victory could there be more glorious than that his very enemies sue for friendship and alliance with him as the approved friend of God?<sup>4</sup> All the accounts, therefore, of this successor of Abraham in his independent character,<sup>5</sup> are but a fainter copy, often only slightly modified, of Abraham's words and deeds; differing principally in this, that Isaac appears throughout a person of less power and independence, and therefore more exposed to hostile attacks. But, although so little that is special or distinctive is found in our present accounts of Isaac, this is no reason whatever for treating his history as an unreality. Even the very peculiar locality in the Holy Land which every tradition so distinctly assigns to him, according to p. 305, proves upon what firm historic ground his memory was indestructibly based. He sojourned only in scattered portions of the parched-up southern land.<sup>6</sup> These portions were his chiefly as an inheritance from his father; and even this heritage he could not wholly maintain as his own; though, according to the

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xxiv. 1-61.

<sup>2</sup> vv. 57, 58.

<sup>3</sup> vv. 62-67; for the interpretation of these words, so far as they present any difficulty, see my *Antiquities*, p. 202 sq., and what is said in my *Lehrbuch*, § 123 b, p. 327, on the corresponding words in Gen. xx. 16. Even at the present day, the unbetrothed maidens of the Tuarik wear no veil; see Hanoteau, *Grammaire de la Langue Tamachek*, p. xix.

<sup>4</sup> Gen. xxvi. 12-33; comp. Job xlii. 8 sq.

<sup>5</sup> Gen. xxvi. 1-33.

<sup>6</sup> Beersheba, the most important of these places, has now been discovered

and described, especially by Vandevelde (*Syria and Palestine*, ii. p. 136 sqq.). The name probably denoted originally *Seven Wells*, notwithstanding the more exalted application given to it in the old narrative of Gen. xxi. 28 sqq. Compare the place

سبع mentioned in Guérin's *Voyage Archéologique*, i. p. 256. Through a dialectic difference, according to my *Lehrbuch*, § 286 d, p. 713 sq., the numeral might be placed last. The well Lahai-Roi is perhaps identical with the *Lekieh*, which in Vandevelde's map lies somewhat to the north of Beersheba.

tradition, fortune appears in the end to have become somewhat more favourable to him. But it is plain that from the early records of other nations less definite information may be looked for concerning Isaac than concerning either of the other Patriarchs.<sup>1</sup>

As Isaac is never mentioned but under one name, he appears to us always under the same simple character :—a good, true-hearted father ; a contented, inoffensive, pious man ; called to no special career of ambition or duty, but attaining all the more surely to quiet domestic happiness. Very different is the hero of the double name, next to be described, whose twofold appellation expresses in itself the two-sided aspect of his nature and his fortunes.

### 3. JACOB-ISRAEL.

With him must have begun a new and important development in the history of the ancient movements of the Hebrew tribes towards the south. This lofty position is assigned to him by the whole complexion of the popular tradition, as a great hero, and as father of the special nation, Israel.<sup>2</sup> As we have already seen (p. 292), the position which he occupies among the twelve prototypes, and especially among the three Patriarchs, shows him to have been the last admitted into an already existing cycle of typical personages. But it is certainly not the individual man and hero who effects this final enlargement of the sacred circle. His distinctive rank in tradition is always that of Father of the House of Israel ; his name retains its perennial significance only as the head of a new and mighty people ; and thus his admission as third and youngest into the typical cycle of Patriarchs, indicates that a new Hebrew race of fresh vigour and special endowments had sprung up on the same soil where the Hebraic tribes represented by Abraham and Isaac had already won a place in history. It was only this new race, which, mingling with parts of the older tribes, and gaining strength thereby, was to become that peculiar people of Canaan, now immortalised under the name of Israel.

<sup>1</sup> No one surely will think of connecting our Isaac with the Egyptian *Isaouds* in Plutarch's *De Iside et Osiri*, xxix., notwithstanding that he is there classed with Typhon.

<sup>2</sup> It is not to be overlooked, but indeed agrees perfectly with the previous explanation, that the names *Isaac* and

*Abraham* are used only in poetry to designate the people of Israel ; *Abraham* being moreover only found thus employed at a somewhat late period (though allusively in Is. xxix. 22, and also, at least after *Jacob*, in Micah vii. 20 ; comp. Is. xli. 8, 9 ; li. 1, 2 ; lxi. 16) ; but *Isaac* somewhat earlier, especially in Amos.

Of the immediate occasion of this great movement in the very middle of the Patriarchal period, and the exact manner in which it was accomplished, only some few points can now be ascertained, while the greater number remain quite obscure. Yet to a keen explorer some significant traces are discoverable in the darkness, and leave no doubt on the main point with which we are here concerned. On the one hand, Jacob's kindred in Mesopotamia are expressly styled 'Arameans' in the Book of Origins;<sup>1</sup> and the special district of that wide region where they dwelt is called the Aramean Yoke,<sup>2</sup> being the plain around Harran, midway betwixt the two mountain-ranges. Thence sprang the mother, who of her two sons loves only Jacob, the younger (p. 338); and even he might himself be called an Aramean when any importance attached to his derivation from that foreign land.<sup>3</sup> But taking these very accounts in their true sense, nothing is more certain or self-evident than that neither Jacob himself nor any of his kindred beyond the Euphrates were of Aramean blood; consequently they can only have been called Arameans, because the north-eastern land where they had then dwelt was so inundated by Aramean tribes, that the region itself, and even the Hebrews still lingering there, might be commonly known as Aramean; a rough distinction being generally made between the lands of the Arameans and those of the Canaanites. On the other hand, we have already in a different connection observed of the Aboriginal Hebrew tribes of the Nahoreans and Damascenes, that they must, after Abraham's time, have been more and more broken up by the encroachments of the Arameans (p. 310 sqq.); and even Abraham, according to p. 301 sqq., was compelled to defend himself and the Canaanites against the repeated inroads of these north-eastern nations.

Taking all together, it is clear that during the period when Jacob, the Mesopotamic-Hebrew chief, first shines forth from the darkness, a great movement of the Arameans must have taken place in the same region from which Abraham had been

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xxv. 20, xxviii. 5; and in like manner in the Third Narrator, xxi. 20, 24.

<sup>2</sup> This is the literal meaning of the name אֲרָמָה (see *Jahrb. der Bibl. Wiss.* iv. p. 156), from אָרַם or אָרַם, to bind (to twist). Arabic geographers, indeed, speak of a city in that district, *Tell Faddan*, which may have thence derived its name (Chwolson's *Sabbier*, i. p. 304); but the land itself cannot have been

named from the city, if only because Hosea (xii. 13), alluding to Jacob's history, interprets that ancient name by the common Hebrew, *the Field of Aram*. This name is now found only in the Book of Origins; the later narrators always mention instead the well-known city Harran.

<sup>3</sup> Deut. xxvi. 5; 'a poor (lit. lost) Aramean was my father' (a proposition of state); Jacob's antecedents being here viewed only on this dark side.

driven by similar causes to emigrate. After Abraham's departure the Hebrews in those lands must have been more and more harassed; till Jacob at length shook himself free, and arrived safely with his people in Canaan, where he restored the Hebrew power, somewhat fallen into decay after Abraham's death, though only a portion of the Hebrews in Canaan attached themselves closely to him and his followers. Through him much was doubtless done to strengthen and maintain both the power of the Hebrews in Canaan, and all such fitting observances in all departments of their life as had their origin in Abraham's household. Yet in matters of religion it would seem as if this second stream of Hebrew migration had also brought with it some admixture of less pure elements from the north-east. The images of household gods (*Teraphim*) which maintained their place for ages in many houses of Israel,<sup>1</sup> are indeed spoken of as objects of reverence only to Jacob's wives and their father Laban, not to Jacob himself; but the consecration of a *stone*, as the firm immovable object towards which the looks and words of the worshipper must be directed, bears every indication of originating with the Shepherd-hero himself, and was on that ground long retained among his posterity.<sup>2</sup> 'The Shepherd of the Stone of Israel' became the most expressive title for the God of the great Shepherd-hero.<sup>3</sup>

1) This historical conception of Jacob is, moreover, confirmed in detail by a multitude of remarkable reminiscences of him. Of these the most important is that relating to the earliest portion of his career, and thus bearing upon all the rest:—the memory of his migration from Harra in Mesopotamia, with wives and children, people and possessions. Nothing can more plainly testify that under him a new and victorious portion of the Hebrew race pushed forwards into Canaan from the lands where they had been cradled, than this memory of his life, which puts him in contrast with Isaac, Esau, and others, and on an equality with Abraham; more especially as we shall afterwards see that by the twelve children whom he is represented as bringing with him from Harra, more is meant than twelve individuals. That among the various Hebraic tribes which have pushed forward towards the south-west, that which bears this hero's name has displayed a most peculiar character, and played a very special part in history; and that although the youngest and outwardly weakest, it was yet the subtlest, cunningest, and

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 322, and my *Anti-* 17 sqq.

*quities*, p. 223 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> See the *Jahrb. der Bibl. Wiss.* x. p. in the Blessing on Joseph, Gen. xlix. 21.

most pliable, and thus eventually the conqueror of them all, is plainly taught by the history of all following ages, commencing with its very first appearance. In many respects its original position might be likened to that of the Franks among the German nations by whom the Roman empire was crushed. But as these had first to make a way for themselves over the strata of kindred nations which were dominant before them, so the tradition of a new Hebrew immigration under Jacob-Israel is certainly a most accurate remembrance of the origin of the power wielded by them in Canaan and Egypt.

Another ancient feature of the legend is this :—that the hero enters Canaan as Jacob, but here gains for himself the new conqueror's title of *Israel*.<sup>1</sup> Both names were indeed employed almost without distinction in common speech, and even in the hero's own history are not always kept so distinct as might have been expected (compare p. 94). But in itself *Israel*—God's Warrior—was indisputably the higher name, befitting a hero who, strengthened by God, had endured the hardest conflicts, and achieved godlike victories. Now it is certainly possible that a great man may through his life and deeds have won for himself in later years a new and higher name, which would be used in addition to the first, or perhaps entirely supersede it ;<sup>2</sup> but it is never to be forgotten that the hero of whom we are now speaking is also regarded as the father of the whole nation, and therefore his names have also a special importance as national names. When a country, a nation, or even a single city, bears several names, there is an antecedent probability that these names preserve the memory of some great changes in its rulers. As we know that the same city bore the Israelitish name Bethel, but also the older Canaanite name of Luz (p. 304), thus preserving its history, as inhabited first by Canaanites and afterwards by Hebrews, so the names Kirjath-arba<sup>3</sup> and Hebron, Jebus and Jerusalem, were doubtless exchanged only because these cities were governed at different periods by very different nations. One of the best examples of the change in national names lies close at hand, in Jacob-Israel's own brother : in the three names Seir, Edom, Esau, we have a clear indication that the Aboriginal race that called itself Seir was first subjugated by Canaanites bearing the name Edom, and then (together with

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xxxv. 10–15, according to the Book of Origins ; xxxii. 23–33, according to the Third Narrator ; who, however, here as elsewhere, probably made use of the First Narrator.

<sup>2</sup> As Gideon-Jerubbaal, Judges vi–viii ;

Solomon-Jedidiah, 2 Sam. xii. 34, 35.

<sup>3</sup> This might mean originally *Four Cities*, as Beersheba, according to p. 340, is *Seven Wells* ; and it is possible that the dreaded chief Arba (p. 230) obtained his name from it.

the latter) by Hebrews bearing the name Esau : <sup>1</sup> the last name, however, never entirely superseding the first two; and that of Edom in particular continuing to be very frequently used in common life. In like manner, the tribe which in the north beyond the Euphrates had borne the name of Jacob, and immigrated under that name into Canaan, doubtless took from its victorious leader its new name *Israel*, only when by mixture with older Hebraic tribes in that land it had there grown into a mighty people. And while the memory of two great epochs of the early history is thus preserved, other traces are discovered in the very earliest traditions, which tend in the same direction, indicating that this people must have grown up in Canaan from a double stem. Thus Jacob-Israel has two wives, of very different natures; his children are divided between two very dissimilar families, and these again group themselves around Judah (Reuben) and Joseph. Joseph and Benjamin are indeed the only two of the later family, and Benjamin is even a child of Canaan; while Ephraim, who is closely connected with Joseph, indicates an admixture of the Canaanite element. We shall afterwards pursue this subject further; but thus much is clear, that the change of name recorded of Abraham and Sarah in the Book of Origins (p. 324) can only be an imitation of the story of the change of Jacob's name to Israel, because in this latter case there is an important historical reason for the change, and the two names are perfectly distinct from each other and both in popular use; whereas in the former, the reason assigned is factitious; and the change itself is only an ingenious and scarcely perceptible modification of the same name.

But one constant feature appears in all the stories about Jacob: he is always, as his name denotes, the Crafty. Whether he crosses the Euphrates or the Jordan, he is the same. In the whole Hebrew legend he plays much the same part (at least in his lower or human character) as Ulysses in the Greek. It

<sup>1</sup> Seir may be nearly equivalent in force to Esau—*hairy, rough*; to be understood originally of the rough mountain-land; in history it appears as the land of the Horites (p. 226); and as the oldest name (Gen. xxxvi. 20–30; comp. ver. 9), although the Last Narrator plays upon the name on occasion of Esau's birth, in Gen. xxv. 25. On the other hand, according to all tradition, Esau is the most recent and the proper Hebrew name, and therefore also the name of the ruler and the ruling race; interchanging with Edom (Gen. xxxvi. 18, 19), but called also Father of Edom (vv. 9, 43); for the country and

its inhabitants Edom has always been the prevailing name (see xxxii. 4 [3]; xxxiii. 16). See also above, p. 234. The name of the neighbouring land Uz also (p. 311) seems to be only an abbreviation from Esau; and the later Arabs unite both in the name العيص. J. Wilson, in *Lands of the Bible*, i. p. 332 eq., finds traces of the ancient Idumeans among the Fellahs of Wádi-Mûsa; *موشة*, however, is not *موشة* of Gen. xxxvi. 3 sqq., but probably identical with Batseba.

might indeed be supposed that this feature in the portrait of the Patriarch was only sublimated from the character of the Mosaic people, and intended to typify an overdone intellectual cleverness, often perhaps passing into really reprehensible deception and unstraightforwardness, which we observe in the Hebrew people in times nearer to our own. Indeed the Prophets<sup>1</sup> often typify such national sins in the person of this Patriarch, who, as the nearest in time, is most truly the father of the nation, and therefore, more appropriately than Abraham or Isaac, is made to reflect both the characteristic virtues and the distinctive failings of the nation. But we have evidence very remarkable likewise in another point of view, that both the use and the meaning of this word, which is obviously the more ancient appellation, have come down to us from an age when there can have been no thought of the future nation of which the prophets were thinking. For we possess a very full account of deceptions practised between Jacob and Laban—a very curious piece, which might really be called the Hebrew Comedy of Errors, planned with such evident art and so well worked out that we may with justice suppose it to have been formerly represented by actors at popular festivals and thence afterwards transferred to narrative.<sup>2</sup> But the tale, when traced back to its original idea, was obviously intended to represent the struggle between the crafty Hebrews on the opposite banks of the Euphrates; showing how the southern Hebrews gained the upper hand in the contest, and the northern were driven off with derision. In such wise, probably for whole centuries, the two kindred tribes, Nahor (or Laban) and Israel, on the northern boundary of Palestine, may have wrangled together, now in sport, now in sober earnest, with mutual taunts and attempts to overreach one another. And since after the time of Moses no such connection any longer existed between them (unquestionably because, according to p. 311 sq., the Arameans had thrown themselves between them by occupying Damascus), we must admit this to be a fragment of the primeval history, which shows us in what very early times Israel was already recognised as a people able to hold its own against far greater nations. When we further remark that, in close connection with the foregoing, the First

<sup>1</sup> Hosea, xii. 4 sq. [3 sq.], speaks however without any such insinuation; but utterances such as Is. xliii. 27, xlviii. 8, certainly are to the point. But in Is. xliii. 27, we must understand Jacob only, and not Abraham, since the latter would neither make sense in itself, nor accord

with the general drift of the passage; we must not here allow ourselves to be misled by the expression *thy first father*, for this means no more than *forefather*. They are all forefathers or patriarchs, but this one only is the *Forefather of Israel*.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xxix. 15–xxxii. 1 [xxxi. 55].

Narrator vividly describes the frontier-stones and covenantal monuments erected between these two nations on Mount Gilead,<sup>1</sup> and that this also guides us to a period far removed in character and history from the Mosaic, we cannot doubt that we here come upon vestiges of the actual primeval history of the tribes of Israel, of similar character to others which we shall notice in the sequel. This story of the boundary between the northern and the southern Hebrews certainly presents very grotesque images of the ancient chiefs Laban and Jacob. Laban and his people, when about to conclude a treaty of peace, erected a watch-tower (*Mizpah*), as if for a watchman on the part of that God who looks down from his height to keep watch over oath and covenant; and Jacob not only erects a memorial column, but causes his people to pile up a lofty mound of stones (*Gilead*), which may serve as a table either for sacrifice or for the common repast which is to solemnise the covenant. Laban then swears by the Mound and the Watch-tower, Jacob by the Mound also and by the Column, and both parties thus commemorate the solemn compact, which is to banish for all future time every occasion of strife between the two kindred houses and nations.<sup>2</sup> Now this column, no doubt, was once to be seen as a landmark on Mount Gilead<sup>3</sup> (p. 21, 303), and was erected there by human hands; the watch-tower was the city and fortress of Mizpah, on one of the heights of Gilead; the mound was the rocky mountain-range of Gilead itself. It thus seems

<sup>1</sup> That the account in Gen. xxxi. 44-54, although it has passed through the hands of the Third and Fifth Narrators, is originally derived from the First Narrator, is shown not only by its general purport, but by the phraseology in the antique and unusual expression *יָצַק בְּחָרָה*, ver. 53 (comp. ver. 42); and in that of the brethren of Jacob and of Laban (see above, p. 312), by the description in vv. 46, 54, of the covenant being concluded there and then at a repast (just as in xxvi. 30; Ex. xxiv. 4-11), and by the mention of the covenant itself (see p. 69 sq.)

<sup>2</sup> It cannot be denied that the extant text of vv. 45-54 is very obscure, chiefly because the mention of the *Watch-tower*, in ver. 49, is quite unexpected, and, placed where it is, even destroys the natural context of the speech. We might suppose that only Laban pronounced the oath, and that his speech, beginning vv. 48-50, was merely resumed and completed in 51-53; then the words from *עַל כֵּן*, ver. 48, and again from *וְעַתָּה*, ver. 49 to the end (comp. xxii. 14), should be omitted, as being merely two

remarks by the Last Narrator, who indeed must unquestionably have written them. But *הַמִּצְפָּה* thus neither makes the syntax of the sentence sufficiently clear (for *עַתָּה* ought to precede, as in verse 52), nor is even intelligible in itself; since, though *הַמִּצְפָּה* in vv. 51, 52 was explained in ver. 45, *הַמִּצְפָּה* was not. We should here reflect also how much more suitable it is that both parties should swear either by something common to the two, as the Mound (a masculine noun), or each by something special to himself—the one by the Pillar, the other by the Watch-tower (both feminines; for there is an obvious purpose even in the change of gender). We would, therefore, rather suppose that the Last Narrator, who in ver. 48 sq. adds explanatory remarks of his own, omitted to mention the Watch-tower after ver. 44, as well as the word *עַתָּה* in ver. 49; and in ver. 51 transposed the names of Laban and Jacob. More might be argued to the same effect.

<sup>3</sup> Judges x. 17, xi. 11, 34.



that tradition formerly spoke of the whole mountain as having been piled up by Jacob and his followers in their border-strife with Laban, while the solitary fortress on its commanding eminence was the work of Laban—much like the Phenician legend of the Pillars of Hercules. But precisely this grotesque conception of the underlying legend, so foreign to the spirit of the Mosaic age, carries us back to a very early period, and shows us traces of the very oldest narrator.

There yet remains one most distinctive feature of the legend : Jacob appears throughout as the great *Shepherd* of antiquity. In this character he stands out distinct among the three Patriarchs ; all the separate traditions respecting him seem to breathe the same perfume of pastoral life. His badge is the shepherd's staff. But he is honoured not merely as the great inventor of various pastoral arts, but also as one who, like a god, could overcome all by strength of arm and fist.<sup>1</sup> Even in this latter character, many earlier myths have been unconsciously transferred by the love and reverence of his descendants to him, the last especial father of their race (p. 289 sq.); and for centuries the people seem to have delighted in the thought that in him, their veritable ancestor, they might boast of a rival to the heathen Hercules or Apollo. Nor can it be denied that the memory of this favourite hero long threw even that of Abraham into the background, until after Moses' time it could be revived under more propitious circumstances. But in all this lies a clear consciousness that the Hebrews, as a roving pastoral people, such as they became under Jacob, were in early times very different from the Arameans and Canaanites. And with this simple way of life that simple religious worship which, according to p. 343, had a sacred stone as its central symbol, harmonised most perfectly.

2) If such is clearly the foundation of Jacob's history, with its manifold legends, it becomes at once evident that he was originally designated as a son of Isaac only in the sense in which such relationships are generally to be understood of nations and tribes, as will be presently explained anew in reference to the sons of Jacob himself. By fusion of his own people with Isaac's tribe, Jacob became son of him and twin-brother of Esau ; and if Esau is invariably regarded as the elder brother, this is only a fresh confirmation of the opinion that Jacob's own arrival was of later date and that only a portion of Isaac's people and tribes became blended with the new immigrants

<sup>1</sup> Besides Gen. xxix. 1-10, already mentioned, see especially xxx. 31-43; xxxii. 25-33 [24-32].

who bore Jacob's name. It will be shown in the proper place that, even as late as the time of Moses, Israel's position with regard to Edom seems that of a kindred but weaker nation, but that in the earliest times a close defensive alliance appears to have subsisted between them. But even the account of the meeting between the two brothers on Jacob's arrival from Mesopotamia<sup>1</sup> bears still unmistakable traces of this old feeling of Esau's preponderance and magnanimity. It represents Esau as having always been dominant in Edom; whereas, according to the Book of Origins, it was only after Isaac's death that the brothers separate, and Esau by an amicable arrangement with his brother migrates into Edom.<sup>2</sup> It depicts very clearly the relative position of the two brothers, like that in which the two brother-nations stood to each other in the days of Moses and the Judges; and although the Last Narrator makes many additions, and freely recasts the whole, his account, both in its general substance and in various isolated expressions,<sup>3</sup> may be traced back with certainty to the Earliest Narrator.

But when it had once become a settled idea, that in this sense Jacob and Esau were brothers, and sons of Isaac, the legend of Jacob's immigration into Canaan could then be most easily maintained by considering it only a return to the land of his father Isaac.<sup>4</sup> And the Book of Origins, which contains the earliest demonstrable account preserved to us, assigns a reason, quite in harmony with the spirit of the age, why Jacob, born in Canaan, passed early over Jordan and Euphrates—not to return thence till he had become the true *Jacob-Israel*, and got wives and children, wealth and power. For when this book was written, an ever-widening breach had for generations divided the two nations, formerly so closely leagued together, and Edom had been actually subjugated by David (p. 75 sq.) Edom had also visibly fallen away from the higher religion, and become friendly to the practices of the Canaanites, in the same degree as Israel had remained true to the former and receded from the latter. This book,<sup>5</sup> therefore, assigns Esau's Canaanite marriages as the immediate cause of the brothers' separation,

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xxxii. 4 [3]—xxxiii. 17.

<sup>2</sup> According to Gen. xxv. 29; xxxvi. 6, 7; which is not opposed to the statement in xxviii. 9 of the same book.

<sup>3</sup> As *וַיֵּשְׁבֵּ*, Gen. xxxii. 18 [17], xxxiii. 8, compared with Ex. iv. 24, 27; and on the other hand, *וַיֵּשְׁבֵּ*, Gen. xxviii. 11, xxxii.

1 [xxx. 55]; Ex. v. 3, 20.

<sup>4</sup> Just think how differently we should judge of Jacob's origin, had we only the brief notice in Deut. xxvi. 4, where, for a special object (to insist, namely, on his original poverty and mean estate), he is called—not entirely without historic truth—an Aramean!

<sup>5</sup> Gen. xxvi. 34, 35, xxvii. 46—xxviii. 9.

and of Jacob's journey beyond the Euphrates. As Ishmael, according to the same narrator, had by an Egyptian marriage wholly separated himself from the pure blood of Abraham,<sup>1</sup> so in like manner Esau, through his union with two Canaanite women. This alienates his parents from him; and Isaac, urged by Rebekah, sends the second son, with his full blessing, to his kindred beyond the Euphrates. It avails little that Esau then, as if to amend his fault, takes another wife, who is at least of the house of Ishmael. Jacob consequently was to find in Laban the man on whom he might prove himself 'The Crafty,' and whom he should overcome by well-devised artifice; while Esau, of whose expedition into Edom and settlement there during Isaac's lifetime<sup>2</sup> the present work gives no explanation or particulars whatever, comes to meet him on the frontier when returning from Mesopotamia: an equivocal act, not prompted by memory of the quarrels or deadly feuds of their youth, but rather the self-assertion of one who has not yet finally relinquished his birthright claim upon Canaan, and waits first to observe Jacob's behaviour. And indeed, throughout the whole of the earlier narrative,<sup>3</sup> no stress whatever is laid upon childish quarrels or previous causes of offence: the actual battle-field witnesses simply a trial of wits between the crafty Jacob and the no less crafty Laban,—it being manifestly the most suitable to match subtlety against subtlety.

However, this true Hebrew Comedy of Errors, to which we have alluded (p. 346) as adopted by the Last Narrator, is not derived from the Book of Origins; but, as now extant, bears every trace, like much else relating to Jacob's life, of being by the Third Narrator.<sup>4</sup> And although we receive it from the Last Narrator abridged here and there and mutilated from the very beginning,<sup>5</sup> yet the fine plan of the whole is still intelligible, and the unique narrative breathes throughout a true poetic spirit, felt by every susceptible reader; so that we seem often

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xxi. 21.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xxxii. 4 [3].

<sup>3</sup> Gen. xxxii. 4 [3] sqq.

<sup>4</sup> That this does not originate with the Last Narrator, is clear from the method in which he treats the narrative beginning at Gen. xxix. 15; but there is quite as little trace of the Book of Origins, of which the style and manner appear only in the account of Jacob's removal from Mesopotamia in xxxi. 18; comp. xxxvi. 6. Some indications which point to the Third Narrator we have already mentioned at p. 99.

<sup>5</sup> At xxix. 15 sqq., Laban is abruptly described as a crafty man, though not the slightest hint had previously been given of his character. Then, some account of Laban's further tricks in the compact concerning the flocks, and his repeated though unavailing alterations of that compact, should manifestly have preceded ch. xxxi. 1; which is rendered certain by the allusion to them in xxxi. 7-10. How much the Last Narrator omitted and altered in xxxi. 44-54, has been already explained at p. 347.

to catch the dance and music of actual verse.<sup>1</sup> Elsewhere also in the writings of this author, similar outbursts of poetic feeling, though hardly actual verse, may be remarked.

3) It is then by the Fourth Narrator, and still more by the Fifth, that the life of this Patriarch has been cast into the shape which has won for it an imperishable memory. In the time of the latter especially, the breach between the two nations, Israel and Edom, had been gradually widening into a deadly feud, which endured for centuries, and determined in great part the history of the kingdom of Judah (see p. 107 sqq.) The image of this fearful struggle between the two nations and religions naturally intrudes into the writer's conception of the primeval history, and gives its prevailing tone to that. The quarrel with Esau thus becomes the sole pivot on which revolves the eventful life of Jacob, until, victorious over all opposition, he appears in old age as the recognised successor of Abraham and Isaac. Here again we find an exemplification of the principle that any considerable transplanting of a whole department of popular legends can only flow from a great change in the fortunes of the peoples themselves. But it is equally noteworthy, that the venerable legend of Jacob's life is now not merely expanded in bulk, but imbued with a far deeper moral significance, and reproduced in a new form of higher poetic beauty. The sharp antithesis in Jacob's inner life is now for the first time brought prominently forward. Jacob, by birth the younger, and consequently the inferior, yet impelled by some mysterious higher power to supreme rule, from his early years fights his way up, contending with unwearied energy against Esau, and even under the most unfavourable circumstances never shrinks from beginning the struggle again—true type of the character of the wrestler, never wholly subdued, with resources for every exigency, and skill to meet every difficulty. But since in this upward struggle against the savage but honest Esau, he had at first made use of artifices prompted by the headstrong impulse of the moment, but not sanctioned by duty or religion, he deservedly brings on himself his brother's deadly persecution; is compelled to wander forlorn and helpless far from the land of his fathers, and becomes involved in a long succession of severe troubles and sufferings; with the hope of at last emerging from the severe ordeal as from a new birth—no longer the crafty wrestler, but the real 'God-wrestler;' thus consummating at last an enduring triumph over Esau. This

<sup>1</sup> As in the 'winged words' between Gilead, xxxi. 26-30, 36-42; hence also Laban and Jacob at their meeting in poetical expressions such as 'נִגְבְּתִי', v. 39.

is the new idea that here strives for expression, pervading and animating all.

a.) In the very first mention of the brothers, even before their birth, the narrator takes occasion to indicate beforehand the inevitable final issue, already fore-ordained in the Divine purpose. If Jacob, with God's help, is ultimately to triumph over all, and to overcome Esau the elder-born, this can only be through some special indwelling spiritual force, whose origin can be referred to no definite epoch in his life: neither to his advanced age, his youth, nor his birth.<sup>1</sup> The twins struggle even in their mother's womb, thus foreshadowing the great future struggle between the nations; and an oracle declares that the issue will be the triumph of the younger son (and people). Thus also, in their very birth, the younger seizes the elder by the heel, as if irresistibly impelled to pass him and wrest from him his natural right—the first occasion on which Jacob's name is interpreted as the 'Heel-Grasper,' 'one who tries to trip another up from behind,' the 'Crafty.'<sup>2</sup>

But this is only an attempt, after the manner of this narrator, to foreshadow at a glance the leading interest of the whole following history; the actual career of the twins then proceeds to its development, quite independently of this predestination; yet to this the ultimate issue at last returns. The opposite natures of the two brothers are however early manifested (Gen. xxv. 27–34). If Esau, the rough huntsman, earns our contempt for the levity with which, in mere craving after momentary gratification, he trifles away his birthright,<sup>3</sup> the quiet home-loving Jacob, who craftily works on him to this end,<sup>4</sup> certainly merits no praise. But such boy's play furnishes a telling hint of the future.

But the bold venture made in the ensuing narrative of Gen. xxvii. 1–45, as to the anticipation of the birthright by Jacob, was justified in the first place by the established notion of Jacob as *The Crafty*: a characteristic easily transferred to the mother, naturally partial to the weaker and gentler child; especially as from a higher point of view this bestowal of the parental blessing on Jacob was considered justifiable. For, in the time of the

<sup>1</sup> Comp. such expressions as Jer. i. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xxv. 20–23, comp. xxvii. 36; comp. Hosea xii. 4. Similar conceptions and stories might easily arise; comp. Gen. xxxviii. 28–30; Apollodorus, ii. 2. 1; and strikingly similar is the story of the birth of Ormuzd and Ahriman, as told by Eznik, *Against Heresies*, ii. 1.

<sup>3</sup> The severe judgment pronounced on

him in Heb. xi. 16, 17, is so far not inappropriate.

<sup>4</sup> *עָרָב*, in Gen. xxv. 27, cannot possibly signify *blameless, honest*; since that idea harmonises neither with the context nor with the character of the *Crafty*; nor has the word this meaning anywhere in prose, excepting Job i. ii. It must here rather be connected with *עָרָב*, and signify *quiet*.

later narrator, a higher destiny had long subjected Edom to the Hebrews, thus giving to the latter the birthright-blessing of the elder race. But at the same time the difficulty had become apparent of keeping so wild and warlike a people as Edom long in subjection (p. 107 sq.) Supposing such a struggle to have been already of long duration, it might indeed be thought that Isaac, beguiled at first by the arts of Jacob and his mother, must yet in that solemn moment have been inspired by true prophecy to bless the younger son instead of the elder; <sup>1</sup> but that Esau did then arrive just in time to win by urgent pleading the one blessing, that by strenuous resistance he should be able at last to break his brother's yoke. The narrator represents Isaac as having recourse on this occasion to a more delicious repast, in order to rouse the prophetic faculty; as all the weaker forms of prophecy seize upon physical irritants to their exercise; <sup>2</sup> a conception which accords well with the position generally assigned by tradition to Isaac as the least spiritual of the three Patriarchs. And though it is of the very essence of the narrative that these prophetic declarations respecting the position of the two brothers should be authoritative, yet the narrator, far from approving Jacob's deception, represents him as flying from Esau's merited hatred; and skilfully leads back the thread of the history to the earlier legend, where Jacob is sent forth, with his father's blessing, to seek a fitting wife among his kindred in the far north-east.

b.) It was this disastrous state, however, which first opened to Jacob the possibility of true amendment and self-conquest, wherein his heart should at last rise superior to its own guile. Driven forth from the happy paternal hearth, and wandering helpless in a strange land, he is forced to fix his hope more steadfastly than ever on Jahveh, and, whatever his labour or his subtlety, beware of encountering the Just One with deceit. Thus was deliverance yet possible for him. And that Jahveh will never abandon one who trusts in him, least of all when striving darkly forward to a doubtful future, is beautifully indicated by the Fourth Narrator, in that passage of rare grandeur, which he places at the beginning of Jacob's history.<sup>3</sup> Here the wanderer, still but a few days' journey from the parental home, is compelled to pass the night in the fields, his head resting on a hard

<sup>1</sup> Following the similar but older story in Gen. xlviii. 13-20.

<sup>2</sup> *Prophets*, i. 51.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. xxviii. 10-22; see p. 104 sq., 112, 303 sq., and my *Antiquities*, p. 227. To this passage of the *Antiquities* may be

added that the חַמְנִים in Is. xvii. 8, as a contraction of חַרְמֵן = חַרְמֵן, can be only very slightly different from the רַמְתֵּי, since in Levit. xxvi. 30 the two are conjoined.

stone; and just then, in this hardest and most forlorn plight, sees the heavens open and the Deity made graciously manifest; receives the sublimest promises and encouragements, and vows himself with fresh ardour, as one new-born, to the service of Jahveh. A somewhat similar account seems indeed, according to xxxv. 1-15, to have already occupied the same place in the earlier history; but when we now read that Jacob at once set up the stone as a monument and anointed it (compare on the other hand xxxv. 14), we perceive by this and other signs how freely the later historian must have transformed this splendid passage.

And Jacob does in fact arrive prosperously at Harran,<sup>1</sup> meets happily with Rachel at the very first, and is then blessed with wives and children, power and wealth, beyond his highest expectations. But he there also finds in Laban, with whom he has to live perpetually in the closest contact, a father-in-law no less crafty and alive to his own advantage than himself. He thus finds himself for the first time in a regular school of deceit, where craft is matched against craft: old Laban desires to use the industrious and marvellously lucky shepherd as long as possible for his own benefit, and descends to any low cunning which tends to this end, as for example repeated arbitrary alteration in the conditions of service.<sup>2</sup> The indefatigable servant cannot and will not always toil for others only, and finds himself compelled to oppose artifice to artifice. The advantage appears at first to be wholly with the crafty old man, who has experience and paternal dignity on his side, while Jacob has only his shepherd's staff and his force of will. The contest is long and various, but the final turn of the scale in such an encounter of craft with craft must plainly be determined only by the difference in the original motive; since he who without just cause first resorted to stratagem, cannot be nerved through all ensuing complications by the same calm strong consciousness of right as he who employed similar weapons only on compulsion and in self-defence. And thus, as is shown even as early as in the Third Narrator's account, Jacob remains victor at last in this long and complicated game of real life; baffling by his superior craft the unprovoked and unwarranted acts of his opponent. Thus,

(1) Laban breaks faith with him respecting Rachel, under a plausible pretext, but in reality that he may profit longer by his services. But Jacob, who, like Apollo or Krishna, gives men

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 342. An ancient *Jacob's Well* is still shown near the city; but it may fairly be asked when it was first so

called; see the description in Badger's *Nestorians*, i. p. 344.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xxxi. 41; see p. 350 note.

the example how the true hero ought sometimes to abase himself and serve, not only cheerfully accomplishes seven additional years of service, but is rewarded beyond his expectations in wives and children (xxix. 13-xxx. 24).

(2) When Jacob, at the expiration of this second term of seven years (xxxi. 38, 41), very reasonably thinks of founding a house of his own, and wishes to return home, Laban, instead of releasing him honourably after his faithful service, endeavours with artful selfishness to retain him by the offer of wages; but reluctant, from the same selfish spirit, to propose on his own part any definite and handsome recompense, leaves it with feigned magnanimity to his son-in-law to name his own conditions, in the ill-disguised hope that he may be overawed to rate his services far below their real value. And Jacob, thus forced to employ similar craft on his own part, does indeed propose a new mode of payment, which will apparently yield so little, that Laban eagerly catches at it: that the particoloured lambs, hitherto a very small proportion of the whole, are henceforth to be the property of the shepherd. But the crafty Jacob, having the right on his side, is favoured by the special aid of his God with a new device for the artificial propagation of particoloured lambs. Laban beholds with dismay the amazing increase of Jacob's flocks through this very stipulation. Even when, at his desire, a somewhat different variety of particolour is adopted as the condition, fortune still remains wondrously on Jacob's side (xxx. 25-43, supplemented by xxxi. 7-12).<sup>1</sup>

(3) When Laban, though only taken in his own net, and with no just cause of grievance, becomes at last so thoroughly exasperated with his son-in-law that the latter has everything to fear from his revenge, Jacob resolves, in concert with Laban's own daughters, and encouraged by supernatural visions and promises, to seize the first opportunity of flight, carrying with him the earnings of his twenty laborious years. He now takes the initiative in those artifices which have hitherto always originated with the morose old man; he steals Laban's heart; that is, he goes off without giving Laban the slightest intimation, or seeking in any way to propitiate him; and escapes successfully across the Euphrates (xxxi. 1-21). It is, however, a striking feature in the legend, introducing a new complication into this drama of complications, that Rachel herself, without Jacob's complicity, steals from her self-seeking father his house-

<sup>1</sup> The story of the inventive genius of the great Shepherd-Chief no doubt existed originally on its own account, and resem-

bles that of Apollo Poinnios, as inventor of the cithara, &c. See further Björnstaahl's *Reisen*. vi. 2. p. 399.



hold-gods ;<sup>1</sup> as if thereby to appropriate and carry with them into Canaan entire and undivided the good fortune of the paternal house, all participation in which had been denied by Laban to herself and her husband.

(4) Then, when Laban learns their flight and the loss of his household-gods, and for the first time finds himself entirely the injured party, he pursues the fugitive with armed force, and comes up with him at Gilead, the north-eastern frontier of Canaan, in the larger sense of the word ; and Jacob seems in imminent peril of losing at one blow all that he has painfully and laboriously gained.

(5) But as if an evil conscience still preyed secretly on Laban, he is warned by a supernatural voice in a dream, the evening before the decisive encounter was expected, not to proceed too violently against Jacob. But though his violence is thereby somewhat mitigated, he considers that he has at least full ground of complaint against him for the robbery of the household-gods. But as Jacob in good faith disclaims all knowledge of the theft, Laban by this complaint only puts himself again in the wrong. When Rachel then, with successful cunning, manages to keep the household-gods hidden from his most diligent search, he is completely humbled, and can scarcely maintain even the semblance of paternal dignity, and has to content himself with concluding a treaty of peace and alliance with Jacob (xxxi. 44-xxxii. 3), which happily winds up this long game of well-matched wits, the true Hebrew Comedy of Errors.<sup>2</sup> That in the time of the earlier historian some such memorial of these transactions as is indicated in xxxi. 45, 51, really stood on Mount Gilead—that Gilead was once the mountain-frontier between the Aramean and Canaanite nations, the scene in former ages of border-struggles and treaties of peace like these ; such is the basis of strict historic truth on which this series of stories is built up (compare 346 sqq.) But it is fitly related in conclusion (xxxii. 2 [1] sq.), how Jacob, victor at last in the long struggle, is met on his entrance into the Holy Land by a troop of angels, as if to hail him conqueror, and conduct him from the threshold to the very heart of the land. This story, moreover, serves also to explain the sanctity attached to the city Mahanaim (already mentioned, p. 305) between Gilead and the Jordan ; and indeed would otherwise have been impossible.

<sup>1</sup> In the same north eastern district, but in the first century *after* Christ, a similar custom is mentioned by Josephus, *Ant.* xviii. 9. 5.

<sup>2</sup> That this piece falls naturally into five divisions, like an actual drama, is shown on a larger scale in the *Tübingen Theol. Jahrb.* 1845, p. 752 sq.

But scarce has he thus crossed the threshold, and is delivered from this great danger on the north-east, than he is threatened with one yet more formidable on the south from Esau, who, although already established in Edom, has by no means relinquished his claim upon Canaan, and is now approaching with an armed force.<sup>1</sup> His superior strength Jacob can neither disregard nor resist; he therefore has recourse to the politic expedient of sending an amicable message to announce his coming. But the messengers bring back no further news than that Esau, strongly armed, is already on the way. Jacob thus unexpectedly finds himself involved afresh in extreme perplexity. Even here, however, his presence of mind never fails him; he promptly decides on a measure frequently resorted to in military tactics: dividing his people into two bodies, so that if one half should succumb to the attack, the other may meantime have a chance of escape. He then concentrates all his powers in solemn and urgent supplication to his God; and finally selects from his best possessions a choice present for Esau, which should be sent forward to meet and surprise him on the way (xxxii. 4-22 [3-21]). But when he has thus hurriedly done all that human sagacity can devise to mitigate the approaching danger, is he thereby really secured from it? May not one unfriendly glance, one single assault from Esau, annihilate at one blow the fruits of so many laborious years? It is a happy conception of the later historian, to introduce just at this moment of Jacob's most torturing suspense, when his early treachery toward Esau returned suddenly in fearful retribution upon his soul, his wrestling with the Angel: the answer, as it were, to the prayer immediately before. For nowhere else could Jacob have a more momentous contest than at this crisis, when all that he has gained is at stake, when the great question of the possession of Canaan is to be decided, and in the persons of Esau and Jacob the destinies of whole nations hang in the balance. Much, it is true, Jacob has already gained; yet precisely that which he formerly gained from his brother he holds as yet on a merely human tenure—the right of the cunningest and the strongest, rather than by the divine right of pure aspiration and spiritual conquest. And yet man knows no real or unalienable possession but that which he has won rather from God than from man, and has thus made a part of his very life and soul. The ordinary struggles of youth, exciting rather than decisive, and prompted for the most part by mere passion, are followed

<sup>1</sup> This description strikingly resembles more historic age; both are from the First that given Num. xx. 20, belonging to a Narrator.

inevitably by the final and decisive struggle with the Gods themselves; and he only who fails not in this can win for himself the Divine blessing, which brings with it true possession and enduring prosperity.<sup>1</sup> So in this critical night Jacob is met unawares by a mighty wrestler, and forced to wrestle with the unknown and mysterious visitor; and the wrestling lasts without interruption the whole night long. Jacob's courage never for one moment fails; only when with the break of day the hour comes at which the Unknown must leave, he sprains Jacob's hip, in order to end the contest with honour and free himself. But Jacob, now first understanding with whom he has contended, will not loose hold of his antagonist till the latter has blessed him. For *he* is alone the true hero who holds on unflinching to the end, and suffers not the hardly-won victory to be wrested from him after all. Now therefore the angel, revealing himself fully at last, blesses him by the new name of Israel—as one who has wrestled with both God and man. Now is accomplished the true spiritual triumph of the great hero, made a new man through such superhuman conflicts; though, as the legend finely concludes, he receives a lameness, a memento of the mortal combat he has passed through, and a reminder of past weakness; as if the moral deformity of 'The Crafty' had passed into the body, and were henceforth to attach to that only.<sup>2</sup> Many old materials, doubtless, have been worked up into this conception: the popular belief in fearful nightly phantoms vanishing with the dawn;<sup>3</sup> the easy change of interpretation given to the old name Israel (God's Wrestler), as denoting one who had striven *with*, and therefore perhaps even *against* God; also, no doubt, some ancient notion of this Patriarch as *Limping*, connected with the idea of his *craftiness* and *crookedness*; and the localisation of the night-scene on the river Jabbok (as if this

<sup>1</sup> The First Punic War was, on the part of the Romans, a mere human struggle, undertaken recklessly and without moral justification; successful indeed, yet bringing no abiding advantage; the Second only became a divinely-ordered contest. The same might be said of the first, second, and third (the Seven Years') Silesian Wars of Frederick II.

<sup>2</sup> Somewhat as the Apostle Paul speaks of himself in 2 Cor. xii. 7. There is much resemblance between this wrestling of Jacob, and that of Arjuna with Civa, fully described in the *Mahābhārata*, iii. 11952 sq.; and that of Zeus with Athene and the great wrestler Hercules, in Greek mythology, Paus. viii. 28, 53, Tzet. on Lycophron, v. 662 sq., and Nonnus,

*Dionys.* x. 375–377; comp. R. Rochette in the *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr.* xvii. 2, p. 102 sqq. A double meaning like that in the name Israel (p. 344) has been found in Ignatius Θεοφορῆτός.

<sup>3</sup> As the Hindu Rākshasa; compare also the destroying night-spirits in Sodom, Gen. xix. 15. Here the other original elements of the tradition are clearly discernible; for this belief dates certainly from Premosaic times. That much fuller and somewhat different versions once existed, is evident from Hosea xii. 4 sq. [3 sq.], according to which the hard struggle drew tears from the hero, who only through weeping and urgent supplication was victorious at last, and gained the crowning blessing.

name signified 'River of Wrestling'), and near the place called Peniel (p. 304 sq.)—all these are made to fit in well with these stories, and the whole episode is then interwoven most harmoniously with Jacob's history. When he has indeed conquered in this spiritual conflict, he beholds Esau on the morrow with feelings quite different from the fears he had entertained on the previous evening. Warmly and kindly Esau receives the delicate honours and surprises prepared for him; but when from brotherly feeling he shrinks from accepting the gift intended for him, the prudent Jacob succeeds in pressing it on him, as if thereby to purchase immunity from all possible future hostility.<sup>1</sup> Even Esau's offer of an escort is prudently declined, lest any unforeseen occasion of dissension should arise; and thus the threatened danger passes happily over (xxxiii. 1-17).

c.) And as Jacob now advances farther into the Holy Land, his progress is marked by that lofty security which springs from internal peace and completeness. He remains long in central Canaan, and takes the city of Shechem, not without criminal treachery and cruelty; but the wrong is done without his complicity by his two sons, Simeon and Levi,<sup>2</sup> who are severely reprov'd by the father. So high still stands the repute of his house, that he is most unexpectedly allowed by the Canaanites to advance without disturbance; as though some supernatural awe deterred them from pursuing him (xxxiii. 18-xxxv. 5). On arriving at Bethel, the central point of his divine achievements and experiences, he erects an altar and a pillar; having first sternly enforced the removal of all such idols as had been surreptitiously introduced into his household—for instance, the above-mentioned household-gods carried off by Rachel. There, and not till then, according to the Book of Origins, did his God appear to him to impart his highest blessing, and bestow upon him the new name of Israel.<sup>3</sup> Thus he advances gradually to the farthest south, where his aged father yet lives, ch. xxxv.

<sup>1</sup> See something similar in Gen. xxi. 28-30; and above, p. 331 sq.

<sup>2</sup> And, strictly speaking, it belongs rather to the shortly-following history of these tribes.

<sup>3</sup> The Last Narrator omits therefore in Gen. xxxv. 10, the explanation of the name Israel, because he has already given it at xxxii. 29 from another source. But as the ancients took great license in the explanation of proper names (see xxix-xxxi.), we must suppose another account to have existed pretty early, by which God gave to Jacob the name Israel, signifying that he was henceforth no longer

'The Tricky,' but 'God's straightforward man,' *יִשְׂרָאֵל*. Only in this freer, but certainly later account, is the contrast sufficiently prominent; and that such a story did once exist may be inferred from the mode of designating members of the people Israel in the lofty style as *יִשְׂרָאֵלִים*, *The Upright* (Num. xxiii. 10, Ps. xxxiii. 1, Dan. xi. 17); and from the new derivative *יִשְׂרָאֵלִי* (*Lehrbuch*, § 167 a, p. 431 sq.) Only from this, not from *יִשְׂרָאֵל* (above, p. 352), do the words in John i. 48 become intelligible.

And still later, in the history of Joseph, he remains the same—patient, long-enduring; tried through long years by deepest mental anguish, not wholly without blame on his own part, through over-indulged partiality for the son of his too early lost Rachel; yet again triumphing gloriously over all contradictions of fate, and dying at last a prince revered alike by Hebrews and Egyptians, after having witnessed a fortune far transcending in splendour and extent even that of Abraham;<sup>1</sup> as the tradition itself confesses. Thus the tradition remains self-consistent throughout.

We cannot, however, fail to observe that the history of Jacob gradually and almost imperceptibly passes into that of the tribes (or sons), above whom hovers, vague and dim, the awful form of Israel, the aged Patriarch.<sup>2</sup> Especially fine is the turn thus given to the history, when called to relate the evil deeds and wicked lusts of these sons; and with the one great exception of Joseph, what else is there to tell of them? In their collective history is vividly anticipated the future history of the nation; its many shortcomings, its manifold corruptions; as if the guileful nature, wholly eradicated at last in the much-tried father, sprang up again and spread in rank luxuriance among his descendants; first in Simeon and Levi (ch. xxxiv.), and still more in the history of Joseph. The old father, who now, made perfect through suffering, appears like some superior spirit watching over them, sternly rebukes all these follies and misdeeds committed behind his back; and yet eventually he himself has to bear the burden of iniquities planned without his knowledge. Thus Jacob is still, though in a different sense, what he was entitled in his youth—the laboriously striving, much-enduring man of God. So, even in the Postmosaic period, the nation is under the influence of its better spirit, which, often obscured and painfully excited, yet never abandons them, and in the end really beholds with rapture a great and glorious restoration of all the erring ones.

4) It is not surprising that of Jacob-Israel as representative specially and exclusively of this people of Israel, less mention should be made than of Abraham, in such extra-Biblical records as other nations have preserved to us. We have, however (p. 312), met with *Israhel* in the old legend of Damascus. And under the name *Isiris*, or in a more strictly Greek form *Isirios*, we probably meet him again in old Phœnician tradition. Here *Isiris* is described as ‘brother of Chnâ, the first Phœnician,’ so

<sup>1</sup> See on this point the very ancient words Gen. xlix. 26.

<sup>2</sup> As even the account given in the Book of Origins in Gen. xxxiv. 7 admits.

called.<sup>1</sup> Now no one has a better right to the appellation, 'brother of Canaan,' than he who bears the rather fuller form of name, *Israel*. The Phenician tradition indeed calls him also 'Discoverer of the Three Letters,' and ascribes to him a change in the old Phenician theology, consisting in the discovery of some new sacred word of three letters;<sup>2</sup> in reference apparently to some later school in Israel (that is, in the kingdom of the Ten Tribes), which harmonised together the Phenician and Israelite mythologies; but that the ancestor of these tribes was called a brother of Canaan may be connected with a primeval historical reminiscence of Israel's first immigration and combination with Canaanites. Now if by Isiris the Phenicians meant the ancient Israel, this will probably serve to explain another singular passage in Sanchoniathon. Kronos, called also Israel by the Phenicians (so it runs), had by the rustic nymph Anobret an only son (see above, p. 284), named from that circumstance Jeud. When the country was involved in great perils of war, he adorned this son with royal pomp, and sacrificed him upon an altar erected for the purpose.<sup>3</sup> This story is said to come in the first instance from Sanchoniathon; but, as here told, is not derived from Philo of Byblus, but from Porphyry's special work on the Jews. The first point here to be remarked is, that Sanchoniathon elsewhere tells other similar stories of Kronos. The sacrifice of children in its most corrupt form was, especially among the Phenicians, an old custom (according to p. 326); and as it was especially offered to Kronos, he became so standing a representative of it, that many stories of the kind were told of him, as we can still trace distinctly in Philo's Sanchoniathon.<sup>4</sup> But from these direct extracts from Sanchoniathon we learn with certainty that Kronos was named in Phenician *El*, not *Israel*;<sup>5</sup> consequently in the

<sup>1</sup> Sanchoniathon, p. 40. 5 sq. Orelli; on Chnâ see above, p. 236. Gaisford took the reading *Isirios* from MSS., but it is not the only form they give.

<sup>2</sup> Which are the three letters here to be understood, it is difficult or impossible for us to specify. Can they be the three fundamental letters of *Israel* itself, יִשְׂרָאֵל? since we perceive from the new form יְשֻׁרָאֵל (p. 359), how busy people were at a later time in finding a mystic meaning for this name.

<sup>3</sup> Sanchoniathon, p. 42 sq.; repeated iv. 16. by Vig. p. 156; further, in the newly-recovered work of Eusebius, *Theoph.* ii. 12, 54, 59. The *ἱερόδ* of the earlier editions would then be יְהוָה (comp.

יְהוָה, Gen. xxii. 2, 16); and indeed יְהוָה is actually Aramean for the Hebrew יְהוָה; and after the express and repeated explanation appended in the Greek, we ought to doubt no longer. Yet Gaisford in the first passage reads on the authority of MSS. *ἱερόδ*, which could only be יְהוָה, *Beloved*; this, however, is probably only an early conjecture, and incorrect as an emendation. At any rate, Judah is not to be thought of.

<sup>4</sup> Sanchoniathon, p. xxxvi. 5, 6; comp. p. xxx. 1, 2.

<sup>5</sup> Sanchoniathon, p. xxvi. 1, xxviii. 16, xxxiv. 3; where Gaisford has throughout adopted *Ἥλος* for *Ἰλος*.

above passage, preserved through a secondary source, a change of names must have taken place.<sup>1</sup> The apparent cause of this is, that the author of the work on the Jews supposed Abraham's sacrifice in Gen. xii. to be identical with that related by the Phenicians of Kronos, or rather derived from it; and that, as he found in Sanchoniathon nothing about Abraham, he regarded the name Israel as compounded of *El* and the *Isiris* already mentioned, and in *Jewd* perhaps recognised the name Judah. Many of the later Greek writers indulged in arbitrary conjectures and confusions of this kind, and we must be on our guard against using any of them incautiously as historical proofs.<sup>2</sup>

Other stories about Jacob, given by later writers, are always found to be essentially derived from the Old Testament records.<sup>3</sup>

#### IV. THE TWELVE SONS AND TRIBES OF JACOB.<sup>4</sup>

The Twelve Tribes thus enter into the History almost unnoticed with Jacob. While the Patriarch is spoken of in life, these appear in the legend more or less as his sons; but after his and Joseph's death, this mode of treatment is virtually dropped, and Jacob's twelve sons are considered simply as tribes. Yet even the early legend does not speak of them in the lump merely as sons of Jacob, but even from their birth makes distinctions among them, assigning some to one and some to another mother, and ranging them in a fixed order of seniority. The correct comprehension of this and other features of the tradition, with constant reference to later situations more nearly approaching to positive history, helps us to understand an historic relation which, though founded in the depths of the primeval age, interferes with great force in all critical moments of the later history. A correct conception of the nature

<sup>1</sup> This is so obvious, that two MSS. (p. 42) and others besides (iv. 16) read even *Ἰλαορ* for *Ἰσραήλ*; but although Gaisford has adopted this, it still appears to me to be only a later emendation, made because it was not understood how Israel belonged to the context. See also on the passages of Sanchoniathon the *Göttinger Gel. Anz.* 1859, p. 143 sq.

<sup>2</sup> And yet some modern scholars (especially Volney, in his *Recherches nouvelles sur l'Histoire ancienne*, i. p. 148 sq.) have built up on this and even weaker grounds arguments for the unhistorical character of Israel, Abraham, and any or all other persons and things belonging to the Patriarchal world. True knowledge puts all

such shadows to flight, as has been already observed in the same connection, p. 338. As to the Nabateo-Arabic descriptions of primeval times (mentioned on p. 336), I here re-affirm what I have already said in the *Jahrb. der Bibl. Wiss.* x. p. 1 sq.

<sup>3</sup> The comprehensive scheme of the above (p. 212) mentioned learned chronologist Demetrius (in Eusebii *Præp. Evang.* ix. 21), though elaborately extending the chronology further than it is given in the Bible (and by a different method from that of the Book of Jubilees, mentioned p. 201), really agrees in substance with the Old Testament.

<sup>4</sup> See *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1864, pp. 1265-80.

of the Twelve Tribes, moreover, to start with, will preserve us from many aberrations in our future progress.

It cannot certainly be doubted that we are here concerned, not with the actual twelve sons of a single family, or with their petty domestic transactions, but with historic relations, potent for centuries in their influence on people and kingdom, and working persistently with incisive force deep in the national life. In the earliest history of a nation or tribe we often find some single name alone preserved as the hero and father of his people; and these single names are afterwards enrolled in genealogical records, in such arrangement as may be gathered from the memory yet remaining of their original connection; but there are unquestionable indications in primeval history itself that the names of Abraham, Jacob, and his sons, were from the first associated with the idea of corresponding nations and tribes.<sup>1</sup> Even those details respecting the wives and children of Jacob, which now appear most trivial or grotesque, must be regarded in fact as a deposit from some remote region, some higher level of antiquity; as when stray raindrops at times descend transfigured into snow-flakes, surprising the eye by their new aspect, but unable to retain for long the form thus temporarily assumed. We can only endeavour to discern in the faint and disconnected indications still left to us, such mutual relations of tribe and nation as were important from their maintenance through many ages. But the recognition of the special points, on which all depends, is in this case peculiarly difficult.

1. We have to consider the fixed round number of the twelve sons of Jacob; and our inquiries can only properly begin with the consideration of the fundamental meaning and application of this number. It becomes evident, on closer investigation, that this cannot be looked upon as an isolated historic fact, a circumstance as casual as the number of children in this or that private family. On the contrary, this number, only slightly varied in its combinations, is repeated—both in the small circle here constituted by it, and in other regions touching upon it from without—so frequently and persistently, that it is impossible not to suspect the influence of some more general law.

As Israel consists of twelve tribes, so the same principle, under many forms, runs through the subdivisions of the separate tribes, as if there were a desire to bring the whole national

<sup>1</sup> In reference to Abraham comp. Gen. xiv. With regard to Jacob and Laban, the First Narrator speaks of the 'Brethren' of each (p. 312), using the expression to designate members of one community; as is still done in 1 Chron. xxv. 7.



life under one definite and consistent form. If we take first the tribe of Levi, we cannot but perceive, on close inspection, that from the very earliest times it was divided into twelve branches. The first division was indeed into the three great branches, Kohath, Gershon, Merari, which consequently appear always in genealogies as his three sons.<sup>1</sup> But we gather with certainty, though not without considerable research,<sup>2</sup> that these three great branches divided again into twelve smaller, and these still in such equal proportions, that *six* divisions fell to Kohath, *three* to Gershon, and *three* to Merari; so that the first was equal in power and importance to the two latter. These subdivisions stand as follows, according to the order which obtained from the time of Moses—in which but one single innovation is discernible, namely, that the line of Aaron, as High Priest, is placed first:—

Aaron	Shubael	Rehabiah	} Amram	} Kohath	} Levi
Izhar	Hebron	Uzziel			
Libni	Laadan	Shimei			
Jaaziah	Mahli	Mushi			

The same principle is substantially carried out in the division of the conquered land, when this tribe receives forty-eight (that is, four times twelve) cities; here again distributed in so nearly equal a proportion, that Kohath receives *thirteen*, and afterwards *ten*, Gershon *thirteen*, and Merari *twelve*.<sup>3</sup> Again, on the assembling of the Levites under David to the festival of carrying up the Ark of the Covenant to Zion, there appear six heads of the tribe with their followers, obviously only by a different computation of the same fundamental number.<sup>4</sup> Again, we observe the same in David's arrangements for the sacred music, a special department of Levitical service, by which all the musicians, under the three leaders, Heman of Kohath, Asaph of Gershon, and Ethan or Jeduthun of Merari, were divided into twenty-

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xlv. 11; Ex. vi. 16; Num. iii. 17, xxvi. 57; 1 Chron. v. 27 [vi. 1], vi. 1 [16]. Accordingly, from the fact that in strictly genealogical accounts Gershon always stands first (though in all others Kohath as the more powerful occupies that position), we must infer that in the earliest times Gershon possessed the higher dignity and power. It is also recorded that Moses himself named his first-born Gershom: Ex. xviii. 3, ii. 22; 1 Chron. xxiii. 15.

<sup>2</sup> The truth can be attained by comparing together 1 Chron. xxiv. 20-31, xxiii. 6-23 and vi. 1-3 [16-18]—passages

drawn from very different sources—and supplementing and emending the one by the other. We thus find, for example, that in xxiii. 7 לְעֶרְיָ must have fallen out before לְעֶרְיָ, and that the words in vv. 8 and 9 have to be emended accordingly. There is documentary evidence of a precisely similar confusion in 1 Chron. i. 35-37, compared with Gen. xxxvi. 10-14.

<sup>3</sup> Num. xxxv. 6, 7; Josh. xxi. 3-8.

<sup>4</sup> 1 Chron. xv. 5-10; Elizaphan here obviously stands for Izhar; and the three—Kohath, Merari, and Gershon—are evidently treated as three individuals standing beside three other individuals.

four bands (fourteen under Heman, four under Asaph, and six under Ethan, each with its appointed leader), each band consisting of twelve individuals, 288 altogether.<sup>1</sup> Again, an arrangement exactly corresponding with this is observed in the twenty-four higher sacerdotal orders, which were continued down to the latest times. At other times the whole tribe was indeed redistributed into smaller branches; so that the Book of Origins, in genealogies and assessments of the people, speaks always of eight branches only;<sup>2</sup> but it is evident that even here the fundamental number, whether it be four or twelve, recurs in a new combination.

Or if we take the tribe of Judah, we have indeed to regret that the Chronicles, although giving very detailed genealogical notices in book 1, ch. ii-iv. 23, do not arrange them more clearly, or present them more comprehensively and completely. Thus much, however, may be gathered, that these particulars are derived from two different genealogies of the tribe of Judah; since the account begins in one place, ch. ii, iii, and there has regard principally to the house of David (ii. 9-17, iii.), but then in ch. iv. 1-23 begins quite afresh upon a different plan. But the detail is in both too unmethodical and incomplete to give us any confidence that we have all the data under our eyes. If the ancient sources whence these chronicles are derived had come down to us without curtailment or obscuration, we should possess even in the dry catalogues of names a valuable means towards identifying important portions of the early history of this great tribe. For unquestionably, in many of these sources, the proper family-history of the tribe was combined with the history of the country as a whole, as well as of the possessions and residences of the more powerful families; and we very plainly remark, that a city or district very generally gave the name of *Father* to the chief who owned it, or by whose family it was governed.<sup>3</sup> Both these records, however, even in the state in which they have come down to us, afford, when closely examined, a confirmation of the above proposition. The first, starting from Shelah, Pharez, and Zerah, as the three immediate sons of Judah, derives through Hezron, the first-born of

<sup>1</sup> 1 Chron. xxv. compared with xv. 16-24.

<sup>2</sup> Ex. vi. 17-19; Num. iii. 17-39; accordingly we have here four of Kohath; and of Merari and Gershon, two each. It is remarkable that in the later return, Num. xxvi. 57, 58, the same number of branches appears, and is divided in the same way; but the three main branches take the

place of three individuals (as in 1 Chron. xv. 5-10); and Korah is substituted for Izhar, according to 1 Chron. vi. 7 [22], 22 [37], ix. 19, xii. 6, xxvi. 1.

<sup>3</sup> As 'Shobal the father of *Kirjath-jearim*, Salma the father of *Bethlehem*, Hareph the father of *Beth-gader*' (all well-known names of cities), 1 Chron. ii. 50, 51. See above, p. 345 note.

Pharez, precisely six families : Jerahmeel, Ram (whence David) and Chelubai, Segub, Ashur, and Caleb ;<sup>1</sup> and from the first-born Jerahmeel exactly six families again.<sup>2</sup> Now, finding here so far the very same arrangement as occurred before with respect to one of the sons of Levi, we have every reason to suppose that the remaining six families were derived from the two other sons of Judah. These sons, who are passed over in the extant Chronicle in almost perfect silence, cannot possibly have stood at first so baldly in the genealogy ; for we have elsewhere traces of their former importance ;<sup>3</sup> and the Book of Origins, in deriving two families from Pharez, so as to give to Judah altogether four lines,<sup>4</sup> does what amounts substantially to the same thing. The other record, however, though starting with a very different scheme of the main stems of Judah, which made Pharez, Hezron, Shelah,<sup>5</sup> Carmi, Hur and Shobal, his immediate sons,<sup>6</sup> adds afterwards to these six principal lines six others more loosely arranged, the Sons of Kenaz, Sons of Caleb, Sons of Jehaleleel, Sons of Ezra, Sons of Shimon, and Sons of Ishi ;<sup>7</sup> so that the number *twelve* is exactly completed. The different distribution is sufficiently explained by the probability of this record having been drawn up at a different time, after a new assessment of the tribe. But we possess also from an entirely

<sup>1</sup> Ram, in ii. 10-17 and iii., is placed first by the Chronicle only on David's account ; Segub, ii. 21-23 ; Ashur, 24 (comp. iv. 5-7) ; Jerahmeel, ii. 25-41 ; Caleb seems to be twice mentioned, ii. 18-20 and 42-55 ; but as there is not the slightest resemblance in the two descriptions, and as Chelubai has been announced just before, in ii. 9, the words in ii. 18-20 and 50-55 must be understood of Chelubai, and those in 42-49 of the Caleb known to us from other sources. The confusion between the two like-sounding names appears (as the LXX. also prove) to have been made very early. Chelub in iv. 11 is again different.

<sup>2</sup> Five sons by one mother (ii. 25, 27) ; the sixth by another (26, 28-41).

<sup>3</sup> The Chronicle (ii. sq.) does not again mention Shelah, and Zerah only in ii. 6, 7 ; for it is clear from Josh. vii. 1, that Carmi must be a son of Zimri, or according to another reading of Zabdi ; but the four names, Ethan, Heman, Chalcol, and Dara (more correctly Darda), are apparently taken in this order from 1 Kings v. 11 [iv. 31] (see vol. III. p. 278) ; while before נִינְיָ, v. 7, several words must have dropped out. They are, however, often mentioned elsewhere : iv. 21-23, ix. 5, 6 ; Neh. xi. 5 ; Num. xxvi. 20.

<sup>4</sup> Num. xxvi. 20-22 ; Gen. xlv. 12.

<sup>5</sup> The omission of Shelah is indeed repaired at the very end, iv. 21-23 ; but he might obviously have been mentioned before in iv. 1. Pharez must then stand perhaps for Hamul, mentioned in ii. 5.

<sup>6</sup> Carmi must here stand for Zerah, as is clear from p. 366, note 4 ; Hur and Shobal appear in the other document (ii. 19, 20, 50, 52) as connected with Chelubai.

<sup>7</sup> On examining the entire document iv. 1-23, now much abbreviated, we find (1) that vv. 3, 4, as well as 8-12, belong to Hur, mentioned ver. 1, since שְׁוֹחַח (read חוֹשֶׁה) in ver. 11 refers back to ver. 4 ; therefore also חוֹשֶׁה is probably to be read in ver. 8 for קָיָה ; and certainly something has dropped out after מֶלֶךְ ver. 3. (2) That the words in iv. 5-7 (comp. ii. 24) belong properly to the genealogy of Hezron, ver. 1. There then remain only the six (vv. 13-20) already mentioned, which cannot be traced back to any other than Judah himself, and being always introduced by בְּנֵי, obviously represent so many independent families in Judah. In ver. 17, read בְּנֵי for בְּנֵי. On other connected points, see the *Jahrb. der Bibl. Wiss.* vi. p. 98, 99.

different quarter, the Book of Origins, another very exactly kept record; according to which Judah, considered as a district, and without reference to the families by whom it was held, was divided into ten parts or circles;<sup>1</sup> and Simeon, which had attached itself to Judah, and almost coalesced with it, comprised two similar circles;<sup>2</sup> thus we meet again the number *twelve*, in a new form. And even so late as under the Romans, Judea was divided into ten Toparchies, with two supplementary ones formed out of Galilee and Perea.<sup>3</sup>

The genealogical accounts of the other tribes in the Books of Chronicles are much shorter; and in the case of two, they are wholly wanting. Of Benjamin only, after the first short account in book 1, vii. 6-12, a longer one is given in ch. viii, which appears both from its language and its contents to be derived from a different source, and is concerned more with the history of towns than with genealogy in the strict sense; but it shows sufficiently how differently, at different times and for different objects, the main and collateral branches of a tribe were arranged. A comparison of the accounts in Chronicles with those of the Book of Origins yields the following results. Of the tribes of Reuben,<sup>4</sup> Issachar,<sup>5</sup> Asher,<sup>6</sup> and Naphtali,<sup>7</sup> each has four main branches—the same fundamental division as we found virtually in Levi and Judah. The same radical number is given to Ephraim both by the Book of Origins and by Chronicles;<sup>8</sup> to Gad by Chronicles:<sup>9</sup> of Simeon also the

<sup>1</sup> Josh. xv. 21-62. It is evident that each of the cities which are enumerated in this document constituted a distinct department. On the other hand, the Philistine cities named in vv. 45-47 are obviously foreign to the document, partly because they are here reckoned on an entirely different system, partly on historical grounds, of which we shall speak in the sequel.

<sup>2</sup> Josh. xix. 1-9.

<sup>3</sup> Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* v. 13 (15); comp. Josephus, *Jewish War*, iii. 3, 5.

<sup>4</sup> Gen. xli. 9; Ex. vi. 14; Num. xxvi. 5, 6; 1 Chron. v. 3. The ancients often pronounced *Rubél*, a pronunciation very wide-spread, particularly in the East. Thus the last syllable of the name has the same sound as in *Israel*, which inversely is often pronounced *Israen* (J. Wilson's *Lands of the Bible*, i. p. 330); and in other words also the same change of a final *l* and *n* is found. רִאֲבוֹן, however, in spite of the ingenious story in Gen. xxix. 32, is probably originally a diminutive; and in that class of words these two sounds

are always easily interchanged: *Lehrbuch*, § 167 a, p. 431.

<sup>5</sup> Gen. xlii. 13 (where רִאֲבוֹן is to be read for רִאֲבוֹן); Num. xxvi. 23-25; 1 Chron. vii. 1.

<sup>6</sup> Gen. xlii. 17; 1 Chron. vii. 30-37; after vv. 38, 39 come two more standing singly. Num. xxvi. 44-47 gives only a different distribution, as if Beriah took the place of two, as above in the case of Levi and Judah.

<sup>7</sup> Gen. xlii. 27; Num. xxvi. 48, 49; 1 Chron. vii. 13.

<sup>8</sup> Numbers xxvi. 35, 36. But here again the first of the three is divided into two, and thus equivalent to two, as in the case of Judah, Asher, and essentially of Levi too. The name Shuthelah is also met with as first-born of Ephraim, in 1 Chron. vii. 20-27, but three others with him; yet in such a way as to let us see that the Tahan there named, who appears in 1 Chron. vii. 25 as grandson of a certain Resheph, represents in fact a later generation.

<sup>9</sup> 1 Chron. v. 11, 12; followed, v. 13,

same may be proved ;<sup>1</sup> and the three assigned to Zebulun (who is wholly omitted in Chronicles),<sup>2</sup> if interpreted in the same way as in the case of Levi and Judah, may be regarded as a factor of the original number. To Benjamin<sup>3</sup> and Manasseh,<sup>4</sup> *six* is the number given ; also to the first-born of Judah-Pharez (see p. 365 sq.), and to the first-born of Issachar.<sup>5</sup> Accordingly the only instance of entire discrepancy is afforded by Dan (omitted by Chronicles), of whom the Book of Origins names only *one* main branch ;<sup>6</sup> but it is self-evident that this peculiarity cannot be fundamental ; and it may be inferred moreover, from other indications, that this tribe early experienced greater vicissitudes than any other.

So great a uniformity can scarcely be attributed to chance. How deep-rooted and sacred was the popular feeling for the number twelve in all matters of public concern, appears not only from the twelve Types exhibited above, but also from the practice fully described in one passage,<sup>7</sup> adopted for the foundation of a new colony ; the settlers being sent out under thirteen leaders, as if this constituted a whole nation on a small scale. The number thirteen is to be interpreted by the analogy of the twelve tribes, in which precedence was given to Joseph or Levi, and the single tribe of Joseph was divided into the two of Ephraim and Manasseh.

But does any one maintain that it all came thus only because Jacob happened by mere chance to have twelve sons born to

by seven others as their brethren, who, however, as sons of Abihail, are traced back to a separate ancestor, Buz ; doubtless because they were added only at the time of the conquest of the land under Moses. The Book of Origins (Gen. xlv. 16 ; Num. xxvi. 15-18) gives here quite different names, but uniformly seven ; for the slight discrepancies between these two passages are easily removed. The name Joel, given in v. 12 to an actual son of Gad, is certainly curious.

<sup>1</sup> The Shaul, mentioned as fifth and last in Num. xxvi. 12-14 and 1 Chron. iv. 24, is in Gen. xlv. 10 and Ex. vi. 15 expressly distinguished and placed lower as 'son of the Canaanitish woman ;' in both the latter passages, moreover, six sons are mentioned, and צַחֲרִי instead of יוֹאֵל.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xlv. 14 ; Num. xxvi. 26, 27.

<sup>3</sup> But 1 Chron. vii. 6-11, 12 distinguishes very clearly three principal from three subordinate branches ; Num. xxvi. 38-41 likewise reckons six (the first-born being again split into two), under names which it is not difficult to recognise in

those of the Chronicles ; five with some greater alterations of name appear also in 1 Chron. viii. 1, 2 ; on the remarkably large number ten given in Gen. xlv. 21, see below, under the Egyptian period.

<sup>4</sup> By counting Machir and Gilead in Num. xxvi. 29-34, or better without them in Josh. xvii. 1, 2 ; the accounts in 1 Chron. v. 23, 24, vii. 14-19 are very confused. Compare the scheme given in Gen. xlviii. 6, and what will hereafter be remarked concerning those documents. But even in the case of Manasseh, we can not only see that the full number was twelve, but discover very instructively how it was gained : to the six in Josh. xvii. 2, or rather (one being subtracted in ver. 3) to the five, must be added the five less important (regarded as female lines), in ver. 3, and then the two in ver. 5 (where ten is then correct), Gilead and Bashan. See also Num. xxxvi. 11.

<sup>5</sup> 1 Chron. vii. 2.

<sup>6</sup> Gen. xlv. 23 ; Num. xxvi. 42, 43 ; see also on this point p. 181.

<sup>7</sup> Of the tribe of Simeon, 1 Chron. iv. 34-43.

him? A glance out beyond the immediate frontier of this single people Israel ought to convince him of his error. For wherever we learn anything respecting the internal ramifications of any kindred people, we find the same fundamental numbers and proportions occur. The Nahoreans in the north (p. 310) were divided into twelve accurately cited tribes, again subdivided into eight and four;<sup>1</sup> a circumstance particularly striking, as the extant tradition generally cares but little about this people. The Ishmaelites, in like manner, branched off into twelve tribes under twelve heads, as the Book of Origins with evident interest repeatedly mentions;<sup>2</sup> but their subdivisions have not been preserved. The Keturians were also divided into exactly six tribes<sup>3</sup> (see p. 314). The Idumeans, concerning whom the Book of Origins gives most circumstantial information (Gen. xxxvi, see p. 76), split indeed into three principal branches, Eliphaz, Reuel, and Aholibamah; but it is probable that six tribes belonged to the first, and six to the other two together; to which, according to ver. 12, Amalek, originally a quite foreign nation (p. 251), must at some particular time have attached itself as a collateral tribe.<sup>4</sup> As a territory also, Idumea was divided into this same number of districts, both in the earliest<sup>5</sup> and in later times, notwithstanding alterations in the names of the districts, probably produced by changes of residence of the chiefs or subordinate governors, in consequence of internal revolutions.<sup>6</sup> Of the divisions of the Moabites and Ammonites we unfortunately know nothing. But neither the

<sup>1</sup> Book of Origins, Gen. xxii. 20-24.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xvii. 20, xxv. 13-16. The words in the middle of ver. 16 compared with ch. xxxvi. exhibit an omission.

<sup>3</sup> The name of Medan, one of these six, is certainly not an abbreviation of *Midian*; the latter may be rather a dialectic dimi-

nutive from the former (formed like حمير *Himyar*, pronounced with *ya* instead of the more usual *ai*, *Lehrbuch*, § 167 a, p. 431), especially as it is placed after it in Gen. xxv. 2. The single passage Gen. xxxvii. 36, as compared with ver. 28, cannot be appealed to in support of the abbreviation; for this could, according to my *Lehrbuch*, § 164 b, p. 426, affect only the derivative מדינית *Midianite*; if even the reading is certain.

<sup>4</sup> The heads of tribes named in Gen. xxxvi. 15-19 are obviously intended to rule over the same districts or tribes which just before, in the genealogy in vv. 10-14,

appear as grandsons of Esau. They reappear, however, somewhat altered, possibly from the Book of Origins having already made use of various authorities. But it is clear, from ver. 12 compared with ver. 22, that Amalek must in some way be excepted from the fourteen divisions mentioned in vv. 15-19, and Korah obviously cannot be intended to represent a double district, as might appear from vv. 16, 18: perhaps as originally belonging to Eliphaz, he is in his right place in ver. 16.

<sup>5</sup> Thus are the names in vv. 15-19 to be understood, as is clear from the contrast in vv. 40-43; see above, p. 76.

<sup>6</sup> There are in fact only eleven heads of tribes named vv. 40-43; but both here and in 1 Chron. i. 64, instead of the last, ירם *Iram*, the LXX. have Ζαφωλ, derived from צפון in vv. 11, 15; this therefore must certainly have stood here originally as the twelfth name.

Canaanites (p. 232), nor the Aboriginal inhabitants (p. 266 sq.), show any trace of this arrangement in their national life.

Being thus led to recognise in this scheme an institution which was firmly established among the Hebrews in the wider sense of the term, even before the rise of Israel as a nation, maintained among every Hebrew people through many centuries unchanged, by the sanctity of ancient usage, and in this particular nation carried out even in the ramifications of each separate tribe, we are called upon to seek some sufficient cause for a phenomenon so striking and so uniform in its manifestations. Nowhere can this be sought with so much probability as in the plan of taking votes in the assembly, and of marshalling the army in camp and on the field. For both purposes a fixed arrangement was required; and as for the entire nation, so also for each single tribe in the management of its own affairs, such a system might be necessary. I shall revert later to the ancient constitution of the Community; for the present, the examples in Numb. i, ii, vii. suffice to show that the subdivision in question had really this purpose for war as well as for peace. But the special selection of the number twelve for this end is certainly peculiarly Hebrew, for this region at least,<sup>1</sup> and must have some remote cause far back in the dim antiquity of these peoples.<sup>2</sup> A nation without the blessing of an organised community entitled to vote, requires no such fixed classification; and in fact no trace of such is to be discovered among the Arabs of the Desert at the present day, either in present usage or in the traditions of their race; though, as we have seen (p. 369), both Midianites and Ishmaelites certainly once possessed it. But where these institutions do exist, the separate tribes and families in the meetings of the Community feel as children and grandchildren in their father's home, gathered around a father, whether visible or invisible; for above the visible head in their midst, the Divine and Invisible would also be enthroned in memory. This alone could be the

<sup>1</sup> A similar arrangement is, however, found among the Etruscans, Livy, i. 8. We may also justly adduce the twelve princes of the Phæacians, the king forming the thirteenth, in *Odyssey*, viii. 390 sq., and the similar arrangement among the Thracians, *Iliad*, x. 488-495. Even in later times, the Ionians and Æolians divided themselves according to the sacred number of the months (Herod. i. 145, 146, 149); the Dorians used the number six (Lachmann, *Spartanische Staatsverfassung*, p. 84; ccmp. 259); and Attica was

originally divided into twelve communities. And even the ancient kingdom of Bornu in Africa was divided into twelve military contingents, each under its separate flag; see Kölle, *African Native Literature*, p. 259 sq. See also G. Müller's *Amerikanische Urreligionen*, pp. 91-94.

<sup>2</sup> The reason for this lies undoubtedly in the ancient sanctity of the twelve months. See my *Antiquities*, p. 349 sqq. Ordinary public duties, such, for instance, as that of keeping watch, might naturally have a monthly rotation.

abiding import of the name of the 'Twelve Children of Israel.' It is, indeed, quite usual to speak of the chief, or the family, or the people, by whom a district, city, or nation, was governed, as its Father. Thus Esau is called the father of Edom (compare p. 345 note, and p. 365); and the fact that Machir is called the son, and Gilead the grandson, of Manasseh (p. 368)—Gilead undoubtedly signifying originally only the well-known mountain district of that name—can only have arisen from some special relation which Gilead and its inhabitants had formed with the tribe of Manasseh, as their lord and father. But where several tribes at once are called the sons of one father, we must infer the existence of a community constituted and organised according to some fixed number, probably venerable from old custom, and thus enrolled around their head.

2. In this sense, all the twelve sons of Jacob stand upon an equal footing; all having equal claims on the favour and protection of the community. The legend, however, made abiding and significant distinctions among them in saying that, first, four are born of Leah; then, after a pause, two from each of the handmaids; and finally two more from Leah, and two from Rachel. And thus, even among the six sons of Leah, the first four are distinctly separated from the others. Now distinctions which even the legend has preserved, we are the more called upon to follow up. And in fact it is manifest from other indications also, that tradition has preserved in these slight traits the memory of most important and long-enduring relations among the tribes, and therein a valuable fragment of early history.

For it is in the first place most significant that the tribes, while all claiming one father, ranged themselves notwithstanding under two mothers. Herein is conveyed the remembrance, confirmed, as we have seen (p. 345 sq.), by other indications, that this nation was composed of two different elements, both indeed of Hebrew blood, but first united under the chief Jacob-Israel, newly come to Canaan. Nothing can be more in harmony with the ancient popular feeling which regards the community as a father's house, than this reverent recognition of one father only, by a community united in one heroic career, while the different component parts, not yet wholly fused together, but retaining traces of former independence or incongruity, are fitly assigned to different mothers. So in the three Roman tribes, Ramnes, Tities, Luceres, was commemorated the origin of Rome from three different populations; so Romulus is



said to have named the thirty *Curiae* from thirty Sabine matrons;<sup>1</sup> and so, to take the nearest example to our present subject, the Idumeans in their three tribes traced their descent from one Hittite, one Horite, and one Ishmaelite wife of Esau:<sup>2</sup> clearly proving that the Hittite, Horite, and Ishmaelite elements of their power were still distinctly to be traced at the time of the Book of Origins; as indeed this book expressly states of the Horites (p. 226). Many similar hints and glimpses are afforded by the genealogies of the Old Testament. These dry names of primeval history, if we can once awake them from their sleep, are far from remaining dead and stiff; but restored to life impart wondrous traditional lore respecting the original relations of peoples and tribes; as the strata and fossils of the earth, when rightly questioned, relate the history of long-vanished ages.

Now in the fact that Jacob's two wives, unlike the three or four of Esau, are described by the legend not merely as Hebrew women, but as sisters—and moreover so inseparable that their father could substitute the one for the other—lies, doubtless, the remembrance, that the two elements of which the nation was composed were very early fused together in intimate union, both being of true Hebrew blood to begin with, and then being bound to each other by one great common object. Yet some trace of this double origin runs through the whole subsequent history of the nation, varying with time and circumstance, yet never long lost sight of, and often breaking forth rudely in violent hostility or long-continued alienation. Although, after the times of Moses and of David, a number of new causes contributed to widen this breach and render it at last incurable, it evidently goes back to the obscure antecedents of the nation, and had doubtless its primary origin in the two different elements of which the entire people was constituted. Thus supposing,

<sup>1</sup> Livy, i. 13.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xxxvi. 2 sq., where for *וְיָנִי* we ought to read *וְחָיָה*, as is clear from the Horite names, Anah, Zibeon, and Aholibamah in vv. 20, 24, 41, and still more so from ver. 25; these names are also interchanged by the LXX. in Josh. ix. 7 (p. 237). On the other hand, it follows uncontestedly from Gen. xxvi. 34, 35, xxvii. 46, xxviii. 9, that tradition originally named two Hittite wives of Esau; to whom was afterwards added an Ishmaelite, and finally a Horite wife. This also corresponds exactly with what has been already often said of the employment of the fundamental number  $4 \times 3 = 12$ ; and affords a distinct example, how a 4 in such a

case might gradually pass into 3. The name *בְּשֵׁמֶת* xxvi. 34, which in xxviii. 9 must be substituted for the inappropriate *מַחֲלֶה*, must however, according to xxxvi. 2, 4, 10, be surely regarded as arising from a confusion with *עֵדָה*. The Book of Origins evidently does not contradict itself in alluding no farther in ch. xxxvi. to the second Hittite wife, possibly because she was supposed to be childless. On the other hand several instances have already occurred in reference to the sons of Jacob, in which the Book of Origins gives different numbers in the later census-lists, from those adopted in family records of a purely historical character.

as we may with certainty assume, that the six tribes of Leah form the one portion, and the two or three of Rachel the other, we may certainly proceed to regard those of Rachel as the division which accompanied Jacob on his return to Canaan, thus standing nearest to the common chief and father; and those of Leah as the descendants of Abraham and Isaac already settled in Canaan. Not without meaning does the legend make all Leah's sons the elder, and Reuben the actual first-born, but Rachel and her children the especial favourites of the father. Similarly Jacob himself, coming from another land to Canaan and to the house of Isaac, is called the younger, and Esau the elder, son of Isaac. And the impossibility that these two different portions should exist side by side in the same national community without the one exercising superior influence and taking the lead over the other, suggests the historical meaning of the old legend of Reuben's loss of his birthright. Tradition has many similar instances of the loss of this right; and it is clear that when nations, tribes, and families, rather than individuals, are really intended, the memory of a struggle between two powers, and the triumph of the one which was formerly the inferior, forms the historical basis. Indeed it is only thus that the importance attributed to such narratives can be explained; since even what in them appears sportive and jocose, as the birth of Pharez and his twin brother, sons of Tamar and Judah,<sup>1</sup> though prompted by popular humour, bore reference, notwithstanding, to matters of grave import. How among equals the higher position, and thus the rank of first-born, was achieved, is in one instance distinctly explained—in the genealogy of Aharhel, of the Judaic branch Ashur; Jabez,<sup>2</sup> as an old book related, became the *most honoured* among his brethren;<sup>3</sup> and thus his house came to be regarded among their kindred as that of the first-born. But while the circumstantial account of Jacob's repeated struggles with Esau for the birthright is given by no earlier narrator than the Fourth and Fifth, before whose mind doubtless floated older legends of the same nature, and especially that respecting Ephraim and Manasseh (p. 352 sq.), the tradition of Reuben is certainly one of the oldest, and derived immediately from the Earliest Narrator. That Reuben was once the principal tribe, and took the lead

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xxxviii. 28 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Who has one of the cities of Judah called by his name, 1 Chron. ii. 55.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Chron. iv. 8–10. The passage must from its phraseology be very ancient.

<sup>4</sup> Gen. xxxv. 22; xlix. 3, 4, where

הָיָה must be taken as synonymous with הָיָה; i.e.  $\text{אָרְכָּה}$ , degree, rank (Ezek. xl.

26), 'my couch of *highness, dignity*,' according to my *Lehrbuch*, § 287 c, p. 719 sq.

of the rest, may be regarded as historic truth; since the family tradition uniformly assigns to him the highest place, and thus preserves the memory of the esteem in which he was originally held. That he insolently abused his superiority, and thus forfeited his honourable position, may be signified in the legend, given by the First Narrator, of his abusing his father's concubine,<sup>1</sup> and thus bringing on himself his father's curse. But it is also plain that he must have lost his position in very early times, since only such remote and obscure reminiscences of the fact have been preserved. His place is taken, not by Judah (as the Postmosaic history would lead us to expect), but by Joseph, as we are assured by express statements,<sup>2</sup> and by the result of all inquiry into the history of the earliest times. But in the person of Joseph the other and younger portion of the community gained the ascendancy; and we have here unquestionably a fragment of primeval history respecting the internal divisions and contests of the two portions out of which the community grew.

Nor, secondly, can it be without significance, that of the twelve sons of Jacob, some are derived from concubines, but supposed to be adopted as children by the two real mothers of the family; that of these, two belong to Leah and two to Rachel; just as among the twelve tribes of Nahor precisely four are attributed to a concubine.<sup>3</sup> The same thing occurs elsewhere in these ancient family and national histories. It very frequently happens that one or more sons of an ancient chief are not treated as children of the family-mother; but we generally find in such cases that the sons attributed to concubines stand outside of the round number assumed,<sup>4</sup> and form a very small minority.<sup>5</sup> As we have here before us essentially the relations and distinctions subsisting between the several sections of the community, there can be no doubt that in these less distinguished sons we must recognise the representatives of supplementary tribes, or, as the Romans called them, *Gentes Minores*, which were received into the national bond, but with certain limitations of privilege, either on points of mere hono-

<sup>1</sup> This picture is obviously borrowed from such historical incidents as that in 2 Sam. xvi. 21, 22.

<sup>2</sup> The statement in 1 Chron. v. 1, 2, is strictly historical; the expression 'the Crowned among his brethren' is indeed employed by poets (Gen. xlix. 26, Deut. xxxiii. 16), but obviously not without historical significance, of those old times.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. xxii. 24.

<sup>4</sup> As Amalek in the case of Edom,

Gen. xxxvi. 12; comp. vv. 22, 16, 40, and above p. 262. For Shaul as son of Simeon, see p. 368.

<sup>5</sup> As in the case of Nahor, Gen. xxii. 20-24, and Israel. In that of Caleb, 1 Chron. ii. 42-49, the present text is obscure, as we do not see with what vv. 47 and 49 are connected; in that of Manasseh, 1 Chron. vii. 14, much has obviously been dropped out before מְלִיכָה.

rary precedence, or in weightier matters. Such a position, however, could hardly have arisen except either by the reception into the national league of fresh nations or families, which either were subjected, though allowed to retain certain rights, or voluntarily demanded protection and adoption; or else by a great degradation of older members from their original rank. As that portion of the Amalekites which was reckoned as connected through a Horite mother Timna, a concubine of Esau,<sup>1</sup> with the kingdom of Edom,<sup>2</sup> formerly possessed fewer privileges than the other twelve tribes; so in Israel the four tribes which could derive themselves from the two true mothers of the nation only through two concubines of Jacob, enjoyed from the first less power and consideration than the eight others, though they had a share in the essential rights and benefits possessed by the community. It will be explained further on how this original relation was maintained even at the conquest and partition of Canaan under Joshua; and we possess herein a surprising proof of the correctness of the legend. But even in the legend these sons of Jacob are regarded as the rudest and most cruel; as is sufficiently shown by the account of Joseph's connection with the sons of Zilpah and Bilhah, who had charge of him in his childhood, and ill requited his innocent confidence.<sup>3</sup> And that Ishmael and the sons of Keturah are likewise accounted only the offspring of Abraham's concubines, is but a farther application of this ancient mode of viewing national relations.

That the meaning is similar when tradition derives only some parts of a nation from one or more daughters of the common ancestor, will be more particularly shown below.

Thirdly, after the above remarks, it is needless to explain further, how it is anything but accidental that the legend respecting Jacob's sons divides them throughout into groups of four—expressly stating that Leah, after bearing four, long remained barren; that then were born the four sons of the concubines, the two belonging to Rachel coming first; and, finally, after a long interval, the four others; two of Leah, and last of all, two of Rachel. Now, putting together all that has been so far worked out, we discover beneath this legendary veil the plainest memories of the original relations between the great national members of the Israelite community. The

<sup>1</sup> [Or rather of Esau's son Eliphaz, Gen. xxxvi. 12.]

<sup>2</sup> This portion of Amalek, then, had turned first to the Horites (to whom indeed the Amalekites were related; see

p. 225 sqq.), and been by them received into the national federation; the Horites being then still independent in Edom (see p. 226).

<sup>3</sup> Gen. xxxvii. 2.

children of Leah originally preponderated in strength and in numbers, being as eight to four, or at least, as six to two and to four. First Reuben, or afterwards Joseph—though even when the latter had obtained the precedence, Reuben and his three tribes voted first, and in other respects asserted their dignity;—then either the two other tribes of Leah and the two of Zilpah, or the four inferior tribes together; lastly, the four remaining tribes, but so that Joseph and Benjamin gave the casting vote:—this was probably the earliest order of voting in the general assembly; and all other national arrangements would be formed on the same model. Later events may have altered many of the details, as will be further shown below; but so firmly must this ancient constitution have endured for centuries, so deeply must it have impressed itself on the whole life and feeling of the people from its early youth, that even under circumstances the most altered, twelve, as the sacred number of the nation, was somehow maintained, and where it had been lost restored if possible (as, for instance, by the division of Joseph into Ephraim and Manasseh, after the withdrawal of Levi as the priestly tribe), and in theory and hope at least never abandoned.<sup>1</sup>

3. Certainly in the period after Solomon such distinctions between the twelve tribes, resting on early tradition, had long lost any actual meaning; since, though the original number was still held sacred in thought and hope, the reality had in many respects greatly changed. All the more easily was this old tradition seized upon by the new prophetic spirit, whose power pervaded the centuries immediately after Solomon; and it is marvellous to see how a genealogical legend, apparently so remote from the sphere of morality, received in the hands of the Third and Fourth Narrators<sup>2</sup> a sense in complete harmony with the spirit of a higher religion. The connecting thread is not, however, difficult to trace. The two tribes of Rachel, and especially Joseph-Ephraim, though originally last in order, were yet regarded as the most highly privileged, and therefore the best beloved sons of the common father, and their ancestress Rachel as his dearest wife. Yet, on the other hand, there seemed no moral ground for the preference thus given to the

<sup>1</sup> See my *Commentar zur Apocalypse*, 1828, p. 164 sq.

<sup>2</sup> The plan and substance of the entire narrative of Gen. xxix. 16–xxx. 24 come from the Third Narrator; the Fourth obviously added the second explanation of the names Zebulon and Joseph in xxx. 20, 24. These do not harmonise with the

original conception of the subject as well as those put first, and appear exactly as if intended to point the significance of the names with more precision than had been done by the Third Narrator. On the other hand the name *Jahveh* in xxix. 31–35 may have been merely substituted by the Fourth Narrator for an original *Elohim*.

tribe of Ephraim, since the branch Joseph-Ephraim had assuredly not always maintained the lofty purity attributed by the legend to its ancestor Joseph. Rachel, too, was esteemed superior to her sister in beauty and fascination, but not in real virtue. Under these circumstances the whole life of the two mothers, and their relation to the common ancestor, might be regarded as a competition between external advantages and pretensions and undeserved neglect—a competition whose issue, under Divine guidance, can never be doubtful, if under so severe a trial patience and virtue fail not; and thus is suggested a principle of the higher religion, to which every element of the ancient legend most beautifully adapts itself. Jacob loves and wishes to have the more beautiful sister only; yet the elder, whom it is unfair to set aside at once for her inferior charms, not only becomes his wife, equal in rights and position to Rachel, but is blessed before Rachel with four sons, thus gaining honour among the people, and even securing the love of her unwilling husband. But Rachel, now becoming impatient, gets from Jacob, at least through her handmaid Bilhah, two sons for herself. Yet even here Leah is not behindhand, and by similar means also gets two sons for herself. At length Rachel, reduced to extremity, tries to gain from her sister the certainty of offspring by bargaining with her for the mandrakes found by Reuben, Cupid-like. But on the contrary, as if in punishment of Rachel's deed, Leah receives two more sons and a daughter; till at length Rachel, wholly abased and humbled, is visited by a gleam of Divine favour, and bears the son who, both in loftiness of character and in influence with his father, is soon to surpass all the others and become their prince; and with whose birth, according to ancient tradition, the circle of twelve seemed to be completed. But after the birth of this peerless son, she is not long spared to enjoy her happiness, and at Benjamin's birth she loses her life, when just entering Canaan.<sup>1</sup> The interpretations given of the personal names of the sons spring from no more ancient conception of the family history than this. That personal names were originally significant, was indeed the true feeling of antiquity (p. 19), and the twelve heads of tribes were of sufficient historic importance to make it necessary to give an explanation of the full import of their names with those of other heroes. But, on the other hand, the names of these Patriarchs belonged to a period too remote for

<sup>1</sup> It is perhaps only for brevity's sake that in the Book of Origins, Gen. xxxv. 23-26, Benjamin is reckoned among those born in Mesopotamia, as vv. 16-22 appear from all indications to belong to the First Narrator.

their original meaning to have been retained with certainty in the tenth or ninth century before Christ. So in this as in similar cases, the great freedom with which the living language interpreted its ancient words was called into play to find in them a meaning corresponding to new ideas.

Another example of the mode in which such old family legends were applied is afforded by the Book of Origins, in the case of Jacob's only daughter, Dinah,<sup>1</sup> who stands singly beside his twelve sons. That we are not to understand this daughter literally as an individual, follows from the view we have arrived at respecting the brothers, as well as from the meaning in all similar cases. For though in early genealogies we occasionally find a daughter expressly mentioned, such instances are so rare and isolated,<sup>2</sup> that it is impossible to believe them intended for daughters in the mere literal sense; and as all domestic relations, in this connection, represent in fact the movements of nations and tribes, the same rule must apply here also; for if the chief of a tribe or family had in any case a daughter thus exceptionally mentioned, some important family history must formerly have entwined itself around her name; as will be shown with regard to Caleb's daughter Achsa, of whom we have so bald a mention in 1 Chron. ii. 49. Now if the son of a concubine is meant to denote the father and representative of some less privileged tribe or family, which has come in from the outside and attached itself to the main stem, so on the other hand a daughter standing alone would betoken the passing over of a portion of the nation, tribe, or family, with their possessions, to another nation, tribe, or family as the case may be. So Caleb's daughter Achsa brings to Othniel great possessions; so Aholibamah and Timna denote the absorption of the Horites into the Idumeans; and so the marriage of Hezron, Judah's grandson, to a daughter of Machir of Gilead,<sup>3</sup> plainly indicates a fusion of these two races, to form the so-called townships of Jair,<sup>4</sup> in the farthest east. So, also, the proposed marriage of Jacob's daughter Dinah with Shechem, son of Hamor, must indicate the commencement of a transition of a part, or (which

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xxxiii. 18-xxxiv.; comp. with xlv. 15, xxx. 21.

<sup>2</sup> The only other examples prior to Postmosaic times are, Serah the daughter of Asher (Gen. xlv. 17, mentioned again among matters merely special to the tribe, in Num. xxvi. 46, 1 Chron. vii. 30); Aholibamah daughter of Anah, and Timna, among the Horites (Gen. xxxvi. 25, 22); Sherah daughter of Ephraim (1 Chron.

vii. 24); Heman's three daughters, mentioned with his fourteen sons (1 Chron. xxv. 5); Sheshan's daughters without brothers (ii. 34); other cases in 1 Chron. iv. 3, vii. 32, and in like manner Zelophehad's five daughters, under Manasseh; concerning whom see above, p. 368, and my *Antiquities*, p. 179 sq.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Chron. ii. 21-23.

<sup>4</sup> Havoth-Jair, יְהוֹתַי, Num. xxxii. 41.

is the same thing) a tribe, of the community of Jacob to Canaanites settled in the ancient city of Shechem, under a Canaanite dynasty bearing the name of Hamor.<sup>1</sup> The Earliest Narrator had already touched on this,<sup>2</sup> and blamed the cruelty with which the tribes of Simeon and Levi had punished by fire and sword the attempt of the Canaanites to ravish and subjugate a portion of Jacob; and the very fact that Levi here appears in a very different character from that which he bore after Moses' time, shows this to be a relic of very ancient legend. But the Book of Origins, after its manner, seizes the opportunity to inculcate right conduct, and to show by this example in eloquent language and the clear words of law, how Israel ought to act when brought into close contact with strangers, and how intermarriage and family intercourse may be possible between Israel and the heathen; but represents the old father as observing an ominous silence respecting the cruelty with which Dinah's two brothers in this unusual case avenged her wrongs upon the offender and his city.

Differently, again, does the Fourth Narrator treat the undoubtedly very old family tradition<sup>3</sup> of Judah's sons. This legend essentially asserted two things. First, that two of Judah's three eldest sons, Er and Onan, were lost sight of in history, even before Israel came to Egypt.<sup>4</sup> But this we have every reason to understand of some early catastrophe, which swept away the first two families of the tribe of Judah so entirely, that, though appearing in the genealogies in their due place, they are described only as having died early.<sup>5</sup> Indeed, every son's name which stands quite isolated and barren in these ancient genealogies may similarly be held to denote a family which has become extinct. But the downfall of an older branch generally causes the rise of a younger; and tribes and their branches always tend toward the restitution of their original numbers. And therefore, secondly, this tradition conveys the fact that, in place of these two early-lost sons of Judah, two younger branches, Zarah and Pharez, arose, of whom Pharez

<sup>1</sup> From the fact that the name of the very city (Shechem) where this event occurred, was borne by one of his sons (comp. Gen. xxxiii. 18), it can only be inferred that this dominant family at one time ruled over more cities than this one.

<sup>2</sup> This follows from Gen. xlix. 5-7; the beginning also of the narrative of xxxiii. 18-20, appears to be derived from the earliest book, if only on account of the

reckoning by כֶּסֶת *Kesita*, 'pieces of money,' not found elsewhere except in Josh. xxiv. 32 and Job xlii. 11; the Book of Origins reckons money by shekels, Gen. xxiii. 15-16; Ex. xxx. 15.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. xxxviii.

<sup>4</sup> As stated in the Book of Origins, Gen. xlii. 12, Num. xxvi. 19.

<sup>5</sup> Among the families of Judah, however, a certain Er is mentioned in 1 Chron. iv. 21, as subordinate to Shelah.



eventually obtained the precedence (p. 373). Now there are two ways in which the fathers and representatives of younger branches thus taking the place of elder may consistently be treated in traditionary history. First, they may be described simply as later-born sons of the same father. Of this kind is a very ancient account of the sons of Ephraim,<sup>1</sup> apparently referring to early struggles between the Israelites and the aboriginal inhabitants in the pre-Egyptian period,<sup>2</sup> and affording therefore the best possible illustration of the present case. Ephraim (so it is said in the Chronicles on unquestionably ancient authority) lost two of his sons, Ezer and Elad, who, in some quarrel with the native inhabitants, went to Gath<sup>3</sup> to carry off cattle, but were themselves slain. Whereupon their old father mourned many days, visited and consoled by his brethren, like Job in his affliction, until his wife bore him another son, Beriah, as well as a daughter; the son being the same from whom the great hero Joshua descended in the tenth generation.<sup>4</sup> Secondly, such branches may be represented under the form of grandsons adopted as children. Of this we have an instance in Joseph's

<sup>1</sup> 1 Chron. vii. 20-23. We must beware of regarding the מְלִיכֵי 1 Chron. vii. 21, as

identical with מְלִיכֵי; the latter has a perfectly distinct etymology, and signifies a *stranger artificially made into a son*.

<sup>2</sup> This might appear doubtful, from the circumstance that 1 Chron. viii. 13 actually tells of one Beriah, who there appears as substitute and also as avenger of those fallen in the war with Gath, how he with his brother Shema expelled the inhabitants from Gath. He is indeed said to belong to the tribe of Benjamin; but from the affinity between the tribes of Ephraim and Benjamin, this difference is unimportant. But he is regarded as the head of a family of Ajjalon, a city close on the Postmosaic possessions of Benjamin; hence it might perhaps seem probable that the contests in question belonged to the very commencement of the Postmosaic period. But in fact these are not sufficient grounds for doubting the pre-Egyptian existence of this story; and thus we have here a remarkable tradition of extremely ancient occurrences. See my remarks in *Jahrb. der Bibl. Wiss.* vi, pp. 99-100. On the war-like deeds of some of Jacob's sons and of Jacob himself against the Canaanites and against Esau, as also on the fortunes of Esau himself, we have further stories in the 'Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs,' noticed on p. 200, especially *Test. Jud.* ch.

iii-vii, ix. *Test. Benj.* x. end. From what sources these accounts of the kings and localities of the Patriarchal world were derived may be inferred from the Book of Jubilees, xxxiv, xxxvii. (comp. xxx.) and similar books. Such works indeed continued in constant use down to a much later period (see Zunz, *Gottesd. Vorträge*, p. 145; Jellinek's *Bet ha-Midrash*, iii. pp. 1-6). The earliest work not in the Canon, which our author seems from the *Test. Naft.* v. to have used, was one probably written under the Seleucids, which contained information on the acts of Jacob and his sons; but whether its author had access to any very ancient works, we have no means of knowing. But it is impossible to work out clear historic notions from such late materials; and the great freedom with which earlier accounts have been here handled, is seen from the *Test. Jud.* viii. compared with Gen. xxxviii. 1.

<sup>3</sup> The Avvim before the Philistine conquest must therefore be here intended, as is clear from p. 243.

<sup>4</sup> I regard this as the correct meaning of the words, 1 Chron. vii. 20-27; the arrangement of the words, taken strictly, can yield no other sense; for the י before מְלִיכֵי v. 21, must designate the apodosis, according to my *Lehrb.* § 343 c, p. 829 sq. Shuthelah's genealogy is then carried down in seven, and Resheph's in ten generations, as far as Joshua, which is quite self-consistent.

two sons, Manasseh and Ephraim: they were received into the rank and privileges of whole tribes, and are said by the Third Narrator to have been blessed and adopted as children by the dying Jacob. Midway between these two alternatives stands the case of Zarah and Pharez. They are called children of Tamar, Judah's daughter-in-law, yet at the same time his own sons. This is brought about through a single yet complicated crime, in which nearly every member of the family had a share. After the eldest son's death without issue, the widow's claim to marriage was refused, first by the infamous second son and then by the father. She at last avenges her wrong on the father himself, and Judah unexpectedly finds himself the father of two sons, who may be also denominated his grandsons, and for the shame of whose birth he dared not execute fitting justice on the widow. Once assume (as was so long assumed in Israel) the high morality and binding, because divinely-imposed, obligation of the levirate marriage,<sup>1</sup> and we cannot refuse to see the point and bearing of this half-comic dress, which covers the account of very ancient relations of family and tribe. And even before the Fourth Narrator had fully worked out the legend, it is very likely that popular wit in the ninth century may have taken its revenge upon the reigning house of David, descended from that very Pharez, for many harsh or unwarrantable acts, by this satirical version of that house's origin, to which the book of Ruth, probably with at least equal truth, affords the opposite.

## V. THE BEGINNING OF THE NATION.

After such historical traces, few but unmistakable, it is impossible to deny that the beginning of Israel as a nation dates from pre-Egyptian times.

The great chief whom the Nation has always revered as its father may probably have settled in Canaan with the germ of the people, and consequently of the twelve tribes. His community, whether large or small, must have been divided into twelve branches. But in Canaan many other populations (out of whom indeed the Twelve Tribes which obtained a name in history originally proceeded) must have early attached themselves to this nucleus; consisting partly of Hebrew elements, already long existing in Canaan (whence Jacob was made the grandson of Abraham), and partly of foreign admixtures. The existence of the latter cannot possibly be denied; and how little the boast

<sup>1</sup> Or marriage with a brother-in-law, on which see my *Antiquities*, p. 207 sq.

of the pure blood of Abraham and Jacob is worth is shown by the whole history of the nation, from this its first beginning down through all succeeding time. We must allow, indeed, that the Book of Origins must have some historical foundation when it lays such stress on the greater purity of Israel's Hebrew blood<sup>1</sup> in the account of his and Esau's wives; as also the later historians who assert the same. Unquestionably the Israelites did hold themselves more closely together, and could more easily do so, being the nation latest settled in the land. But that this boast is to be allowed only in comparison with other Hebrew races who allied themselves more freely with alien blood, is evident from a multitude of unequivocal signs; and indeed is not denied by the historians themselves, who unhesitatingly admit even the very first sons of Jacob to have taken Canaanitish wives.<sup>2</sup> Even the examination of the names of tribes, fathers of tribes, and sons of tribes (the latter representing the component families) leads to the same results. To deny the existence of such great men, such fathers and benefactors of the people as Jacob and Joseph, would be pure folly; but with regard to many other names, the traces we can find only enable us to see that before the time of Jacob they were fully formed tribes and populations, which in smaller or larger proportions were absorbed into Jacob's community, and are here accordingly commemorated as sons or grandsons of that Patriarch. The six families of Manasseh are derived from him only through Machir, his son, and Gilead, his grandson. Here the name of the mountain-land of Gilead was evidently introduced only because after the time of Moses its ruling house became subject to the tribe of Manasseh. In another case, the name of Ephrath for Bethlehem is on the one hand very old, and unquestionably Premosaic, yet on the other plainly connected with the name of the tribe Ephraim;<sup>3</sup> although after the conquest of the land under Joshua the dominion of this tribe never extended so far

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xxvi. 34, 35, xxvii. 46-xxviii. 9, xxxvi.; Gen. xxiv. by the Third Narrator; but from xxii. 20-24, we conclude that the Book of Origins had already mentioned Isaac's wife in a similar sense.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xxxviii. 2, xvi. 10.

<sup>3</sup> Ephrathite is the form used for one of the tribe Ephraim, 1 Sam. i. 1, 1 Kings xi. 26, as if the original word were Ephrath, and Ephraim a plural irregularly formed from it; see also 1 Chron. ii. 24. The story of the father Ephraim mentioned p. 380, if proved to be Premosaic, would much strengthen the evi-

dence that Ephraim, in any strict sense of the words, cannot have been born in Egypt. A region *Ephrata*, famed for its fruitfulness, is curiously found in the south-east of Abyssinia, and not far from it an *Argobba* also (compare אֶרְבּוּב in Bashan, Deut. iii. 4, 1 Kings iv. 13), see Harris's *Highlands of Ethiopia*, ii. p. 347 sqq., Isenberg und Krapf's *Journal* (London, 1843), p. 289; Ludolf also names it, but very briefly. From the wide extent of the regions over which these and many other Semitic names are dispersed, we see how very old these local names must be.

to the south. Hence there is every reason to consider Ephrath an old branch of the Canaanites which, in combination with a more purely Hebrew family, known as Machir or Manasseh, formed the tribe of Joseph. This also explains why Ephraim was originally reckoned second to Manasseh, and not allowed to rank as the first-born of Joseph.<sup>1</sup> And if Esau, as we learn from reliable authority,<sup>2</sup> had really a Hittite wife named Judith, the name Judah would also be old-Canaanite. If, again, Reuben and Simeon had each a son Carmi,<sup>3</sup> Reuben and Judah a Hezron,<sup>4</sup> Simeon and Judah a son Zerah,<sup>5</sup> Ephraim and Benjamin a Becher,<sup>6</sup> Levi and Esau a Korah,<sup>7</sup> Reuben and Midian a Hanoah<sup>8</sup> (p. 315 sq.); these coincidences can scarcely be attributed to chance, but may represent the breaking up of other nationalities, of which part was absorbed into one tribe, part into another. Of the similar, but to us more intelligible, case of the sons of Kenaz, in connection with Judah and Esau, we have already spoken, p. 251.

Further testimony on the question, how deep the fusion of Canaanite and Hebrew races went,<sup>9</sup> and how long before the Egyptian period Israel must have dwelt in Canaan, is afforded by the language of the country; on which, however, many errors are now current. It has in our days been commonly assumed, that the Hebrew was quite like the Phenician or Punic; the principal authority for this opinion being the well-known expressions in St. Augustine's writings. But this African bishop was not himself versed in languages, and was only aware of a general similarity between the two, without any definite knowledge. If these two languages were perfectly alike, it is not easy to understand how the Israelite tradition, examined above, could speak of so wide a separation between the nations; and the historical credit of the Biblical narratives would suffer extremely in consequence. But the assumption that the language of the Canaanites, although Semitic, was originally identical with that of the Hebrews, or exhibited only the very slightest differences from it, is not confirmed by the

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xlviii.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xxvi. 34: compare *Jehud* in the tribe Dan, Josh. xix. 45, and *Reuben* in the tribe Judah, xv. 6.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Chron. ii. 7, iv. 1, v. 3.

<sup>4</sup> 1 Chron. v. 3, and above, p. 365 sq.

<sup>5</sup> Numb. xxvi. 13; 1 Chron. iv. 24,

ii. 6, ix. 6; see above, p. 365 sq.

<sup>6</sup> Gen. xlv. 21; 1 Chron. vii. 6; Numb. xxvii. 35.

<sup>7</sup> See above, p. 365 note, and Gen. xxxvi. 5, xiv. 16.

<sup>8</sup> Gen. xxv. 4, xlv. 9, Numb. xxvi. 5; but this name is certainly derived from the divine personage mentioned at p. 65 sq., and this furnishes a proof of the existence of his worship at this early age.

<sup>9</sup> For special reasons, Ezekiel, xvi. 3, 45, lays great stress upon this, speaking however more as prophet than as historian. Similarly Moab and Ammon are contemptuously reckoned with the Canaanites in Judith v. 3; compare however v. 6.

remains of the Phœnician language, so far as is at present known with any certainty.<sup>1</sup> On the contrary, the Old Testament itself shows, by the many different names which it often gives to the same country or the same city,<sup>2</sup> that in this land the variety of languages (though all Semitic) was as great as that of the peoples. These manifold languages, however, as far as we have means to inspect them, had assuredly a certain marked resemblance among themselves; which can be explained only by supposing that the original inhabitants, never utterly suppressed, here founded a true national language, to which all incomers, Canaanite as well as Hebrew and Philistine, inevitably conformed; and which naturally coincides most with that of the Canaanites, who mingled first and most freely with the natives.<sup>3</sup> Now the Israelites, who, as we have seen, entered the country in smaller bodies, must even before the Egyptian period have so completely adopted this language, that even in Egypt they took very little from the Egyptian; and after the conquest under Joshua, they seem to have yielded more and more to the influence of its native elements,<sup>4</sup> and were able to converse easily with the Phœnicians; whereas the speech beyond Gilead and Euphrates, being Aramean, was considered a foreign tongue.<sup>5</sup> This last circumstance is not surprising, if the conjecture respecting Damascus, p. 311 sq., be correct, that during the sojourn of Israel in Egypt, the Aramean tribes had pushed farther southward, cutting the Israelites off entirely from their former kindred in the north. It is a great mistake in our day to assume an Aramean origin for the Hebrews, or any special resemblance between the languages of the Arameans and the Hebrews.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This is a most important result of our latest investigations; see my *Abhandlung über das Phönikische in der Zeitschrift für das Morgenland*, iv. s. 400–418, continued vi. p. 288 sqq., vii. p. 70 sqq.; also my *Abhandlung über die Inschrift von Marseille*, which appeared in the *Jahrb. der Bibl. Wiss.* i., and is more correctly printed in the *Abhandlungen der Göttinger Gesell. der Wiss.* iv.; and especially my *Erklärung der grossen Phönikischen Inschrift von Sidon* (Gött. 1856), as well as many later articles.

<sup>2</sup> *Seir*, *Edom*, *Esau*, see p. 344; *Jerusalem* and *Jebus*. see vol. III. p. 121 sq.; *Luz* and *Bethel*, the first the Canaanite, the second the Hebrew name, see p. 304. *Kirjath-Arba* and *Hebron*, p. 230. *Ephrath* and *Bethlehem*; compare the very distinct testimony from the Mosaic age in Numb. xxxii. 38. On one occasion, Deut. iii. 9.

the difference is expressly referred to three distinct nationalities, Hermon of the Hebrews being called Shenir by the Amorites, and Sirion by the Sidonians.

<sup>3</sup> Hence Isaiah xix. 18 could, not improperly, understand Hebrew to be included in the term *language of Canaan*.

<sup>4</sup> This is one of the chief results established in the above-named treatises on the Phœnician.

<sup>5</sup> The two Aramaic words used as a translation of Gilead, according to a peculiar interpretation of the latter in Gen. xxxi. 47, may be ancient, as well as the entire verse; they afford, as is well known, the earliest testimony on the nature of Aramaic as a distinct language.

<sup>6</sup> Two special causes have contributed to this error. On the one hand, Jacob himself and his Mesopotamian connections are even in early writings often classed

In religion and manners, on the other hand, the Israelites certainly maintained far more individuality, as the whole following history shows. And the hero who could give such unity to a nation composed of these different elements, that to bear his double name was ever accounted its highest honour, must in actual life have been so great, that in history proper he would have shone as brightly as in legend, if of him as of Abraham some great record had been preserved from far distant days. As it is, we can only pronounce with certainty that his individual deeds must have been worthy of a great historical personage, but are forced to relinquish the attempt to gain any close and connected idea of the details of his career; content to have brought together the scattered traces that remain to testify to the actual beginnings of this national history.

with the Arameans: but in what sense this is meant in the ancient narratives, and even by the Deuteronomist, has been already sufficiently explained, p. 342 sq. Abraham himself was never called an Aramean, and the Hebrews always knew themselves to be very different from the Arameans. On the other hand, it became the fashion with Hellenistic writers in the latest period of this history to call Abraham, and even Moses (*Philo's Life of Moses*, i. 2. 7), Chaldeans, and the Hebrew language Chaldee (*Philo* especially does so, ii. p. 138-140, 412 sqq.; *Aucher*, ii.

p. 208). But this confusion sprang solely from the causes already stated, p. 335 sq.: see also IV. 490. Rarely, however, did a writer go so far as to call the Israelites, by way of praise, 'descendants of the Chaldeans,' as in *Judith* v. 6-9, and *Josephus, Against Apion*, i. 13; but as the latter in ch. vi. follows the custom of his age in using the name Chaldean as equivalent to *philosopher*, it is obvious why he and other writers like him were glad to find a Chaldean origin for the Patriarchs.

## SECTION II.

## THE MIGRATION OF ISRAEL TO EGYPT.

## A. GENERAL NOTIONS.

THE pre-Egyptian period of the history of Israel had, as we have seen, a certain grandeur of its own, to which the nation, even when transformed by the spirit of a higher religion, could look back with joy and pride; and some of the fibres of the purer religion and upright lofty tone of mind, which after Moses was inseparable from the national life as regulated by law, may be traced back to the glorious heroes of that primitive age. A mystic bond of uniformity of feeling and consistency of aim often runs for centuries through the fortunes of a nation which preserves the best elements of its life from ruin. The modern Germans may see in their national hero Arminius and his Romanising brother Flavius only too true a prototype of their own good and bad elements. In the same way, many a characteristic of the people of Israel, which developed its full power only after the time of Moses, may have had its root in that early age.

But it is (as was remarked on p. 287) in the Egyptian period that we first perceive a distinct preparation for this nation's especial mission. Egypt, both through her wealth and treasures, and through her incomparably early and high culture, was in the earliest times for the less civilised nations surrounding her, very much what in later times Athens and Rome were for the northern tribes: a magnet, attracting or repelling, but from which all departed other than they came; a high school for all migrating races, whether conquering or conquered. Much indeed both of art and of practical experience she had to impart; mingled however, even thus early, with too much that was degraded and repulsive; and a simple primitive people, when submitted to her strong and manifold influences, necessarily received an impress varying in strength with its own native force of character. Even after Egypt had for centuries lost both strength and independence, and become the prey of invader after invader, it still retained for the adjacent lands of Asia something of the magic

charm, which the 'Thousand and One Nights' so vividly describe. How mighty, then, must the influence of Egypt have been, in the early times of that almost inexplicable prosperity and culture, which is testified by those wondrous monuments, the accurate investigation of which has been reserved for our own days, and for the hands of such scholars as Rosellini, Wilkinson, and Lepsius!

But certain as it is that the intimate connection of Israel with this earliest-civilised among the nations alone enabled him to take the first step which introduced him into the great world-history, it is equally evident on the other hand that the first step in this change, the migration of Israel into Egypt, formed only a transition-period between the preliminary and the proper history of the nation. For as the narrative now stands in the Old Testament, the history of this period is concerned with the Twelve Tribes simply as individuals, sons of Jacob. And whilst in the early traditions (see p. 288) even Joseph, incomparably the most illustrious of those sons, is never placed on an equality with the three great Patriarchs, but put as it were one step below that Heroic age, yet his history almost coincides with the closing portion of Jacob's; and in death the two appear all but equal. But important as are in themselves these opening scenes of the Egyptian period, it is not there that we shall find the germ of that great history which was to make Israel immortal. This transition-epoch must therefore be regarded in close connection with the prehistoric period, and kept distinct from the subsequent history of the nation.

A close examination of this beginning of Israel's life in Egypt is indeed beset with serious difficulties: the age is still so remote, the sources of information are so scanty. It is true that the Biblical narratives, which appear copious rather from their volume than from the amount of strictly historical information which they contain, receive here for the first time something like completion by contributions from without. While Herodotus and Diodorus, in their accounts of Egypt, are almost silent on this remote section of history, it is fortunate that of a work compiled from good native sources—that of Manetho on the thirty-one Egyptian dynasties, from the first mortal sovereign Menes down to Alexander and the Ptolemies—some extracts, unfortunately scanty and corrupted, have been preserved in the Chronicle of Eusebius, and others in Georgius Syncellus,<sup>1</sup> who

<sup>1</sup> In several passages in the *Chronography*, Bonn edition; especially pp. 99-146. Even such obscure notices as those in Tac. *Hist.* v. 3, may probably be ulti-

mately derived from Manetho. Farther references will be given later, in treating of the Exodus.



quotes from the History of Julius Africanus. Still more fortunate is it that Flavius Josephus, who in this part of his *Antiquities* adhered closely to Biblical and Jewish authorities,<sup>1</sup> was induced by the violent opposition of certain contemporary writers to quote at full length, in his work against Apion, two long passages of Manetho, whose work is unfortunately lost.<sup>2</sup> But in his application of these passages of Manetho to the history of Israel, Josephus himself falls into serious errors; and it is difficult to say how much mischief was done by premature attempts on the part of Jewish and Christian scholars of that day to reconcile the Biblical and the Egyptian accounts. To this cause may be principally attributed the confused state of the few remaining extracts from Manetho. Nor have even the labours of modern scholars in deciphering Egyptian inscriptions been rewarded as yet by much reliable information with respect to this particular portion of early history. Moreover, some who undertook most confidently to interpret the inscriptions, and whose services in deciphering have in some instances been most meritorious, have been hitherto the least disposed to an impartial consideration and comparison of the Biblical records. Besides which it must be borne in mind that the number of monuments requiring examination is constantly receiving accessions, and the deciphering of those already found is still far from complete. At this very time, indeed, fresh discoveries are again looked for.<sup>3</sup> Under these circumstances, the following is pretty nearly all that can be affirmed with certainty.

I. That the whole Hebrew movement from the north could terminate only in Egypt, the rich and beautiful, may be inferred, as we have seen (p. 309 sqq.), from the general mutual relations of the nations of those times. But we possess besides sufficient

<sup>1</sup> That he was aware of the existence of other opinions is however evident from his passing intimation, 'that Israel was derived not from Egypt, but from Mesopotamia' (*Antiq.* ii. 7. 4); an assertion which in his work *Against Apion* he defends at length, against opponents whom he mentions by name. Indeed none but Pagans were then capable of such an error as to refer the origin of Israel to Egypt and Africa.

<sup>2</sup> *Against Apion*, i. 14-16 and 26-31.

<sup>3</sup> Since this was written in 1842, Bunsen's work on Egypt appeared, the first volume in 1845, and the fifth and last in 1857; also Böckh's *Manetho und die Hundsternperiode*, whose assumption, that Manetho's chronology, commencing with Menes, was based upon a scientific calcu-

lation of revolutions of Sirius, 1,461 years in length, does not appear to me sufficiently proved. The great work of Lepsius, *Chronologie der Aegyptier*, the first vol. of which appeared in Berlin, 1849, is not yet completed; but an instalment of its completion was furnished in 1858, by his *Book of the Kings of Ancient Egypt*, containing valuable documents. And in the last few years new excavations and investigations have been carried out by Mariette and others, in the north-east of Egypt, the very district most important to our present subject; and from these much new light may be expected. See *Revue Archéologique*, 1861, p. 249-50, 338-40, 1862, p. 297 sqq.; Chabas in Langlois' *Numismatique des Arabes*, pp. 145-46.

evidence to prove that even from the first this great migration, especially as connected with the name of Abraham, took this direction. According to one account,<sup>1</sup> no sooner is Abraham settled in Canaan, than he journeys, though but for a short time, into Egypt; and, according to another,<sup>2</sup> Isaac was restrained only by express Divine prohibition from carrying out a similar purpose. It is true that these two accounts come to us in their present form only from the Fourth Narrator; and that in both a famine in Canaan is assigned as the immediate motive of the journey into Egypt; which looks as if the later great migration of Israel through famine floated before the narrator's mind, and these two earlier Patriarchs were intended to present a type of that later history. But unless some ancient and already written legend of Abraham's journey into Egypt had come down to the Fourth Narrator, he would not have ventured so to relate it; this we are entitled, from a correct appreciation of his character, to assume. But this shows us at least how faint the memory of those earlier migrations had become in his day. So much the brighter and clearer appears in both earlier and later records the migration brought about by Joseph. Yet even here those distant times are regarded so exclusively from an Israelitish point of view, and so little notice is taken of the internal affairs of Egypt, that we are only the more anxious to compare the narrative with the accounts given of these great events by the Egyptians themselves.

Now it is clear from the fragments of Manetho, that before the Eighteenth Dynasty, whose great power and well-established rule the monuments sufficiently attest, Egypt was the scene of numerous and prolonged contests with the races called by the stationary Egyptians *Shepherds* (that is Nomads), and towards whom, as even Hebrew tradition bears witness,<sup>3</sup> they cherished for centuries a deep-seated aversion. According to the very scanty fragments quoted in Julius Africanus, and again from him in Georgius Syncellus, the Fifteenth Dynasty consisted of Phenician (that is Canaanite) foreigners, who reigned 284 years; the Sixteenth of other 'Shepherds,' who reigned 518 years; the Seventeenth of forty-three 'Shepherds' and forty-three Theban (that is, *native*) kings, reigning altogether 151

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xii. 10-20.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xxvi. 1-6.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. xlv. 34, compared with xliii.

32. Judging by the many expressive representations on sepulchral monuments, the rich Egyptians took especial pleasure in the possession of numerous flocks and shepherds. And as in the time of Hero-

dotus at least (ii. 46-47, and compare 164) only the caste of swineherds was regarded by them as necessarily unclean, and all other herdsmen held a higher position, we must limit the application of the Hebrew proverb to the free herdsmen, and to very early times, shortly after the expulsion of the Hyksôs.

years. According to the fragments in Eusebius and others, however, the Seventeenth Dynasty consisted for 106 years of Phenician Shepherd-Kings, whose personal names are given, and who are the same that were assigned by other writers to the Fifteenth. Confusions and inaccuracies, which we have not as yet means to correct with any certainty, have evidently entered here.<sup>1</sup> But we may safely infer, in general terms, a long continuance of the supremacy of the Shepherd-Kings in Egypt. Josephus, though leaving out of view the succession of dynasties, gives a detailed account, of thoroughly Egyptian complexion, concerning the Shepherd-Kings (who according to Manetho were called in Egyptian Hyksôs<sup>2</sup>). Its chief points are as follows:—The Shepherds, coming from the east, conquered the country by a sudden blow, burnt down the cities, destroyed the temples, and in general treated the inhabitants with the greatest cruelty. The first king, Salatis by name,<sup>3</sup> settled himself in Memphis, but selected Avaris, a newly-built city in the province of Sethros eastwards, on the Bubastic branch of the Nile,<sup>4</sup> as a strong place to be defended by a permanent force of 240,000 men, and also as a summer residence for himself, where he might annually review and reward the soldiers. He also fortified strongly other positions towards the east, in fear of an Assyrian invasion. This king, who reigned 19 years; Baeon, 44 years: Apachnos, 36 years and 7 months; Apophis or Aphôphis, 61 years; Janias, 50 years and 1 month; and Assis,<sup>5</sup> 49 years and 2 months; were the first six sovereigns of the Hyksôs (as if another family, also of the Hyksôs, had

<sup>1</sup> Eusebius, as we see in his Canon (*Chron.* vol. ii. p. 78, supposed the appellation Shepherd-Kings to refer to Joseph and his brethren; but was doubtless misled by the error on the part of Josephus, mentioned below.

<sup>2</sup> Many Egyptians, according to Manetho, preferred interpreting this name as *Captive Shepherds*. This perversion of the sense is evidently only a bitter jest against the former rulers of the land; as in Rosellini's *Monum. Storici*, plates xxvi-xxviii. (compare Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii. 61 sq., 87 sq., 109, 128 sq., 139 sq.), the *Shôs* are represented upon the triumphal monuments in chains; and I cannot understand how Rosellini could sanction an interpretation so irreconcilable with history. Josephus, of course, seized eagerly upon it, in order to make out that it referred to Joseph's captivity in Egypt.

<sup>3</sup> This name is such good Semitic, and corresponds so strikingly with Gen. xlii. 6, that we must suppose *Saites*, which occurs

in the other abstracts, to be a corruption of the same word.

<sup>4</sup> This Avaris is evidently the city alluded to by Georgius Syncellus, as built by the Hyksôs in the Sethroitic Nomos; and this shows that Josephus wrongly speaks of the Saitic Nomos, instead of the Sethroitic, which is on the south-west of Pelusium.

<sup>5</sup> This name is perhaps more correctly given in the other extracts as *Archles*, although Assis, like Salatis, is good Semitic (רָאִשׁ, *potentate*); and an Aziz, king of Emesa, is mentioned by Josephus, *Antiquities*, xx. 7. In the *Jewish War*, v. 9. 4, Josephus incidentally calls the king in whose time Abraham visited Egypt, Nechao. It is quite uncertain whence he took this name, which occurs nowhere else, not even in his own account in his *Antiquities*; Theophilus however (*Ad Autolycom*, ii. 45) calls the first Egyptian king after the Deluge Νεχάδδ.

succeeded them). At length, after 511 years, the kings of the Thebais and the rest of Egypt brought a long war against them to a successful issue, and the king Misphragmuthosis,<sup>1</sup> shut them up in Avaris. There, however, they entrenched and defended themselves so well that his son Tethmosis (also called Tuthmosis, Thummosis, and Thmosis<sup>2</sup>), although besieging them with 480,000 men, was forced to allow them to leave the country. They accordingly marched out without molestation, about 240,000 strong, and in fear of the Assyrians (whose power was far to the north), immediately settled down in Judea, and built Jerusalem.

This story bears, it is true, unmistakable signs of good remembrance; indeed the fragments of Manetho, even from the history of Menes the first king downwards, generally testify to a conception of occurrences very accurate for so remote a period—a sign of the extraordinarily early cultivation of letters and documentary science among the Egyptians. The great city Avaris, on an eastern branch of the Nile, which was built by the Hyksôs as a great fortified camp, indicates from its position the quarter from which they entered Egypt, offering an exact parallel to Gilgal, the strong encampment of Israel on the west of the Jordan, whence that people under Joshua and his successors subdued Canaan. The names of Judea and Jerusalem may indeed have got into the narrative only through the historical ideas about the south of Canaan current for several centuries before Manetho; for although the name Jerusalem is old (older than David), yet to our modern knowledge its combination here with that of Judea makes it very doubtful whether this element of the story dates from sufficient antiquity. But a welcome indication that the fear of the Assyrians (or northern nations) felt by the Hyksôs, was not without reason, and a hint as to what nations are to be understood under the term Assyrian, is presented in the often-quoted passage, Gen. xiv. And this historical view is corroborated not only by Ctesias in his account of an early Assyrian empire, but by many other traditions, as will be further shown below.

But Flavius Josephus, in understanding by the Hyksôs only the Israelites during their settlement in Egypt, and identifying

<sup>1</sup> In Josephus wrongly spelt 'Αλσφραγμ.; the Αλ being evidently a mistake for Μ, since Λ occurs in old Egyptian (except in the Basmurian dialect) no more than in Zend.

<sup>2</sup> The oldest pronunciation, however, must have been *Tôtmôse*, i.e. son of *Taaut*,

born of the god *Taaut* or *Tôt*. The second member is from the Coptic root *mas*, taking in the noun first a long *â*, and then modifying it into *ô*. Moses, the great leader of Israel, when grown up, probably preferred to call himself simply thus, and to drop the Egyptian god from his name.

the expulsion of these Shepherd-Kings with the Exodus of Israel under Moses, manifestly falls into great error. Not only is he thereby compelled without any sufficient ground to reject as fabulous a later account of Manetho's, but even this first account contains no single proof that Israel, at least that people alone, was understood by the name of Hyksôs; still less does it refer to Moses, or to any circumstance of the Israelitish Exodus under him. Such an assumption also confuses the whole chronology. The statement in 1 Kings vi. 1, that 480 years elapsed between the Exodus from Egypt and the commencement of the building of the Temple of Solomon, and the corresponding statement in Ex. xii. 40, that Israel sojourned 430 years in Egypt, are derived in all probability (p. 76, 81 sq.) from the Book of Origins, and consequently from very reliable sources; their accuracy is confirmed by every fresh investigation; and they constitute the only two fixed points by which all Hebrew chronology is held in its place. Putting the foundation of Solomon's Temple in one of the last decads of the eleventh century before Christ, the Exodus will fall near the end of the sixteenth century. Many of the learned, however, even before Josephus, had, for reasons to be explained shortly, pushed the date of the Exodus further back. And Josephus, whose object in the books against Apion was to establish against pagan writers of the day, the two propositions that Israel was not an offshoot from Egypt, and that it was a very ancient nation, seized with evident eagerness upon this story of Manetho's of the settlement and subsequent expulsion of the Hyksôs, because, once assuming the identity of these with Israel, he could not only represent Israel as utterly distinct from the Egyptians, but push the date of Moses back to 2,000 years before his own time.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps he might have attained all that he wished to prove in vindication of the good name of his nation, by another and a safer way; unable to find that course, he was seduced into this bypath, which deprives the early history of Israel of all its light, but secures to us some compensation in the important extracts from Manetho.

Abandoning the view of Josephus on the subject, one might suppose that the Phœnician Shepherd-Kings of whom Eusebius and Syncellus speak (and no doubt Manetho himself used this name) were to be understood in the most obvious sense of the

<sup>1</sup> That Moses lived 2,000 years before, and that 5,000 had elapsed since the Creation, is assumed by Josephus throughout all his writings; see the introduction

to his *Antiquities* and his work *Against Apion*, i. 1, 7, 8, 16. The present reading, however, in *Ant.* viii. 3. 1, certainly does not agree with these figures.

words, of an immigration of Canaanites into Egypt, perhaps at a time preceding the advance of the Hebrews into Canaan. Many isolated facts might be adduced in favour of this view, as for instance the great ethnological myth which puts Canaan, as the son of Ham, into a very close connection with Egypt (p. 239 sq.); and the 'Tyrian Camp' at Memphis, in later times,<sup>1</sup> which might perhaps be a relic left by a Canaanite population in very early times. But Manetho's second story, of which we shall speak presently, cannot be brought into accordance with this view, and even in itself the hypothesis is beset with improbabilities. The Canaanites, as far back as we can trace them in history, were not shepherd-tribes at all, but had long passed that stage of civilisation. Even such branches of them as the Amorites, who were least given to the arts and trades of cities (p. 234 sq.), never appear as nomads, or as conquering hordes such as Manetho graphically shows the Hyksôs to be. Moreover, as ancient tradition (p. 239) brought them into the land of the Jordan from quite a different quarter, so also historical indications show their constant tendency to have been still further to the west. Towards Egypt they turned with eagerness only for the sake of trade, but appear from many indications<sup>2</sup> to have always been well received there in that capacity. But this would be scarcely credible, if they were identical with the detested Shepherd-tribes. We pass over other still less probable opinions respecting the Hyksôs, propounded by modern scholars.<sup>3</sup>

I have always recognised that the Hyksôs must stand in some close relation to the Hebrews; understanding this word, however, not in its ordinary acceptation, but in the primitive sense in which, as above explained, they first appear in the land of the Jordan. Coming, according to Manetho, from the east, the Hyksôs established on the north-eastern boundary of Egypt an entrenched camp, on which they could easily fall back at any moment. They are even called, according to one

<sup>1</sup> Herod. ii. 112.

<sup>2</sup> See Is. xxiii. 3, and Jos. *Against Apion*, i. 12, with reference to later times; the earlier intercourse between the nations is attested by the frequent connection between the Egyptian and the Phœnician religious rites and usages of all kinds. A remembrance of it is even found in Greek mythology, Apollod. *Bibl.* ii. 1. 4 (where Ἑγυπῶν probably arose from the river שִׁחֲוֹר).

<sup>3</sup> Such as Rosellini's opinion that they were Scythians. He believed with Cham-

pollion that the *Shôs* of the hieroglyphics were identical with the *Shêta* (Chetæ) and that these were Scythians (*Monu. Stor.* i. 1. p. 173 sqq., ii. 1. p. 56-68). Later, however, he gradually retracted this opinion, but without arriving definitely at anything better (ii. 1. p. 433-45, 2. p. 246-58). In fact the vanquished in the illustrations (i. pl. xxvi.) look much more like people from the deserts adjoining Egypt; they are bringing gazelles as their tributary offering.

reading, *Phœnician Shepherds*, which, considering that the Greeks called all the inhabitants of Canaan indiscriminately Phœnicians, or even Palestinians, is almost identical with *Hebrew Shepherds*.<sup>1</sup> The description of them as wandering and encamping tribes, agrees exactly with the reminiscences preserved in the Old Testament of the primitive Hebrew race, gradually pushing forwards from the north-east, towards the south and Egypt; for it cannot surprise us that the Egyptians should dwell chiefly upon the offensive characteristic of the invaders, and the ravages committed by them. The six kings' names which have been preserved, differ from all the numerous names of Egyptian kings found in Manetho's long list; and not only has the first king, Salatis (i.e. *Lord*), a name easily recognised as Semitic, but even that of the great camp, Avaris or Abaris,<sup>2</sup> signifies in all probability the *Hebrew Camp*.<sup>3</sup> And they may very possibly have ruled in Egypt for several centuries without serious injury to the higher culture and science of Egyptian life. For even according to Manetho's expressions quoted by Josephus, representing the Theban (or Southern) and other Egyptian kings as in the end suddenly rising up and expelling them, they can have been only suzerains of the land, surrounded by their vassal-kings, and satisfied with a mere recognition by these of their own supremacy.

This, however, does not decide what particular Hebrew tribes are here to be understood. We must indeed at once recognise the broad fact that this conquest of Egypt, placed by Manetho (to speak in round numbers) considerably more than 2,000 years before Christ, must refer to the very earliest Hebrew migration into Egypt of which any memory has remained.

<sup>1</sup> The story of the shepherd Philitis, to whom (according to Herod. ii. 128) the Egyptians ascribed the building of the pyramids of Cheops and Chephren, from hatred to those kings, because under them he had kept sheep on that spot, would, if his name is derived from the Philistines and the tradition embodies a recollection of the Hyksôs, still only indicate the district from which the latter originally came. Perhaps the use in Ethiopic of the word ረዓይት *ra'iyt* (properly *shepherd*) for *giant*, in the Book of Enoch and elsewhere, dates from that age.

<sup>2</sup> In both places where this city is mentioned (*Against Apion*, i. 14 and 26), the reading varies between Ἀβάρης and Ἀβάρις.

<sup>3</sup> In the second passage, indeed,

Josephus adds that, according to an old Theology (i.e. the Mythology), Abaris was called the *City of Typhon*. This, however, was not intended as an explanation of the name Abaris, but only to show that the Egyptians devoted this hated city to the Evil God. Very recently the name *Ha-vâr* has actually been found on Egyptian monuments relating to the time of the Hyksôs; see De Rouge in the *Revue Arch.* 1860, p. 309 sq.; 1861, ii. p. 215; Brugsch's *Geograph. Inschriften*, i. p. 51. But the exact site of this Hyksôs-city still remains doubtful; it was certainly not the same as Tanis. Whether the name was formed from Egyptian elements may require further investigation; but to suppose that the Hebrews themselves had their name from this Avaris (as Brugsch suggests, *Geog. Ins.* i. 90), is the reverse of any possible historical truth.

We cannot therefore refer it to the immigration of the *People of Israel* into Egypt; since that appellation (see p. 341 sq.) implies a settlement of Hebrews in Canaan, which took place later; and the nation so called is represented in the Old Testament as moving from Canaan into Egypt only on the summons of Joseph—a Hebrew who had already become powerful there, when his father Israel was already old and grey. The Biblical reminiscences of Abraham's and Isaac's connection with Egypt are much more likely to have some relation to the events in question. In their present state, indeed, these reminiscences, as was shown on p. 388 sq., retain only a faint outline, and have received a strongly Mosaic colouring, both moral and historical. Moreover, the idea that the migration of the two Patriarchs was occasioned by the same cause as the later national migration to the same country, viz. a famine in Canaan, is very vague and general, since Egypt must always have appeared to the neighbouring nations a land of inexhaustible plenty. But in these early legends the two elder Patriarchs evidently stand in almost the same relation to Egypt as the third; although Abraham's rapid return, and the express Divine prohibition of Isaac's projected migration, appear like types of Israel's great migration to the same country, which also was not to result in a permanent settlement.<sup>1</sup> Abraham's migration also appears from the legend to have been from the far north to Egypt; and both Patriarchs, according to the constant tenor of this tradition, appear, even when in Canaan, to have always remained in the south, close upon the Egyptian frontier (p. 305 sq.) On the other hand, it would be an equal violation of history to understand Abraham and his family alone by this Hyksôs people. It is only in the extant Israelitish legend that he appears as the great father of all the Hebrews far and wide around Canaan. According to Genesis xiv. (p. 286 sq., 307 sq.), he was originally a powerful individual Hebrew in Canaan, like many others; in accordance with which his visit to Egypt, even in the extant legend, appears as of no great length or importance; and in the tradition, which in many ways subordinates Lot, Ishmael, and the sons of Keturah, to him, we are already prepared (by p. 309 sq.), to see nothing absolutely primitive. It would therefore seem more correct to represent the Hyksôs as comprehending all those various tribes, some small and some great, which were generally united only by their common Hebrew origin, and at that particular time also by a

<sup>1</sup> Compare Gen. xlv. 1-4 with xxvi. 1, passed under the hand of the Fourth  
2, and xii. 10-20, passages which have Narrator.



common movement southward; some of whom pressed forward into Egypt, others established themselves in Canaan and the adjacent countries; probably with many shiftings backward and forward, of which now only some faint reminiscences can with difficulty be traced; Abraham being only one among many leaders of these tribes. This view is actually confirmed by other indications. The Midianites and the Kenites, from whom Moses (as will be afterwards shown) received so much assistance in his exertions for Israel, may themselves, according to Manetho's account, have belonged to the Hyksôs formerly expelled from Egypt, and have assisted Moses the more zealously on this account. It cannot be for nothing that the oldest tradition gives to Ishmael an Egyptian mother and an Egyptian wife,<sup>1</sup> and makes him dwell on the very borders of Egypt.<sup>2</sup> Lot, moreover, according to the Fourth Narrator, accompanies Abraham into Egypt: this, if not expressly stated in Gen. xii. 10-20, is made all the more distinct in Gen. xiii. 1-18, where the old authorities have probably been more strictly adhered to.

But we must here especially call to mind (from p. 253) that Arabian tradition attributes to that people also an early conquest of Egypt. Most writers fix upon the Amalekites as the particular Arab tribe who have a claim to this renown; others the 'Adites,'<sup>3</sup> also an aboriginal tribe, but not mentioned in the Bible. Preserved as this tradition has been through Moslim writers, it certainly comes before us adulterated by the learned with Biblical ideas and incidents, which have evidently determined its special character. The Pharaohs sprung from Arabian blood, are said to have dwelt in the city *Awar*,<sup>4</sup> and to have reigned there under Jacob and Joseph, and even under Moses; the names of some are very precisely given, and sound quite Arabic no doubt, but with some foreign additions, clearly testifying to the fusion of heterogeneous elements.<sup>5</sup> It is impossible to doubt that all these stories, as they at present stand, originated in a mere desire of blending and enriching the legends of the Koran (especially that of Joseph) with other well-known histories; and this fresh zeal may have been very active even in the first

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xvi. 1, 7, 14, xxi. 9, 14, 21.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xxi. 21, xxv. 18.

<sup>3</sup> See the extracts (only too short) in Caussin de Perceval's *Essai sur l'Histoire des Arabes*, vol. i. p. 7-13.

<sup>4</sup> Abbreviated from Avaris (p. 394). Here we perceive most plainly an infusion of details from the Hyksôs story, such as a pedant would attempt; and it is actually pretended that Awar stood on the site of the later Alexandria!

<sup>5</sup> See the names in Wākidi, *Erypn. Aeg.* ed. Hamaker, p. 41, 60; Tabarî, *Chron.* i. p. 209, 210, 261, 262; Abulfid. *Hist. Antisl.* p. 30, 70, 100; Abdalhakami, *Lib. de historia Aegypti antiqua*, ed. Karle, Gött. 1856. In any case they are the names of the Pharaohs in Joseph's and Moses' times only; the name *Arslâus*, corrupted in most manuscripts into *Arâsha*, points to the Archles of Manetho.

century of Islam. Yet it cannot be denied that some memory of a former Arabian conquest and long dominion over Egypt might remain among the Arabians even in the time of Mohammed. Such memories of former greatness do not easily pass away from a nation's recollection. Upon this foundation the accounts of the Hyksôs, given by the learned in the early days of Islam, must then have been piled, and gradually mingled with the national reminiscences. It had indeed been mentioned even by Manetho, that some thought the Hyksôs were Arabs,<sup>1</sup> but important as this short comment must seem to our view of the subject, it is too incidental to have been the sole origin of the later Arabian stories. The mere names, Amalek,<sup>2</sup> and still more Ad, occurring in them may have been employed at a later time only as a designation of extreme antiquity; but they prove at the same time that these stories were not originally derived from Josephus and the Fathers of the Church.

We must therefore suppose that a great movement of nations from the north to Egypt took place in the earliest times, and carried the inhabitants of northern Arabia in multitudes thither; a movement which we can describe by no other name but *Hebrew*, and in which Abraham bore a part, although only as a small prince. This actually throws the first ray of light on the obscure relations of the early world. Internal dissensions, and the first rise of the Assyrian or rather Aramean power in the north, may have impelled the Hebrews southwards, and then driven them, conjointly with the aboriginal tribes of Palestine and northern Arabia, into Egypt, where they founded the dynasty of the Shepherd-Kings. Thus that early age may have presented the first example of those persevering and varied contests of the Asiatic nations with Egypt, which were repeated under the later Assyrians, Chaldeans, and Persians, and again under Islam by the Arabs, Persians, and Turks.

But if we consider farther, that Egyptian records always

<sup>1</sup> τινὲς δὲ λέγουσιν αὐτοὺς Ἀραβας εἶναι, Josephus *Against Apion*, i. 14. The Greek myth also connects Arabia in ancient times very closely with Egypt; Apollod. *Bibl.* ii. l. 4, 5.

<sup>2</sup> In Numb. xxiv. 20 the Amalekites are expressly called aborigines: but it is inconceivable that a passage like this, little understood or noticed at a later age, alone induced Moslim scholars to regard this people as their ancestors. It seems more probable that in حرام, compared with חֶרֶב (Job iii. 14), we possess a genuine Egyptian word preserved from

the Hyksôs period, adopted both by the Arabs and the Hebrews, though in each case with some variation in the pronunciation. For this word accords with *ἱερὰ*, excepting that it is without the Egyptian article; and is certainly derived, with the change of *p* into *m*, from *εἱρε* *sanctuary*, as the pyramids might be called, being the most ancient of sanctuaries. Not till much later did the same word with the article pass into Arabic, as *بريا* with the meaning of an ordinary sanctuary; see *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1856, p. 1069 sq.

speak of several successive Hyksôs dynasties, and ascribe to them all the same dread of the Assyrian power; and again, that the complication of nationalities in the adjacent country of Canaan, ancient as it is, must have arisen about the time when these different lines of Hyksôs bore sway in Egypt, implying great and repeated revolutions in the possession of the two neighbour-countries, we may hope to gain a still clearer understanding of these circumstances when we add all other testimonies and indications that meet us. Such details as we are able to ascertain distinctly from the general history of so many centuries may be stated somewhat as follows.

The settlement of the Canaanites in the land which ever after retained their name occurred probably about the middle of the third millennium before Christ; when Abraham entered the land they were believed to have been long settled there.<sup>1</sup> But the original inhabitants, whose Semitic dialect (see p. 383 sq.) always remained the basis of the language, may thus have been hard-pressed, and have begun to throw themselves in full force into Egypt, even before the outbreak of the struggle in the far north between the Hebrews and the Arameans, which resulted in the former pushing on farther and farther to the south-west, and ultimately conquering Egypt. Their princes, the Hyksôs, once having forced the Egyptian power in many battles far back to the south, could now hold their ground undisturbed for centuries in northern and central Egypt; and for a long time they no doubt had more contests among themselves, and against repeated assaults from Asia, than against the Egyptians. Thus they assumed more and more of the brilliant and long-established royal state of the old Egyptian Pharaohs; thinking thus, probably, to add greater security to their empire, still threatened on many sides; just as in later times the Parthian kings apparently adopted all the refinements of Greek culture. Abraham and Joseph in the Pentateuch come to the courts of apparently native Egyptian kings; yet this semblance does not make it impossible that the sovereigns then reigning in the north of Egypt may have been Hyksôs. For the reason just alleged, some blending of the native Egyptian with the more Hebraic

<sup>1</sup> The words in Gen. xii. 6, xiii. 7, cannot possibly mean to say that when Abraham entered the land it had never been unpeopled since the Deluge; for by the fundamental idea of the ancient traditions this was a matter of course with regard to the beginning of the Third Age of the world, and by Gen. xi. 1 it was only at the commencement of the Second Age that any such depopulation was conceivable.

Hence there is a contrast here between those particular inhabitants, the Canaanites, and the earlier ones whom we have described as Aborigines. And the force of the remark lies in pointing out that those worst and most hostile tribes, the Canaanites, were then already in possession. The contrast is then brought forward more clearly in xiii. 13, xv. 16.

Hyksôs civilisation was unavoidable; but beyond that, these tribes evidently retained marked peculiarities in language, customs, and religion, distinguishing them from the Egyptians, and bringing them nearer to the people of Israel, who were in many respects their followers. In fact, the peculiar culture of this evidently very enlightened youthful race, perfected in the seat of the old Egyptian philosophy and art, may be plainly traced far into succeeding centuries; though we have to regret that so little definite knowledge of them can now be recovered. From them, for instance, was unquestionably derived the Semitic name of Egypt, which must have spread from them to all other nations of that race;<sup>1</sup> and many similar instances will be hereafter noted. We can mention at once that the city Zoan (or, as the Greeks called it, Tanis), on that eastern branch of the Nile to which it afterwards gave its name, was long their seat of empire, and owed to them its greatness and its ancient renown. For the foundation and early history of this city were long remembered even in Israel;<sup>2</sup> as if this were the only Egyptian city of which the origin was so exactly known, and was preserved in as vivid remembrance as that of the oldest and most celebrated cities of Canaan. And whereas before the time of the Hyksôs this city had never been the residence of any Egyptian dynasty, it became afterwards the seat of empire for several native Egyptian dynasties, and notably so of the Twenty-first and Twenty-third. The very name of the city,<sup>3</sup> which in Semitic signifies *Wandering*, seems at once to point it out as the royal seat of the *Wandering* Shepherds, or Hyksôs.<sup>4</sup>

When later writers, on the other hand, speak of a powerful

<sup>1</sup> *Mizraim*, or according to a later abbreviation *Mizr*; see the *Jahrb. der Bibl. Wiss.* x. p. 174. Whether any of the gods common to the Phenicians and the Egyptians, as for instance the Cabiri, can be derived from the Hyksôs period, is a subject deserving closer investigation; compare Raoul-Rochette in the *Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscri.* xvii. 2, p. 373 sq.

<sup>2</sup> 'Hebron was built seven years before the Egyptian Tanis,' Numb. xiii. 22, from the Book of Origins.

<sup>3</sup> The very designation 'the Egyptian Tanis,' in the Book of Origins, suggests the existence of other cities of the same name beyond the Egyptian boundary; and in fact  $\tau\alpha\text{ν}\iota\varsigma$  is derived from the genuine

Arabic root  $\text{ط}\text{ن}\text{ن}$ , *to wander, to journey*; and this Arabic letter shows how easily the sibilant might be changed into  $\text{t}$ , though in the country itself it is preserved to the

present day in the name  $\text{ط}\text{ن}\text{ن}$ . As in Coptic also the name is pronounced  $\text{X}\text{A}\text{A}\text{N}\text{E}$  or  $\text{X}\text{A}\text{N}\text{H}$  (wholly different from the  $\Theta\text{O}\text{N}\text{I}$ , of Upper Egypt, likewise named Tanis by the Greeks), it becomes yet more improbable that it is identical with the *Avaris* noticed p. 394, as Brugsch (*Geographische Inschriften*, i. p. 88 sq.) and de Rouge think.

<sup>4</sup> To this must now be added the important excavations on the ancient site of Tanis just accomplished under Mariette; the peculiar character of the remains discovered there points to the Hyksôs, and affords additional proof of the fact, that under them Egyptian art assumed a new form, and was loved by them. Besides the references on p. 388 sq., see the *Revue de l'Instruction publique*, for April 1862, p. 25 sqq.

Assyrian empire existing in the time of the Hyksôs, and menacing them, we may leave it doubtful whether the great northern power was already known by the name of Assyria. But certain it is (see p. 311 sq.) that the Arameans were then already advancing in great strength from the north-east towards the south-west. The four allied kings, whom Abraham has to combat (p. 301, 307 sq.), and whose speedy overthrow gained him gratitude even from the Canaanites, came from the north-east,<sup>1</sup> and were doubtless bent upon a plundering incursion into Egypt. Even the more recent Armenians retain a dim remembrance that their empire began towards the end of the third millennium before Christ.<sup>2</sup> And we may fairly assume a connection between this belief and the great movements of races in those early times.

II. Under these circumstances it seems certainly at first sight less difficult to understand how the Israelites, a Hebrew people, could be transplanted to Egypt, especially if at the time of the migration the Hyksôs were reigning there; but it becomes all the harder to define accurately the external and internal conditions of the times which witnessed the lasting removal of Israel thither. There must have been something quite exceptional in the circumstances affecting that one nation, if it were only from the fact that they are known to have been able to remain long after the expulsion of the other Hyksôs; inasmuch as not only the decisive passage of Manetho (hereafter to be fully explained), on the actual Exodus of the Israelites from Egypt, but also the chronology of 1 Kings vi. 1 (discussed p. 76 sq.), together with all other indications, prove that they left Egypt at a much later time and virtually alone. But those circumstances are in truth still involved in obscurity, which we have no present means of effectually dispelling by any simple and clear testimony. In order, therefore, to work our way as near as possible to the dark centre, we must begin with the remotest point which can be ascertained with certainty, that is, with the exact chronology of Israel's migration into Egypt.

The testimony of the Book of Origins (according to p. 81 sq.) is that Israel dwelt 430 years in Egypt, Ex. xii. 40. This evidence, reliable both from its antiquity and from its position, fixes the period, if not exactly to a year, at least within a cen-

<sup>1</sup> Further proof is needed whether the position of Ellasar is correctly determined in Oppert's *Expédition scient. en Mésopotamie*, ii. p. 224. See the Persian opinion on the question in Chwolson's *Ueberrreste der Altbabylonischen Literatur*, p. 19.

<sup>2</sup> Compare St. Martin, *Mémoires sur l'Arménie*, i. p. 407 sq. Primeval relations of this kind must be the foundation of the story given by Alexander Polyhistor, that Judaea and Idumaea were daughters of Semiramis. See Stephanus Byzant. s. vv.

ture, or even ten years. It is true that a somewhat plausible objection may be urged against its accuracy. Abraham comes to Canaan in his 75th year, lives in all 175 years, and has Isaac in his 100th; Isaac lives 180 years and has Jacob in his 60th; and Jacob goes to Egypt in his 130th.<sup>1</sup> This gives 215 years,<sup>2</sup> exactly the half of the 430, as the period assigned by the Book of Origins to the residence in Canaan. This coincidence between 430 and 215 is the less likely to be accidental, since all the chronology of the Patriarchal times is evidently stated only in round numbers. But in the Alexandrian translation, as well as in the Samaritan text, we find this number 430, not bodily altered, but by an insertion in the text made to bear a totally different meaning; it being here said that 'Israel abode 430 years in Egypt *and in Canaan.*' The lives of the three Patriarchs in Canaan are manifestly here included, so that only just the half, 215 years, is left for the residence in Egypt; and thus it became the general custom with those authors who adhered to the Pentateuch,<sup>3</sup> to assign only 215 years to the sojourn in Egypt. But this reading betrays itself to be fictitious, were it only through the occurrence in it of the name Israel, which is out of place, since the residence of the first two Patriarchs in Canaan must be included in the calculation; on which account the Alexandrian Codex of the Septuagint, with the Samaritan text (consistently enough), inserts also the words 'and their fathers' after Israel. We can therefore regard this reading only as an attempt to provide an easy solution of the difficulty which the chronology appeared to present, similar to the numerous well-meant but mostly unsuccessful attempts to remove certain difficulties from history, of which the last few centuries before and the first four or five after Christ are full. It is clear that the stumbling-block in the present case<sup>4</sup> was the impossibility of reconciling the statements made in other passages of the Pentateuch<sup>5</sup> on the ages of the four successive Patriarchs:—

Levi . . . . .	137 years
Kohath . . . . .	133 „
Amram . . . . .	137 „
Moses at the Exodus . . . . .	80 „
	<hr/>
	487 „ in all

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xii. 4, xxi. 5, xxv. 7, 26, xlvii. 9, compared with ver. 28.

<sup>2</sup> 100 + 60 + 130 - 75 = 215.

<sup>3</sup> As the Apostle, in Gal. iii. 17. On the other hand, Theophilus of Antioch (*ad Autolye.* iii. 9, 24) still counted 430 years

for Israel's sojourn in Egypt; and he speaks from an extensive survey of the ages.

<sup>4</sup> This is also distinctly seen from the *Seder Olam R.* ch. iii.

<sup>5</sup> Ex. vi. 16-20 and vii. 7; compare Deut. xxxiv. 7; Numb. xiv. 34.

with these 430 years, so as to allow for the birth of Kohath before the migration,<sup>1</sup> and for the necessary subtraction of the uncertain number of years that Kohath may have lived after the birth of Amram, and Amram after that of Moses. For if the son was born in the father's 30th year, only 140 years will be left for the whole period; and even if the son was not born till the father's 65th or 70th year, only 215 years will remain. The discrepancy is all the more startling because it is the Book of Origins itself that gives all these particular data side by side with the general statement as to the 430 years. But no other inference can really be drawn from this, than that the specifications of the age of each individual Patriarch must have been derived from a source quite distinct from that of the general statement as to the length of Israel's sojourn in Egypt; and while there is every sign (see p. 23 sq., 211) that the former have passed through the stream of tradition, the latter may very probably be drawn from some more exact chronological memory, such as might be preserved in the writings even of other nations, Egyptians or Phenicians for example; since the Book of Origins knows the exact date of the building of very ancient cities, such as Hebron, and Tanis in Egypt (p. 52). So that the very contradiction between the two calculations affords strong evidence in support of the 430 years. We fall back, then, upon the full 430. This number was undoubtedly found in this place by the earliest reader whose existence we can detect with certainty, namely the Fifth Narrator, as we must conclude from his rounding off the number to 400, according to prophetic usage, in Gen. xv. 13. Besides, more complete genealogies have also been preserved, which satisfactorily prove this number of years to be the correct one.<sup>2</sup>

Here indeed we meet a new difficulty: that it is impossible to suppose the number 215 of the years of the Patriarchs' residence in Canaan to have arisen quite independently of this 430, its double. One might fancy the 430 to have originated in an intentional doubling of the 215. But if artifice is to be assumed on either side, the above remarks, as well as the pre-

<sup>1</sup> See Gen. xlv. 11, compared with verse 26.

<sup>2</sup> According to the true interpretation of 1 Chron. vii. 20-27 there were exactly ten successive generations between Joseph and the grandfather of Joshua, granting that once, in ver. 25, after וְיִשְׁרָאֵל, וְיִשְׁרָאֵל is omitted (compare Numb. ii. 18); even if the average length of each generation be re-

duced below forty years, we yet obtain the requisite 430 years. The accuracy of this list is easily explained by the high princely power of Joseph and Joshua. It was not until after the days of Moses and Aaron that the generations of Levi were noted with equal minuteness. A similar instance of the co-existence of a brief and a full genealogical table for the same period has been already noticed, p. 24 sq.

vious investigation of the Patriarchal age, leave little doubt, that the length of the three Patriarchs' joint lives in Canaan is much more probably determined from the 430 than *vice versâ*, through bisection of them, because the half of that period seemed to allow suitable and sufficient scope for the lives in question (see p. 324 sq.)

Assuming then the accuracy of the 430 years as the time of Israel's stay in Egypt, the Egypto-Israelite chronology appears to be somewhat as follows. According to Manetho's narrative (hereafter to be noticed) the Exodus of Israel took place under a king Amenophis. Now if we compare the 480 years that intervened between the commencement of Solomon's Temple and the Exodus with the Egyptian chronology according to Manetho, we find that this interval just allows for the three dynasties which reigned before King Sesonchis, the founder of the Twenty-second or Bubastic dynasty (known to us by the later history of Solomon and of Rehoboam)<sup>1</sup>; since

	According to Africanus.	According to Eusebius.
the 19th dynasty reigned	209 years	194 years
the 20th     "     "	135     "	172     "
the 21st     "     "	130     "	130     "
	<hr/>	<hr/>
being altogether <sup>2</sup>	474     "	496     "

the smaller number of years assigned by Africanus to the Twentieth dynasty (in which the length of the separate reigns is omitted by both writers) being in some measure compensated by the smaller number given by Eusebius to the Nineteenth. Even if we accept the larger total, 496 years, as the basis of our calculations, we shall not exceed the limit; since the building of the Temple was begun in the fourth year of Solomon, and Sesonchis, who only reigned twenty-one years, certainly coincides with Solomon's advanced age. Now the famous Eighteenth Egyptian dynasty, the longest and most flourishing of which we have any definite knowledge, is said by all authorities to have ended its line of sixteen or seventeen kings with Amenophis, who reigned according to Eusebius forty years, according to Africanus nineteen; a discrepancy which may be safely attributed to the transcribers only; but whatever was the length of his reign, the Israelitish Exodus can be brought within it; and we have thus a very important instance of agreement between the accounts

<sup>1</sup> 1 Kings xi. 40, compared with verse 18, xiv. 25 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Böckh (pp. 262, 313) proposes to read 114 instead of 130 in Africanus for the

Twenty-first dynasty. I do not here discuss the point, which has no great importance for our present subject.



of Manetho and those of the Old Testament; which elsewhere, as will be presently shown, appear to differ widely from each other. Now since the Eighteenth dynasty lasted, according to Eusebius 348, according to Africanus<sup>1</sup> 263 years, the migration of Israel into Egypt will fall in the very middle of the Hyksôs period; unless we follow Eusebius in reducing this to 106 years, which would certainly be too short a period, being in direct contradiction to Josephus as well as to Africanus.

This is fully confirmed by such faint indications as are contained in the early Israelite history. Israel there appears as a younger branch of the Hebraic race, making its first southward movement later than the rest, just as it afterwards entered Egypt later; and it always remained one of the principal features in the legend that Joseph had gone first to Egypt, and become the ruler of the country, before he sent for his brethren and assigned them a habitation there. In this picture of the powerful brother who prepared the way into Egypt for the Twelve Tribes, has been preserved no very obscure remembrance of the historical relation subsisting between Israel and the other Hyksôs, which we must interpret by the fuller information derived from Egyptian sources.

III. The only point therefore, of these histories, now almost faded from the knowledge of posterity, which still remains obscure, is the question how Israel, after having entered Egypt under the protection of the kindred power of the Hyksôs, escaped the expulsion from the enchanting Nile-valley which these suffered, and on the contrary was able to remain in Egypt during nearly the whole period of the powerful Eighteenth dynasty, the conquerors of the Hyksôs? This problem is not solved by assuming that Israel was simply subdued by the new conquerors, and preferred remaining in Egypt as a subject people, while their kindred tribes preferred entire expulsion, or, if we choose so to consider it, a return to their former seats in the east. For although the Israelitish history says much of Egyptian bondage, yet it speaks not as if this had subsisted and been legally recognised for centuries, but as if it were a

<sup>1</sup> Here, however, he is certainly mistaken. On the arguments which have been recently revived against the numbers 430 and 480, I have spoken in the *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1850, p. 817 sqq.; 1851, p. 425 sqq., 1858, p. 1448 sqq. Much weight has been given to the work of Engelstoft (*Historia Populi Judaici Biblica usque ad occupationem Palaestina ad relationes peregrinas examinata et digesta*. Havn. 1832) as having proved that Moses did not leave

Egypt till 1350, and that the time of Israel's abode in Egypt did not exceed about 100 years; but I find it weak and unsatisfactory. Recently, however, Vic. de Rougé and Brugsch have adopted the opinion of Bunsen and Lepsius, that the Exodus occurred in the year 1314 a.c., which would also make the entire Hyksôs period begin much later; but positive proof of this is still wanting. See *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1858, p. 1448 sqq.

capricious innovation on the part of 'a king who knew not Joseph,' and against which Israel rose at last in indignant resistance. And the actual Exodus of Israel is represented—especially, be it noted, by the oldest narrator<sup>1</sup>—as effected by a fully equipped and disciplined army. But how could a nation which had been thoroughly enslaved for more than three centuries march out all at once in perfect martial array? in Egypt, too, whose defenceless inhabitants have never risen with any success against a power holding the whole country, except under favour of great internal dissensions? Moreover, the Israelitish traditions make not the slightest allusion to any breach among the Hebraic races in Egypt, through which, whether by coercion or by a voluntary act, Israel alone among these might have been brought to side with the Egyptians. The essence of the Israelites' tradition on the commencement of their connection with Egypt is simply that Joseph, already settled with his sons in Egypt, in the service of a royal house whose manners at least were strictly Egyptian,<sup>2</sup> calls the rest of his kinsfolk out of Canaan, to establish themselves honourably in Goshen, the easternmost province of Egypt.

If we try to combine all this into a consistent scheme, the following is almost the only conception which, in the absence of further direct testimony, we can form of these occurrences. The smaller part of the Israelite nation, distinguished in the extant tradition by the name and fame of Joseph, and consisting essentially of the two tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh, afterwards separated, migrated to Egypt first, under the rule of the Hyksôs, and the 430 years of the residence in Egypt may be supposed to go back to this commencement of the Israelitish migration. Perhaps it may also be assumed as certain that the tribe of Benjamin took part in this first migration, partly because this seems obscurely indicated by one incident of the existing narrative,<sup>3</sup> and partly because the tribe of Benjamin was especially in the very earliest times closely connected with Joseph. Joseph indisputably did much for the education and elevation of his people, and was also a real potentate in Egypt; as is implied by his very name, the original meaning of which answers exactly to the Latin Augustus.<sup>4</sup> Not for nothing did his people at the

<sup>1</sup> Ex. xiii. 18.

<sup>2</sup> Even if we attach no weight to such isolated indications as the Egyptian word in the royal command in Gen. xli. 43, the whole tone of the narrative would lead to the same conclusion; especially the antipathy then entertained by the Egyptians

against the Shepherds, xli. 34.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. xlii. 15 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> Explained independently of the two interpretations given in Gen. xxx. 23, 24; which are merely deduced from the general spirit and connected meaning of the existing story, as shown above, p. 377 sq.

Exodus carry his mummy with them as a sacred relic, and carefully preserve it, until after the conquest of Canaan it could be interred at Shechem,<sup>1</sup> which was for centuries a gathering-place of the congregation. But his position as the father and only hero of a tribe most important in early times may have been determined later, on account of his historical greatness, and the benefits conferred by him on the nation generally and his own tribe in particular (see p. 382 sq.) What adventures befell him in Egypt, before he became ruler there and drew all Israel after him, will probably never be determined by strict history. The wrong which he is said in the legend to have endured there, the imprisonment from which he was summoned to Pharaoh, may very possibly have been due to some other cause than the enmity of Potiphar's wife, which we shall see to have been woven into the history only by the Fourth Narrator. For the assumption, which naturally results from the historical relations of parties as explained above, that this smaller part of the Israelite nation became involved in serious contests with the kindred Hyksôs, resulting in danger and distress to themselves, would at once explain how, on the expulsion of the Hyksôs, they would side with the king of Egypt, and their leader Joseph confer the greatest benefits upon Pharaoh and the country, and yet not consider that he had put the crowning stroke to his work, till he had attracted the remaining and stronger portion of his own people to the eastern frontier of Egypt. As the Romans during their career of victory and defeat gladly employed Germans against Germans, so to the new Egyptian dynasty nothing could well have been more welcome, on the expulsion of the Hyksôs, than to have one vigorous uncorrupted Hebrew tribe to use against the others. The Hyksôs, who had fled back to the east, doubtless still hovered long on the frontiers, only biding their time to renew their incursions; and the nature of the situation, as well as the frequent allusions to such battles discovered on the Egyptian monuments, make it certain that the struggle was very prolonged. Joseph may then, with the sanction of the king of Egypt, have adopted a measure identical with that of the modern Military Frontier, which proved the only efficient defence to the civilisation of Europe against the Turks, summoning Israel in a body out of Canaan, and establishing them in Goshen as a frontier-guard of the kingdom against any new attacks of the Hyksôs.

This view is favoured by all the historical indications, and

<sup>1</sup> According to the earliest historical work : Gen. l. 25 ; Ex. xiii. 19 ; Josh. xxiv. 32 ; compared with Gen. xlviii. 22.

opposed by none. The land of Goshen may certainly, as is said in the extant stories, be a very suitable part of Egypt for a pastoral people; <sup>1</sup> but it was evidently chosen for Israel as being the frontier province towards the east, and an advanced post on the side of the Arabian desert, whence the Hyksôs might easily renew their incursions. It has been already shown (p. 379) that the Israelites were in early times very warlike and powerful; and so when making their final Exodus from Egypt they appear well equipped for war (p. 405). It will soon be apparent that the whole course and close of the history of Israel in Egypt can be satisfactorily understood in no other way.

#### B. JOSEPH ACCORDING TO THE ISRAELITE TRADITION.

The Israelite tradition, however, now lies before us in a highly elaborated form, which does not connect the migration to Egypt with the affairs of the great world, as was probably done by those who lived nearer the time. During the best ages of the religious life and thought of Israel, a deep mystical idea gradually connected itself with the memory of that extraordinary son of Jacob, and transfigured his history into the form in which we have it. One characteristic impulse of the true religion, which in Israel gradually penetrated the life and spirit of the people, was to foster the feeling for domestic affection and virtue. In the light of that religion, the domestic instincts of every home became glorified. So also the warm sense of mutual relationship in the larger home of the community and the nation naturally assumed in this people a strength proportioned to their religious isolation. To the Israelite, therefore (see p. 290 sqq.), the world of the Patriarchs became a sort of grand ancestral hall, in which he sought and found the best types of all forms of domestic virtue. But there the brightest types are generally the fathers and mothers. Not till Joseph was the type of the best of brothers and the closest fraternal union found:—standing, however, near enough to the age of the Patriarchs (see p. 387) to be similarly glorified by the light of their religion. At the call of the one brother who has risen to high station in Egypt, his ten or eleven brothers come with their families to the fertile land of Goshen, under the protection of Pharaoh:—this is the simple fundamental idea, the memory of which has been always preserved. The fortunate exchange of a region so uncertain in its produce as Canaan

<sup>1</sup> Little more than this is implied by the expressions in Gen. xlv. 18, 20, xlvii. 6, 11, compared with xlv. 10, xlvii. 28, xlviii. 1-4.

for one of so much more constant fertility as Egypt; the invitation of the powerful Egyptian brother, joyfully obeyed by all; the happy re-union in Egypt;—these simple ideas are the most prominent features of a tradition, which manifestly originated not with the Egyptians nor with Joseph, but in the midst of the great multitude, first settled by Joseph in Egypt, and afterwards trained under a higher religion: for theirs are the feelings which it reflects. It is true, some more immediate cause of this migration of an entire nation into Egypt is still required; and this is found in an emergency which might occur not once only but very often. Since Egypt is known far and wide through all surrounding countries as a land of exuberant fertility and resources which no famine could ever utterly exhaust, and since in those early times, as in later years, its garners doubtless often averted famine from the neighbouring countries, it was natural to think of Joseph, the Egyptian minister, as a careful manager, providing for the wants of many lands, and calling his own people into Egypt during a long-continued famine; as if thus to secure them for all future time against any possible recurrence of such scarcity. This plainly shows with what feelings the dwellers in Canaan from the very earliest times regarded the rich corn-fields of Egypt; and it is quite in accordance with this feeling, but at the same time most characteristic of the Mosaic religion, that the Fourth Narrator has transferred this same innocent motive to Abraham's and Isaac's expeditions into Egypt also (p. 389).

It is curious to observe what capabilities of expansion were latent in this simple basis of old tradition; and still more so to see into what grand proportions this tradition at length unfolded itself in the warm sunshine of such a religion as the Mosaic. Since the heads of the Twelve Tribes are to be regarded as brothers, whereas Joseph must be thought of as far surpassing the others, it may easily be conceived what tempting opportunities were here offered for working up the old legend of the migration of the tribes at Joseph's bidding into a picture of fraternal and domestic life. And any established notions of the mutual relations of the tribes, which were formed in the Post-mosaic times, might naturally contribute to give a definite outline and life-like colouring to the old tradition of Joseph; just as Jacob and Esau are depicted in the legend with the characteristic traits of the races which they severally represent (p. 300 sqq.) And so it is most instructive to observe, through what successive stages the history of Joseph must have passed before it attained the mature and attractive form in which it has become an heirloom of the human race, and may serve both as

a beautiful monument of antiquity and as a testimony to the old Hebrew genius.

But as with regard to Abraham (p. 301 sqq.) we found one ancient fragment preserved which throws a clear light on the real nature of his history, so respecting Joseph we have in the Blessing of Jacob (Gen. xlix. 22-26), at least one poetical passage which seems to speak to us from a far more distant time:—

*Joseph is son of a fruitful vine,  
Son of a fruitful vine by a well,  
With exuberant branches upon the wall.<sup>1</sup>  
Then they envied him, and shot,  
And assaulted him, the men of arrows:  
But his bow abode in strength,  
And the arms of his hands were kept nimble,  
From the hands of the Mighty One of Jacob,  
From there where is the Shepherd of the Stone of Israel,<sup>2</sup>  
From the God of thy father—may he help thee,  
And from the Almighty—may he bless thee,  
With blessings of the heaven above,  
Blessings of the deep that lieth below,  
Blessings of breast and womb!<sup>3</sup>  
Thy father's blessings overtopped the summit of the everlasting  
mountains,  
The bounds of the ancient hills:  
May they come upon Joseph's head,  
Upon the head of the Crowned among his brethren!<sup>4</sup>*

The diction of these lines certainly bears the stamp of extreme antiquity. The language itself here moves laboriously, and is

<sup>1</sup> The *fruitful vine* פֶּרֶת alludes not to Rachel, but to Ephraim, as is evident from the general spirit of this blessing; we must moreover decide to read בְּנוֹת צִקְרָה *daughters*, i.e. *branches, shoots* of growth, of exuberance. The very commencement thus transports us only into the landscape of greatest fertility—the land of Ephraim; this luxuriant soil drew upon him the envy of his most powerful brothers.

<sup>2</sup> I.e. from heaven, from whence the Shepherd's God, adored at the sacred stone (p. 343, 354), stretched down his mighty hands to uphold the hands of Joseph in battle. See also Ex. xvii. 12; פֶּן here is the opposite of כָּבֵד there, and would not be suitably combined etymologically with פֶּן = פֶּן iron. The same phase of thought continues in verse 25, and then breaks suddenly into a distinct prophecy of future blessing. Probably instead of שָׂרִי we ought to read, with the Samaritan text שִׁי אֵל.

<sup>3</sup> I.e. blessings of fruitfulness in every quarter—on the soil through rain and dew and springs of water, and on animal nature, both man and beast. All this lies concentrated in the words of these three little lines. Equally pregnant with blessing is the whole speech.

<sup>4</sup> As if this blessing of fruitfulness upon Joseph were still inadequate, the infinite blessing bestowed upon Jacob himself is finally invoked by him upon his son. The second בְּרַכָּת must be combined with בִּלְעָם *apocryphos*, and is chosen only for the play upon the word. Moreover הוֹרִי עֵד is to be read, תְּאוֹנָה to be derived from תָּאוָה (see my *Lehrbuch*, § 186 b, p. 481). The words might indeed be supposed susceptible of the following meaning:—‘The blessings of thy father surpass the blessings of the eternal mountains, the joy (according to the meaning elsewhere borne by תְּאוֹנָה) of the everlasting hills,’ i.e. perhaps, all the fruitfulness of mountains and hills; and a still

weighed down as it were with redundance, to a degree which we find in no other of the oldest lyric fragments extant; and the words are stranger, the images bolder and sharper, than we meet with elsewhere. The complexion of the language and poetry thus transports us into the remotest antiquity, and assures us that these lines, if not literally spoken by the dying Patriarch, but by the usual poetic artifice put into his mouth by another, must yet proceed from some poet of the time before Moses.<sup>1</sup> And the substance of the lines takes us back into the immediate presence of those early days. We here observe at the very outset that Joseph is put into the closest connection with the ancient tribe of Ephraim, but in a sense quite different from that afterwards received (p. 382 sq.); while the concluding words bring Jacob before us as a prince possessing a power and dignity of which the ordinary histories would never allow us to suspect the existence. Also what is said of God, as the '*Shepherd of the Stone of Jacob*,' breathes the spirit of Premosaic times. But the most remarkable part is the clear and circumstantial declaration about Joseph himself. As Joseph had been from the first the most highly blest, and subsequently enabled by Divine help to triumph over the assaults of enemies whom that very prosperity embittered against him, the Patriarch wishes for him not only all earthly blessings, but the continuance of those far higher spiritual gifts which he had himself enjoyed; in token of which he calls him the *Crowned among his brethren*, thereby designating him as his own successor. Such is the simple meaning of these words, which have been often considered obscure. But in this exaltation of Joseph above his brethren, it is of course implied that the powerful warlike antagonists over whom he triumphed at length, were no others than his brethren.<sup>2</sup> The contests must therefore have been very different

closer connection might be thus imagined between the blessings in verse 25, and those in verse 26. But the play on the word would then be very obscure; and a word such as תַּשׁוּבָה *desire, joy*, cannot be merely identical with fruitfulness of soil; and it would also be unsuitable to speak of the blessings possessed or *dispensed* (if we were so to understand the word) by the father, as surpassing those mentioned in verse 25, which proceeded directly from God. Very pointed, however, is the intimation conveyed in these final words, of the extraordinary dignity and power formerly possessed by Jacob, and which was now to descend to Joseph.

<sup>1</sup> The whole Blessing of Jacob, as given in Gen. xlix., dates indeed (according to

p. 69 sqq.) from the age of Samson, and is therefore comparatively very ancient; but the special declaration about Joseph is so obviously distinct in its whole tone and manner from all the others, that we must consider it much older than they, and even as the model and earliest known example of this species of poetry. Similarly in the Blessing of Moses in Deut. xxxiii. also, it is the passage about Joseph (verses 13-17) which must evidently have been borrowed by the poet of that song from some composition of earlier date, though less ancient than that which we are now considering. See the *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1862, p. 1192 sq.

<sup>2</sup> This must not be referred to the struggles between the tribes in the time

from that spiteful boys' play among the brothers of which we hear in the history of Joseph's boyhood; and these ancient words transport us into the midst of the most ancient contests among the tribes of Israel, in their harsh undisguised reality. And it is just possible that we may trace here some foundation for the notion which very curiously is expressed by the late writer Artapanus,<sup>1</sup> that Joseph, being oppressed by his brethren, himself implored some neighbouring Arab tribes to take him with them into Egypt. This is the simplest possible version of the story; it is one which indicates most plainly a connection between Joseph and the Hyksôs; and is the easiest to harmonise with the account given by the Third Narrator of the Midianite merchants, who carried Joseph into Egypt. And thus, as the Third Narrator often follows the earliest, it may possibly be derived from the very oldest authority.

But the poetical passage in question, above all others, here deserves our closest attention. In these lines and in Lamech's song (mentioned p. 267) we possess the only existing relics of the Hebrew poetry of the Premosaic period, and may see from them how very early the art originated in that race. Their poetry was even then essentially the same as regards mere form, that we find it from the times of Moses and David; but how different the spirit which pervades it! especially in Lamech's song, which dates perhaps from a time before Abraham, and may be a genuine popular song, brought by the race from their last dwelling-place in the north. But even in Jacob's words we meet at every step a spirit which transports us into the life of the old Premosaic age, and can even obtain a near view with our own eyes of the possibility of the formation of such oracles. That the spirit of a great father hovered invisible over his children after death with a power as indestructible as had been his influence during life, and that the three Patriarchs especially were still very near to their people, held by the mystic bond of a glorified fellow-life and sympathy,—was a faith which, as we have seen (p. 296), was long and firmly held by the nation, even after the transformation of their ideas by Moses. But this faith must have possessed the greatest force in the early ages, before either the mind of the individual or the soul of the nation had raised and concentrated itself upon the full reality and glory of the God who not till later, through Moses, became the one great possession of Israel. Among the Egyptians, a

of the Judges; this would only be possible far earlier age.

if the poet were the same who wrote the blessings on the other tribes in Gen. xlix., but not if these lines are derived from a

<sup>1</sup> Eusebius, *Præp. Ev.* ix. 23; see below, II. p. 89.



similar belief in the unquenchable vitality of the spirits of the mighty Dead, led early to the Oracle of the Dead; which from all indications appears to have attained its earliest and fullest development in that land of magic, and to have propagated thence its elaborate arts, and of course also its early degenerate superstitions, over the adjacent countries. It is a sign of the higher religion aspired after in Israel from the time of Abraham, that among them in Egypt itself we find, instead of those vulgar oracles, this eagerness to hear the voice of the resuscitated Patriarch, which was most to be expected when the weal or woe of the whole people was at stake. So it was in the earliest ages that such words of Jacob would most naturally be expected. All the various declarations in a similar sense put by later poets and poetical narrators into the mouth of Jacob and other Patriarchs,<sup>1</sup> are only imitations, which were continued through many centuries, until in yet later times such revelations were daringly attributed to Moses,<sup>2</sup> and to other saints of still more recent date.<sup>3</sup>

But the words of Jacob which we have just been considering, bear witness in this connection to the greatness attributed to this Patriarch also. For when it is here said in antique words and figures that the Divine blessings granted him were 'high as the hills,' we gain an idea such as is now attainable nowhere else, of the historical importance and power of this Patriarch; and this most ancient and independent testimony adds no little weight to the series of evidence already brought forward (p. 342 sqq.) upon his history.

Returning now to the ordinary history of Joseph in order to investigate its component parts, we discover the following facts:

I. Of the Earliest Narrator's history of Joseph only some fragments remain;<sup>4</sup> and these relate only to the issue of the

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xlix. 1-21, 27; then passages such as Gen. xii. 1-3 by the Fourth, and xxvii. 27-29, 39, 40 by the Fifth Narrator of the primeval history; as has been already fully explained, p. 104 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Deut. xxxiii, comp. p. 128 sq.

<sup>3</sup> In Daniel. All this constituted a special branch of poetical and finally of literary art among the people of Israel. That these outpourings, as conceived by their own authors, are not to be understood in a coarse literal sense, is shown by the fact that such a writer does not scruple at times to abandon the poetic style, and speak in plain prose. Thus this very Earliest Narrator of the primeval history, after giving Jacob's words on his twelve sons, immediately, and with ex-

press reference to those words, speaks of the twelve Tribes, as if in explanation of his own more elevated language, Gen. xlix. 28.

<sup>4</sup> They are here interwoven with the words of the Book of Origins, Gen. xlv. 28-30, xlviii. 7, 22, l. 24-26; sentences the whole phraseology of which is quite antique, and perfectly different from that of the Book of Origins. Compare also Ex. xiv. 6 with Gen. xlv. 29; Ex. xiii. 19 (a sentence connected with verses 17, 18) with Gen. l. 24-26. The same early document is also occasionally recognisable in single words; in מִיָּטֵב Gen. xlvii. 5, 11 (whereas מִיָּטֵב in xlv. 18, 20), compared with Ex. xxii. 4 [5] *bis*; and in הוֹרֵק after-

story, and give us no information how Joseph first came into Egypt, or sent for his brothers thither. The most important fact concerning this history is the statement that Jacob sent Judah on before, to show him the way to Goshen;<sup>1</sup> which is difficult to reconcile with the account given by the Third and Fourth Narrators, of Joseph's sending chariots to meet him, since if these were sent the precaution of sending Judah on before was unnecessary. But the First Narrator's account certainly does not require the assumption of a previous journey into Egypt on the part of all the brothers. We are told by this author that Joseph had disappeared from Canaan, and that his aged father never saw him again till he met him in Egypt.<sup>2</sup> But how any tidings of him first reached his kindred in Canaan, or why he summoned them into Egypt, the writer does not inform us.

From the Book of Origins, indeed, several rather long fragments of this history have been preserved;<sup>3</sup> and here we find the migration of all the tribes of Israel attributed to a protracted famine under which both Canaan and Egypt suffered.<sup>4</sup> And here the peculiar characteristics of this author are plainly visible: with his keen eye for the affairs of empires and nationalities and his admiration for legislative wisdom in their rulers, he makes Joseph his ideal statesman, careful at once for the weal of populous nations, and for the consolidation and increase of the royal authority, and winning his best victories through the combination of these seemingly opposite aims. By providently storing up in his garners supplies of corn sufficient for many years of possible scarcity, Joseph was enabled not only to secure to the people the present means of existence and the possibility of better times in future, but to establish a more solid organisation of government, such as a nation is very loth to accept, except in a time of overmastering necessity. The character of Egyptian government from early times

wards very frequent, but foreign to the Book of Origins, Gen. xlii. 34; see Levit. xviii. and *supra*, p. 94 sq.

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xlii. 28. The LXX. felt the difficulty here, and endeavoured to overcome it by transposition of words and a freer translation, as is shown on Heroopolis, Vol. ii. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xlii. 29, 30.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. xlii. 5-xlvii. 26, xlviii. 3-7, xlviii. 22-xlix. 1. 12, 13, 22-26; these passages being understood with the limitation explained above. The words מִן־לֶחֶם xlvii. 23 and מִן־לֶחֶם xlvii. 22, 26, surprise us in the Book of Origins; and the latter may perhaps indicate that the Latest Narrator

partially rewrote some sentences.

<sup>4</sup> Whether any certain notice of this famine and of the Israelite immigration will ever be recovered in the early Egyptian literature, it is difficult to say. But something bearing the same general character has been already discovered: see Brugsch, *Histoire d'Égypte*, i. p. 56, 63; Samuel Birch in Heidenheim's *Deut. Vierteljahrsschrift für Engl. theol. Forschung*, 1861, p. 245-247; and many expressions of opinion by De Rougé, as in the *Revue Archéol.* 1860, p. 94. The seven years' famine in Egypt through dearth of rain, mentioned in Ovid's *Art of Love*, i. 647 sq., are certainly derived from the Bible.

had its origin in the peculiarity of the soil itself, which renders it necessary for the ruling power to take into its own hands the charge of irrigation and other fertilising measures, in order to win from it a greater productiveness than is possible to the limited means and capricious treatment of individual cultivators. The latter thus become peculiarly dependent on the government, and may then be regarded almost as mere hereditary tenants of their lands, which they hold on consideration of constant and heavy dues paid to the state ; but at the same time their own best interests are evidently thus promoted, as the same plan has been maintained in Egypt under every change of dynasty. And this was indeed only the earliest establishment of a system the essential principle of which is eventually adopted in every organised state: the only difference being whether alongside of this growing dependency of the individual upon the ruling power, which inevitably accompanies the growing power of the nation, the constitutional freedom of the community and the individual is or is not carefully preserved and exercised. The Book of Origins, therefore, in relating how Joseph took advantage of the pressure of famine to offer great relief in the terms of tenure, and as an equivalent therefor to persuade the Egyptians to dwell in organised town-communities, and to bring them into the position of tenants, holding their land and other possessions from the king, and paying him yearly the fifth of the produce, the land of the priests (which was regarded as holy, that is, immediately derived as a special gift from the gods) being alone excepted,<sup>1</sup> says essentially the same as is reported at a much later date by the Greeks;<sup>2</sup> only that these exempt the lands of the warrior-caste also from this law, and refer the authorship of the law itself not to Joseph, but to no less a name than the celebrated ancient king Sesostris. As to the latter point, however, there seems at present no reason to give up the tradition contained in the Book of Origins in favour of this far more modern Greek version of the story. It is very probable that this new constitution of the kingdom took place immediately after the expulsion of the Hyksôs. And the wisdom for which Joseph was celebrated is not likely to have consisted only in his having induced the Israelites to settle in the country ; such an enterprise as the peaceful settlement of a foreign race among the Egyptians implies in itself a long preceding series of well-considered measures for the benefit of the kingdom ; and perhaps the Israelites were stationed on the eastern frontier quite as much as a protection against any possible internal disturbances as against the expelled Hyksôs.

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xlvii. 13-26.

<sup>2</sup> Herod. ii. 168 ; Diod. i. 73.

But to accuse Joseph of promoting by this means the establishment of an arbitrary and cruel system of government is a folly which has been already sufficiently disposed of.<sup>1</sup>

This historian, however, gives no particulars as to the duration of the famine in Egypt, but relates the great change effected by Joseph in the internal administration of the kingdom, with as much minuteness as if nothing had been previously said of the seven years. On occasion of the settlement of Israel in Egypt likewise, no mention is made of the seven years of famine. On Joseph's call the Twelve Tribes came to the eastern frontier; then only does he inform the king of them, of their ways of life, and the advantage which he may derive from their services, as good shepherds and guardians of the royal flocks;<sup>2</sup> and not till this moment do they receive the royal sanction to their settlement; just as if what is said in xlv. 17 sqq. had not been said at all. Moreover they come not solely on account of the famine, but with a definite and permanent position and occupation in view. Since all this is tolerably sufficient to render the whole story intelligible, it is probable that neither the Book of Origins, nor the yet older historian whom it here evidently closely follows, had described the commencement of Joseph's history with anything like the minute and graphic detail which our extant account possesses; and it is certainly not the result of chance that the oldest notices of Joseph contained in the long piece of narrative now extant are introduced towards the end.

The 'seventy souls,' who according to the Book of Origins went with Jacob into Egypt, may probably be understood to have originally signified the number of the heads of the assembled people. The number seventy or seventy-two naturally suggests this.<sup>3</sup> But this book, dealing with the whole subject of the

<sup>1</sup> The Hebrew historian has obviously no partiality for this heavy Egyptian land-tax, nor for the Egyptians themselves, who submitted to it because they had no help against it. But as the nation, so is the ruler; and where the nation is helpless, it must be content with whatever help the ruler will give. In Israel itself, the administration and taxation were quite different; and the Book of Origins here only intends once more to explain a curious origin.

<sup>2</sup> That this post was very important, and might be regarded as one of the places about court, is evident from the general character of the courts of ancient kings. Compare 1 Chron. xxvii. 26-31 with Gen. xlvii. 6.

<sup>3</sup> See my *Antiquities*, p. 247 sqq. It

is curious what internal contradictions have crept into an enumeration evidently calculated at first with great exactness, Gen. xlvii. 8-27. There ought to be 70 souls; but in verse 15 we should have to take 33 to be a slip of the pen for 32; since to add the father Jacob to these 32 contradicts the distinct words of verse 15, according to which only the sons and daughters (that is, all the children) of Leah are intended to be comprised here. The reckoning is also unnecessarily perplexed by a second mention of Joseph's sons in verse 27 after that in verses 19-22; for we see from the number 66 given in verse 26, that Joseph himself ought also to be omitted from the previous enumeration. We must, therefore, suppose that the calculation was made originally

migration merely as a passage of early Israelitish history, and with reference only to the progenitors of the future nation, enumerates exactly as many names of Jacob's children and grandchildren as will, with Jacob's own, make up this round number. For this purpose the author doubtless employed the ancient family-pedigrees, admitting, however, in order to produce the round number, many a name which in his own time had become obsolete. This at least would fully explain the discrepancies between this as an antiquarian account of the ramifications of the tribes<sup>1</sup> and the legal enumeration elsewhere given in the Book of Origins,<sup>2</sup> and especially how to Benjamin ten families are assigned in the former and only six in the latter (see p. 368).

II. It seems from all indications to have been the Third Narrator whose lofty prophetic genius first threw over the history of Joseph that attractive spiritual dress, which made it the never-failing delight of later readers, and led to various attempts to elaborate it still further in the same style.

That Joseph, either as a tribe or as the father of a tribe, very early disappeared from Canaan, and then in Egypt unexpectedly rose to great power, which turned to the advantage of all the tribes of Israel, had been, as we have shown, a long-established tradition. Various replies may perhaps have been given to the question, how and why he vanished from Canaan; but none would appear to the notions of that day so satisfactory as that which found the reason in the quarrels of jealous brothers: since the internecine feuds of the tribes had never within the memory of man been quite laid to rest, and burst out with especial fury just after the time of Solomon. We seem here to recognise the expression of a feeling which agitated the better heart of the Northern Kingdom,—a lament for the lot of Joseph, their hero; who, in spite of the preeminence which was his by birth and gifts, was pursued by the jealousy of his brethren, and by their treachery driven into banishment, to the inexpressible grief of his aged father. The narrator himself probably belonged to the northern kingdom; as may be inferred, not only from the great elaboration and peculiar distinctness given to this particular legend of Joseph the hero of that kingdom, but also from the circumstance, that among the other brothers he assigns the principal part not, like the other narrators, to Judah, but to

somewhat differently, and that the total ought properly to be 72. Supposing the right number in ver. 15 to be 33, and consequently one of Leah's offspring to be omitted, we have exactly 70 children, sons

and daughters of Jacob; and with Jacob and Leah 72.

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xlv. 8-27; comp. Ex. i. 1-5, vi. 14-27 (p. 81 sq.)

<sup>2</sup> Numb. xvi.

Reuben.<sup>1</sup> The conception which this writer formed of the brothers' treachery seems from all intelligible indications to have been as follows. The brothers, among whom the sons of the father's concubines bore a peculiar hatred towards the nobler born son, were going to kill him, but at the suggestion of Reuben, who hoped secretly to rescue him, only threw him into a pit. When they were gone, some Midianite traders, coming from the other side of the Jordan, heard his cries, pulled him out of the pit, and carried him secretly into Egypt to sell him as a slave.<sup>2</sup> This must have been the simplest form of the conception of Joseph's history which we are considering; leading at once to the story of Joseph's unlooked-for elevation from a servile condition to a position of high authority in Egypt; and we have every reason to consider this Egyptian legend of Joseph's servitude as the oldest basis of his story (p. 406 sq.) And in this version the thread of the narrative runs on naturally, telling how it happened that Joseph was sold to the Captain of the Executioners, who as such was governor of the State Prison, and how for his remarkable talents Joseph himself was by him put in charge of the prison, and from thence summoned before the king.

With the idea that Joseph's servitude had commenced even before he left Canaan it was quite consistent to suppose him still very young when the great experiences of life came upon him. He was seventeen years old when made captive in Canaan, thirty when he became Pharaoh's servant, says the Third Narrator.<sup>3</sup> How far this chronology accords with that of the Book of Origins cannot now be discovered with certainty, since Jacob's age at the time of his marriage, which this book in its original form probably gave, as it gave Isaac's and Esau's,<sup>4</sup> is omitted in the extant narrative. If however we may assume, as most consistent with the extant portions of the book,<sup>5</sup> that the writer supposed Jacob's marriage to have taken place, not in his seventieth year (which would follow from the first assumption), but soon after his fortieth, he must then have placed Joseph's birth, which was believed in ancient tradition to have happened twenty years after the marriage,<sup>6</sup> between Jacob's sixtieth and seventieth

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xxxvii. 21-24, 29, xlii. 22, 37, 38; on the other hand xli. 28 in the First Narrator, and xxxvii. 25-28, xliii. 3-10, xliv. 18-34 in the Fourth. This change is especially perceptible, and in itself inexplicable between xlii. and xliii. sq.

<sup>2</sup> Comp. Gen. xl. 16 with xxxvii. 28, 36. The insertion of the Midianites is cer-

tainly earlier than that of the Ishmaelites, because the latter name is more general and recent, the former much more definite and ancient, see p. 315.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. xxxvii. 2, xli. 46.

<sup>4</sup> Gen. xxv. 20, comp. 26, xxvi. 34.

<sup>5</sup> Compare Gen. xxvi. 34 with xxvii. 46-xxviii. 9.

<sup>6</sup> Gen. xxxi. 38, 41; comp. xxx. 25.

years ; whereas according to the Third Narrator it must have occurred in his ninetieth, if we assume that Jacob, as is stated in the Book of Origins,<sup>1</sup> was one hundred and thirty years old when he came to Egypt, and that only the Third and Fourth Narrators' seven years of plenty and two of famine intervene between Joseph's elevation and Jacob's arrival.<sup>2</sup> The irreconcilableness of these numbers is in truth a proof of the different origin of the narratives themselves.

The disjointed fragments of popular versions such as these of the story of Joseph now receive a new life worthy of the great subject, through one grand idea inspired by a narrator, who deserves to be distinguished from all others by the epithet of the prophetic. Through jealousy and folly the brothers would fain annihilate one whose goodness is inconvenient to themselves ; but he, by remaining always true to himself even in the depths of misery, becomes the unconscious instrument of a great deliverance which triumphs over all ills, and spreads its blessings upon all :—a glorious proof, that good, whether as the Divine will, or as the highest force of the human, is always mightier than its opposite.<sup>3</sup> To a God who thus always works out good, Joseph becomes the great instrument for good. He is therefore here not merely the great sage and the wise statesman as in the Book of Origins, but a hero of pure devoted love, and of untiring activity for the good of all. While love in its purity is thus the very essence of his own being, his severest trials are brought about by its two opposites—by the false love of his too doting father, and by the hatred of his brethren. But, remaining ever true to himself, indefatigable for good even in an Egyptian prison, he becomes finally the benefactor, not only of those who had injured him, but even of a multitude of nations. But those who have offended against perfect love, whether by false love or by hatred, cannot be restored without first passing through a severe trial. The aged father had been already sufficiently punished by the long and woeful loss of his too fondly loved son. A more humiliating expiation awaits the brothers : he who in his own life realises the true love and wisdom himself becomes the instrument of their expiation. To Joseph, without knowing him, they must have recourse in their own time of need, and must pray for mercy even when they have recognised him.<sup>4</sup> But he, with painful self-constraint and the semblance of cruelty, will not show them all his love, till he

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xlvii. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xlv. 6.

<sup>3</sup> This narrator himself indeed, at the

conclusion (Gen. l. 20), very clearly reveals the principle of his entire narrative.

<sup>4</sup> Gen. xlii, l. 15–21.

has repeatedly probed them to the quick, brought them to a voluntary confession of their sin, and made new and better men of them.<sup>1</sup>

The general conception being thus maintained at the true prophetic elevation, the separate images and incidents also are here of a prophetic character. The dream, as a prophetic power, is the mainspring which brings about the events. In a dream the boy with innocent surprise first divines his future greatness;<sup>2</sup> a dream occurs twice in the Egyptian prison and forms the turning point of his destiny;<sup>3</sup> in a dream, lastly, the whole future fate of Egypt is locked up from the king, and the interpretation of that dream opens Joseph's path to greatness.<sup>4</sup> The prominence given to this agency is, as we saw at p. 99, characteristic of this narrator; but it is also peculiarly appropriate in a picture of Egyptian life, the belief in dreams having been from the earliest times very strong among that people.<sup>5</sup>

III. This narrative, already worked up so elaborately and attractively by the Third Narrator, was again amplified by the Fourth, who, as if fascinated by its beauty, drew out some of its threads to greater length and inserted new ones. He also introduces darker colours, as when at the very outset<sup>6</sup> he represents the brothers as deliberately selling their brother. From him proceeds a new trial which Joseph has to undergo from false love of another kind, on the part of Potiphar's wife.<sup>7</sup> To insert this conveniently it was necessary to bring Joseph first into Potiphar's house, and from thence into the prison. This looks very much as if the governor of the prison whose favour Joseph enjoyed were not Potiphar but some one else. To this author is also due the prolonged suspense of the final trial of Joseph's brethren on their second journey.<sup>8</sup> Joseph's divining-cup also,<sup>9</sup> though apparently harmonising with the prophetic colouring of the Third Narrator, really belongs to the Fourth; and is found on consideration to represent a mode of prophecy very different from the dreams of the former writer.

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xlii, xlv.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. xxxvii.

<sup>3</sup> Gen. xl.

<sup>4</sup> Gen. xli.

<sup>5</sup> That narrator depicts Egyptian customs throughout with great truth of colouring; but this the Book of Origins had already done in its own way (according to p. 413 sq.); and the intercourse between Egypt and Israel was very considerable throughout the lifetime of all these four

Narrators. See de Rougé, in the *Revue Archéol.* 1862, ii. p. 389. A similar story is given by Nicolaus of Damascus; see C. Müller's *Fragmenta Hist. Gr.* iii. p. 389 (56). Moreover, nothing can be more similar than the legend of Sijavush in the Shâhnâme.

<sup>6</sup> Gen. xxxvii. 25 sqq.

<sup>7</sup> Gen. xxxix.

<sup>8</sup> Gen. xliii, xlv.

<sup>9</sup> Gen. xlv. 2, 5.



It was the Fifth Narrator by whom all these various elements were wrought into a single narrative.<sup>1</sup>

But even under the hands of these later authors the history of Joseph in one respect faithfully retains its original character, —in so far as it remains perfectly distinct in character from the stories of the Patriarchal age. Joseph's blameless character has indeed much of the Patriarchal type; being in fact much superior to Jacob's, and notably distinguished from Moses and Aaron, the greatest of his successors. But in other respects he and his brothers move within the limits of ordinary life, without any of those revelations from above which were granted to the three Patriarchs. It was reserved for far later writers in the Old Testament to ignore this distinction, and to place Joseph on a perfect equality with the Patriarchs (p. 288).

In Greek and Latin authors, with the single exception of the passage mentioned at p. 411, we find nothing respecting Joseph, but what has been either derived immediately from the Old Testament records, or naturally inferred from them.<sup>2</sup> For the invention of weights and measures, referred by Artapanus<sup>3</sup> to Joseph, is perhaps only inferred from the wise division of land and produce which as we have seen was attributed to him, although it is possible that the Egyptians may have first received a system of weights and measures from the Babylonians or some other Semitic people (p. 336). And it is only from his repute as the fertiliser of Egypt, that some old Arabic writers, expressing evidently the popular notion then existing in Egypt itself, refer to him the formation of the great water-works and canals in the Fayyum.<sup>4</sup>

But the history of Joseph, when once recorded for everlasting remembrance in the Pentateuch, could not fail to be so wonderfully attractive as to tempt writers early in the Hellenistic age to expand it anew still further in the style approved by the taste of that age. At least in the last century before Christ this history must have furnished the subject for a new ornate and imaginative treatment, on a large scale,

<sup>1</sup> From chapter xlv. the Last Narrator repeats the words of the Book of Origins, with slight alterations and additions; but the passages xlviii. 9-21, l. 1-11, 14-21, are again by the Third Narrator, and prove that he also described the deliverance out of Egypt.

<sup>2</sup> Artapanus and the poet Philo, in Eusebius, *Præp. Ev.* ix. 23 sq.; Justin xxxvi. 2, 7-10, where Moses even becomes Joseph's son; Josephus, *Ant.* ii. 2-8. Nor does the *Testamentum Sin.* ii-v. contain

anything new.

<sup>3</sup> In Eusebius, *Præp. Ev.* ix. 23. Josephus in like manner ascribes to Abraham the invention of geometry among the Egyptians (p. 336); nay, he even derives it ultimately from Cain, as the earliest tiller of the ground; *Ant.* i. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Abdalhakum's *Hist. Aegypt.* ed. Karle p. 4, 11-14. But many other ancient buildings were also ascribed to him: see Carmoly's *Itinéraires*, p. 530.

originating just where a writer might feel impelled thereto, in Egypt. This work has not yet been recovered; but Fl. Josephus quotes from it a trait which pleased him,<sup>1</sup> though without saying or apparently remembering whence he had derived it. And it was perhaps this book which made the characteristic Egyptian comparison of Joseph with Sarapis,<sup>2</sup> a demigod who only appears in the Ptolemaic age, who was described as a beautiful youth who, having been through the infernal regions, imparts to men in this upper world various gifts of healing, and also plenteous harvests,—in token of which latter character he bore on his head a corn measure and a yard measure. Other authors, misled by the similarity of name, identified Joseph the sage with Æsop.<sup>3</sup> The twelfth Sûra of the Koran,<sup>4</sup> remarkable on many accounts, contains a poetical enlargement of the legend founded primarily upon embellished versions of history, such as we find in Fl. Josephus; and this again was afterwards worked up more highly by Mohammedan writers, in their poems of 'Yûsuf and Zalfkha (Zulaikha).' These however differ so widely from the original legend in tone and feeling, that they have no claim to be regarded as true offshoots from the grand old stem.<sup>5</sup> But in later times they even showed Joseph's tomb beside the Nile,<sup>6</sup> though (according to p. 406) it must from the time of Moses have been only an empty sepulchre.

<sup>1</sup> *Ant.* ii. 4. 3-5. It deserves to be investigated whether the Syriac work treating of Joseph's history, in a Nitrian Codex in the British Museum, be an old translation of this which was in use in the time of Josephus. And the same work may probably be intended by the title, *The Words of Joseph the Just*, in the *Ascensio Jesaia*, iv. 22; or by that of *The Book of Asenath*, so called from Joseph's wife mentioned in Gen. xli. 45, xlii. 20; the commencement of which is given in Greek in the *Codex Pseudepigraphus* of Fabricius ii. p. 85-102; and which according to Dillmann's *Catal. Codd. Aeth. Musei Britan.* p. 4 is found complete in the Ethiopic Canon.

<sup>2</sup> According to Melito in Cureton's *Spic. Syr.* p. 24, 6; and something similar

even in the *Gemâra* to יוֹסֵף iii. 3; and also in Suidas, under Σάραρις. On Sarapis see Taciti *Hist.* iv. 81-84; Plutarch *On Isis and Osiris*, xxviii. sq. If he was distinguished, as Plutarch says, by the sign of the *Cerberus* and *Dragon*, the question arises whether his name is not identical with יוֹסֵף (p. 322); Egyptian it evidently cannot be; and in Pontus, whence

it passed into Egypt, such a name might be indigenous.

<sup>3</sup> See Ebedjesu in Assemani's *Biblioth. Orient.* iii. 1 p. 74 sq.; Reiske in Lessing's *Werke*, vol. xxvi. p. 355; J. Zündel, *Ésope était-il Juif ou Égyptien? Revue Archéol.* 1861, i. p. 354-69.

<sup>4</sup> See further remarks on this in the *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1860, p. 1452 sqq.

<sup>5</sup> On the other hand, Philo describes this son of Jacob, speaking the sense of the later legend, as the *Ever Young* (i. p. 309), but in his little work *On Joseph*, he gives as usual only a prolix, often cynical and rhetorical, paraphrase of the Bible narrative, and yet gives an allegorical interpretation of the first half. On principle he follows no other authorities; but yet he sometimes deviates, and makes in ch. xx. a remarkable addition. To make the narrative consistent, he also leaves out some facts entirely, e.g. the preparatory mission of Judah, mentioned p. 413.

<sup>6</sup> See Abdalhakam's *Hist. Aegypt.* p. 15, and the Rabbinical passages in Heidenheim's *Deut. Vierteljahrsschrift für Engl. theol. Forschung*, 1861, p. 248 sqq.

C. JOSEPH AS THE FIRST-BORN OF ISRAEL. CONCLUSION OF  
THE PRELIMINARY HISTORY.

The memory of that great change which took place in Israel some 430 years before Moses, took a form quite in the spirit of prehistoric tradition, in the brief and significant title given to Joseph, *The First-Born of Israel*.<sup>1</sup> 'The Crowned among his Brethren,' he had been also named in Jacob's ancient Blessing (p. 409); yet well as this expresses the ancient preeminence of that one tribe, a still deeper meaning is contained in the words, *First-Born of Israel*. Tradition, seeking a new and fitting name and idea to express every important relation among men, could here find no image so happy as the conception that Reuben originally held precedence in Israel, and Joseph afterwards came into his place—that what the former forfeited for his arrogance (p. 373 sq.) the latter gained by wisdom and faithfulness. Nor let it be understood as referring only to the mortal individual Joseph; for it is the tribe of Joseph which remained the leading race, from the Egyptian period until many centuries after the time of Moses, and whose preeminence, gained in those early days, became so completely incorporated with the national life, as to give its peculiar impress to the later history. When Judah rose in later times to such importance among the twelve tribes as might have entitled him equally to the designation *First-Born*, the primitive modes of thought and expression had so far passed away, that such a title was scarcely likely to be applied to him.<sup>2</sup>

Reuben, the natural *First-Born of Israel*, whose right, even when he had trifled it away, could not be forgotten; Joseph, whose exalted virtues won for him the forfeited place; Judah, to whom in fact though not in name the honour finally fell: these three figures may be regarded as typifying three great periods of Israelite history, the first two of which belong to the dim twilight of the prehistoric age. And how long must even the first of these national conditions have endured, to impress its remembrance on the national mind, indelible through all the changes and convulsions of later years!

At the close of the prehistoric period of Israel, we may consider that this much at least has been made evident—that if

<sup>1</sup> This is referred to as early as in the very ancient passage, Gen. xlviii. 22; but also in the often retouched Blessing of Jacob, in Deut. xxxiii. 17, we find an allusion to it in the phrase, a *firstling*

*bullock*. See also 1 Chron. v. 1, 2.

<sup>2</sup> As is in fact expressly stated in 1 Chron. v. 2, compared with 2 Sam. xix. 44, according to the reading of the LXX.

only we diligently seek and rightly apply all the means at our command, many most important historic truths may be recovered even from that distant age. We have not telescopes of sufficient power to discern and describe each single star among the glittering multitude of that distant heaven; yet some single stars begin to shine with greater brilliancy, if we will but refrain from gratuitously throwing dust into our eyes. And it is not impossible that we may yet discover still more as we gain by degrees more efficient means of observation.

Nor is our view wholly limited to Israel as one of the nations of the earth,—to an acquaintance with some of its early habits and institutions. Imperishable fragments of Israelite Poetry and Prophecy have been borne to us safely on the waves of the far-off ocean of primeval history; thus revealing to us the antiquity of the origin of those two influential arts, which especially in that nation were to become so wonderful a power.



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END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.









